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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

VOLUME XXXI

HISTORY OF WASHINGTON, IDAHO, AND MONTANA

1845–1889

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PREFACE.

In my *History of the Northwest Coast* I have brought down the annals of Washington, Idaho, and Montana to the end of the fur company régime, in 1846, at which time the question of boundary between the possessions of Great Britain and those of the United States was determined, the subjects of the former power thereupon retiring from the banks of the Columbia northward beyond the line of latitude 49°. In the *History of Oregon* I have likewise given much of the early affairs of the territory treated of in this volume, that territory for a time being a part of Oregon; just as in the history of Washington much is given of the history of Idaho, and in the history of Idaho much of Montana.

Under the term Northwest Coast I originally included all that vast region of North America north of the 42d parallel and west of the Rocky Mountains, Alaska alone excepted. When, in 1846, the southern line of British Columbia was determined, all that remained was called Oregon. Later, from Oregon was set off Washington; from Washington was set off Idaho; and from Idaho, for the most part, was set off Montana. Thus for some part of the history of Montana we look to the annals of Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and the Northwest Coast; for part

of the history of Idaho we look to the annals of Washington and the rest; and for the history of Washington we must have also the histories of Oregon and the Northwest Coast. I have been thus explicit on this point, in order that the people of Washington, Idaho, and Montana might thoroughly understand how the histories of their respective sections are distributed in this series—histories which if segregated from the series and issued separately would each fill a space equal to two of my volumes.

There were those among the early pioneers who came to the Northwest Coast some who determined, while securing to themselves such homes as they might choose out of a broad expanse, to serve their government by taking possession of the territory north of the Columbia River, not as Vancouver had done fifty-seven years before, by stepping on shore to eat luncheon and recite some ceremonies to the winds, nor as Robert Gray had done, a few years later, by entering and naming the great River of the West after his ship; but by actual settlement and occupation. I need not repeat here the narrative of those bold measures by which these men of destiny achieved what they aimed at. I wish only to declare that they no more knew what was before them than did the first immigrants to the Willamette Valley. Nevertheless, it fell out that they had found one of the choicest portions of the great unknown northwest; with a value measured not alone by its fertile soil, but also by its wonderful inland sea, with its salt-water canals branching off in all directions, deep, safe from storms, always open to navigation, abounding in

fish, bordered many miles wide with the most magnificent forests on earth. It did not require the imagination of a poet to picture a glowing future for Puget Sound, albeit far away in the dim reaches of time. To be in some measure connected with that future, to lay ever so humbly the corner-stone, was worth all the toil and privation, the danger and the isolation, incident to its achievement.

Not only was there this inland sea, with its treasures inexhaustible of food for the world, and its fifteen hundred miles of shore covered with pine forests to the water's edge, but surrounding it were many small valleys of the richest soils, watered by streams fed by the pure snows of the Cascade and Coast ranges, half prairie and half forest, warm, sheltered from winds, enticing the weary pilgrim from the eastern side of the continent to rest in their calm solitudes. It was true that the native wild man still inhabited these valleys and roamed the encircling mountains, to the number of thirty thousand; but in so vast a country three times as many would have seemed few; and the incomers were the sons of sires who had met and subdued the savage tribes of America as they pushed their way westward from Plymouth Rock to the Missouri and beyond; therefore they had no hesitation now in settling in their midst. They had been bred to the belief that "the British and Indians" would melt before them.

The sources of material for writing this volume are similar to those which have enabled me to write all my volumes; namely, all existing printed matter, books, public documents, and newspapers, together

with many valuable manuscripts, the results of hundreds of dictations, containing the experiences of those first upon the ground in the various localities, or who have in any manner achieved distinction in organizing society and government in these domains.

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HISTORY OF WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS.

1845-1853.

ATTITUDE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—MICHAEL T. SIMMONS AND ASSOCIATES PROCEED NORTHWARD—SETTLE AT BUDD INLET—PUGET SOUND—HIGHLANDS—TUMWATER—BUSH PRAIRIE—CHAMBERS PRAIRIE—NEAH BAY—MARRIAGES AND BIRTHS—THE INDIANS PRONOUNCE AGAINST THE WHITE MAN—EFFECT OF CALIFORNIA GOLD DISCOVERY—THE TIMBER TRADE—TOWNS LAID OUT—WHIDBEY ISLAND SETTLED—OCCUPATION OF THE COAST COUNTRY.

DOCTOR JOHN MCLOUGHLIN, autocrat of Fort Vancouver, at the instigation of the London managers of the Hudson's Bay Company, but contrary to his own judgment, exercised his influence to induce the incoming citizens of the United States not to locate themselves north of the Columbia River, as in the partition presently to be made all that region would probably be British territory. To the average American emigrant of that day the simple fact that a Britisher should wish him not to settle in any certain part of the undivided territory was of itself sufficient incentive for him to select that spot, provided it was not much worse than any other. There must be some special attraction in the direction of Puget Sound, else the fur company would not so strongly advise people not to go there.

So thought Michael T. Simmons, a stanch Ken-

tuckian, whom the reader has met before, in the history of Oregon, he being of the immigration of 1844, and spending the ensuing winter with his family at Fort Vancouver, where he made shingles to pay expenses, his wife meanwhile improving the time by giving birth to a son, named Christopher, the first American born in western Washington.

Simmons was a fine specimen of a man, and a good representative of the class that went into Washington about this time, determined to remain there, particularly if England's majesty ordered them out. Just past thirty, having been born at Sheppardsville the 5th of August, 1814, possessing the grand physique of the early men of Kentucky, unlettered though not unenlightened, he possessed the qualities which in feudal times made men chiefs and founders of families. His courage was equalled only by his independence; he could not comprehend the idea of a superior, having come from a land wherein all were kings though they ruled only a pigsty or a potato-patch.

He had intended to settle in the valley of Rogue River before so much had been said against his going north, but this determined him. During the winter of 1844–5, with five companions,[1] he proceeded northward, but only reached the fork of the Cowlitz, whence he returned to Fort Vancouver. Again he set out the following July with eight others,[2] and guided beyond Cowlitz prairie by Peter Borcier, who had performed the same service for Wilkes in 1841, he not only reached the Sound, but made a canoe voyage as far as Whidbey Island, satisfying himself of the commercial advantages of this region. Then he made his selection at the head of Budd Inlet, where Des Chutes River drops by successive falls a distance of eighty feet, constituting a fine mill-power. The place had the further advantage of being at no

[1] Henry Williamson, James Loomis, and Henry, James, and John Owens, none of whom finally settled north of the Columbia.

[2] George Waunch, David Crawford, Charles Eaton, Niniwon Everman, Seyburn Thornton, William Shaw, David Parker, and John Hunt.

great distance from Fort Nisqually, the only supply post in this part of the territory, with the French settlements to the south of it on the Cowlitz prairie constituting a link with the Columbia River and Willamette settlements. The selection for the purposes of a new community in a new country was a good one, and was prompted by a desire somewhat similar to that of the methodist missionaries to get possession of Oregon City, on account of the water-power.

Having chosen his site, he returned to the Columbia to remove his family, which he did in October, accompanied by James McAllister, David Kindred, Gabriel Jones, George W. Bush, and their wives and children, five families in all, and two single men, Jesse Ferguson and Samuel B. Crockett, these seven men being the first Americans[3] to settle in the region of Puget Sound,[4] although John R. Jackson, of the same immigration, had been a little beforehand with them in point of time, and selected a claim five miles north of the French settlements, and ten miles beyond the Cowlitz landing, on a small tributary of that river, near the trail to the Chehalis,[5] which site he called Highlands, and where he had already erected a house.[6]

[3] I purposely leave out Richmond, who was not a 'settler,' and who abandoned the mission. Ferguson married Margaret Rutledge May 29, 1853. *Olympia Columbian*, June 4, 1853.

[4] Every part of the great Washington Inlet was now coming to be called Puget Sound. It so appears in the writings of almost all authors, besides being always referred to in conversation by that name. Admiralty Inlet was found too long a name, and the first settlements of both English and Americans were upon that portion called after Puget, which tended to establish its use, for in passing up and down these waters it was not easy to discern where one division ended and another began. Says Eugene Ellicot, of the U. S. coast survey, who has been in that service since 1864: 'Vancouver named the head of the sound above Dana's passage Puget Sound. Twenty years ago the designation had extended itself in popular use as far as Point Defiance (at the foot of The Narrows). Now it is applied to the whole sound as far as Bellingham Bay. Instead of Admiralty Inlet, the U. S. chart now calls it Puget Sound. *Ellicot's Puget Sound*, MS., i. Indeed, however it happened, it is not correct to call these waters, in some places wellnigh fathomless, by the name of sound, which implies shallowness, but there is no withstanding custom and convenience.

[5] Sometimes called Chickeeles. See *Native Races*, i. 303.

[6] Jackson, I am told, intended going to the Sound, and as early as March set out with the design of taking up the water-power at the falls of Des Chutes,

It required fifteen days to open a road for the passage of the ox-teams from Cowlitz landing to Budd Inlet, a distance of less than sixty miles. Simmons named his place New Market, but subsequent settlers called it by the Indian, and more appropriate, name of Tumwater,[7] which it keeps, and which to avoid confusion I shall hereafter use.

The seven Puget Sound settlers took their claims within a radius of six miles, Kindred two miles south of Tumwater, McAllister about six miles north-east, and the others intermediate, on a sandy plain now known as Bush prairie, from George W. Bush.[8] In the same summer or autumn George Waunch located himself on the Skookum Chuck, making the ninth man not in the Hudson's Bay Company's service who settled north of the Cowlitz farm in 1845.

The first house was built on Kindred's claim, at the west edge of Bush prairie,[9] Simmons building at

which he had heard of; but owing to the difficulty of travel at this season, he proceeded no farther than Simon Plomondon's place on the Newaukum River, a confluent of the Chehalis. But about the second week in July he again set forth for Puget Sound, accompanied by W. P. Dougherty, H. A. G. Lee, Joseph Watt, Jacob Haldry, and Stewart. The Oregonians turned back from the Chehalis, and Jackson, after exploring the country in that vicinity, returned to the Cowlitz and took a claim as above stated. While returning for his family he met Simmons' party. John R. Jackson was a native of Durham, parish of Steindrop, England, born Jan. 13, 1800. He landed at New York Sept. 27, 1833, and went directly to Ill., where he settled Nov. 5th, leaving his first American home for Or. in 1844. He was a butcher, kept a public house at Highlands, and dispensed good-cheer with good-humored hospitality during the early days of Washington. His house was a rendezvous for the transaction of public business, the first courts in Lewis county being held there, and there was discussed the propriety of a separate territorial organization. He died May 5, 1873. *Olympia Transcript*, May 31, 1873.

[7] Signifying strong water, referring to the falls. This word displaced both the Des Chutes or Falls River of the French, and the New Market of Simmons. It is now common usage to say Tumwater Falls as well as Tumwater town. Skookum Chuck, the Chinook jargon for rapids, is better vernacular for strong water, and is the name of a branch of the Chehalis.

[8] George W. Bush (colored) was born in 1790 in Penn., but in early life removed to Mo., and in 1844 to Or., finishing his long journey by going to Puget Sound. He was respected and honored by the pioneers for his generous and charitable traits and manliness of character. He resided on the prairie which bears his name until April 5, 1863, when he suddenly died of hemorrhage by the bursting of a blood-vessel. His son George became a highly esteemed citizen, who was made president of the Washington Industrial Association, and whose wheat, raised on Bush prairie, was awarded the first premium at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., i. 54.

[9] Mrs Tabitha Kindred, who was many years a widow, died June 12, 1872,

Tumwater the following summer. These men had enough to do to discharge their debts to the Hudson's Bay Company. McLoughlin and Douglas, who, notwithstanding their efforts to turn the American settlers south of the Columbia, seeing they would go north, gave the officers of the company on Cowlitz prairie and at Fort Nisqually orders to furnish Simmons' company with 200 bushels of wheat at eighty cents a bushel, 100 bushels of pease at one dollar, 300 bushels of potatoes at fifty cents, and a dozen head of cattle at twelve dollars each.[10] During the winter they were visited by a party of four men, who proceeded as far as Nisqually, but did not remain in this region.[11] In March Mrs McAllister[12] gave birth to a son, who was named James Benton, the first American born on Puget Sound.

In the following year as many American men settled north of the Cowlitz and about the head of the Sound as in 1845, but not as many families. At the confluence of the Skookum Chuck and the Chehalis, half-way from the Cowlitz landing to Tumwater, two claims were made by Sidney S. Ford[13] and Joseph Barst. Those who went to the Sound were Charles H. Eaton,[14] and his brother Nathan, who located him-

at the age of 89, having resided on Bush prairie 27 years. *Olympia Transcript*, June 15, 1872. The children were two sons, John and B. Kindred, and two daughters, Mrs Parrot of Oregon City, and Mrs Simmons of the Cowlitz. *Olympia Courier*, June 15, 1872. Mrs Gabriel Jones died July 18, 1868. Her home was two miles from Tumwater. *Olympia Standard*, July 25, 1868. She was 70 years of age, and had been several years a widow.

[10] *Evans' Historical Memoranda*, consisting of a compilation of newspaper articles, chiefly written by himself, prepared as the foundation to future historical writing, and which he has generously placed in my hands, has furnished me with this item.

[11] They were Wainbow, Wall, Smith, and Pickett.

[12] Mrs McAllister died in 1874. *Steilacoom Express*, Sept. 10, 1874.

[13] Ford was born in New York in 1801, and died Oct. 22, 1866. His wife, Nancy, was born in New York in 1806. They were married in 1823, and removed to Michigan in 1834, to Missouri in 1840, and to Oregon in 1845. Their children and descendants made their home on Ford prairie, about the head waters of the Chehalis.

[14] Eaton was an immigrant of 1843. He was born in Oswego co., N. Y., Dec. 22, 1818, removing to Ohio at an early age, whence he came to Oregon. In the Indian war of 1855 he was commissioned capt. In 1856 he removed to Tenalcut prairie, and again to Yakima Valley in 1870, where he was engaged in stock-raising. He died at Yakima City Dec. 19, 1876.

self on the east side of Budd Inlet, on what is now called Chambers prairie, being the first to take a claim north of Tumwater; Edmund Sylvester,[15] of Oregon City, who, in partnership with Levi L. Smith, took two half-sections of land, one directly on Budd Inlet, two miles below Tumwater, and the other on the edge of Chambers prairie; Alonzo Marion Poe, Daniel D. Kinsey, and Antonio B. Rabbeson.[16] Several other persons arrived at the Sound during the autumn, but did not remain at that time.[17]

In January 1847 three brothers from Marion county, named Davis, one with a family, arrived at Tumwater, besides Samuel Cool, A. J. Moore, Benjamin Gordon, Leander C. Wallace, Thomas W. Glasgow, and Samuel Hancock.[18] In March there arrived Elisha and

[15] Sylvester was born in Deer Isle, Maine. For antecedents, see *Hist. Or.*, i. 424, this series. His manuscript, entitled *Olympia*, which affords me many authoritative items of early history, is especially useful in the present volume.

[16] Rabbeson was born in 1824, and was by trade a carpenter. He came to Oregon from New York City in 1846, and immediately went to Puget Sound, settling near Sylvester's claim, where he still resides. His manuscript, *Growth of Towns*, contains a narrative of the immigration of 1846, with good character sketches of some of the men in it, followed by an interesting account of the settlement of Washington, his reason for coming to the Sound being a preference for salt-water. Most writers place Wallace in the immigration of 1847, but Rabbeson says he came with him in 1846. *Growth of Towns*, MS., 13. This is the Wallace killed in the attack on Nisqually in the spring of 1849. *Hist. Or.*, ii. 67–8, this series. In January 1854 Rabbeson married Lucy Barnes of Olympia.

[17] Elisha and William Packwood, Jason Peters, Thomas Canby, and Elisha and James McKindley examined the country and returned to the Willamette to winter. Two of them only finally settled north of the Columbia. *Evans' Hist. Mem.*, 11. The names of David Colner and J. E. Conat also appear as settlers of this year, but more I do not know about them.

[18] Hancock left Independence, Mo., in the spring of 1845, but remained in Or. City one year. He then started to go to Puget Sound with two others, names unknown, by the way of the Columbia, Baker Bay, the Pacific Ocean, and the strait of Fuca. They succeeded in drawing their canoe across the neck of sand north of Cape Disappointment, but the sight of the ocean in Nov. disheartened them, and they decided to try walking from the coast inland, hoping to reach the Sound in that way. But Hancock, seized with fever, was left in charge of the Indians, who, after extorting every article he possessed, conveyed him to Astoria, where he recovered. What became of his companions does not appear in his *Thirteen Years' Residence in Washington Territory*, MS., from which I take his biography. After recovery, he again set out for the Sound by the way of the Cowlitz, arriving at Tumwater early in 1847, and going to work at shingle-making like the others. In the spring of 1849 Hancock went to Cal. for gold, where he had a great many adventures, if we may credit the marvellous stories contained in his *Thirteen Years*. On returning to Puget Sound in the autumn of 1849, he brought a stock of goods to sell to settlers and natives, and having disposed of a portion,

William Packwood, with their families. The first settled on land later owned by David J. Chambers. Packwood abandoned it in August to return to the Willamette. William Packwood took a claim on the

set out to explore for coal, having heard that this mineral was to be found in the neighborhood of the Sound. In these explorations he spent some months, probably trading at the same time with the Indians. In 1850 or spring of 1851 he took some goods to Neah Bay; but the Indians being hostile, he was compelled to save himself by an artifice, writing in the presence of the savages, and telling them that it was to bring the chief of all the white men to avenge him if slain. Their superstitious fear of paper missives, the power of which they had witnessed without understanding, conquered their love of plunder, and they carried him safely to Port Townsend. On his return he once more explored for coal on the Snohomish and Stilaguamish rivers, where he found it, and discovered also the Cedar and Dwamish rivers. In Nov. 1851 he took passage in the brig *Kendall*, which was in the Sound, and went to S. F. to purchase machinery for a saw-mill, together with another stock of goods. Having completed his purchases, he shipped them on board a vessel, the *Kayuga*, for Puget Sound. Captain Davis was ignorant of nautical science, and had never been upon the coast of Oregon. When Hancock recognized the entrance to the strait of Fuca, Davis declined to enter, and to test the matter, a boat was sent ashore with Hancock, the mate, and three other persons, at an unknown island. A fog coming down hid the vessel, and the party were detained three days; and no sooner did the fog clear away than the natives discovered and attacked them, compelling them to put to sea. In the mean time the vessel was quite lost to sight. Two days more passed on another small island, but here again the Indians caused them to take to their boat. Several days more were passed in this manner before the party was finally rescued by some Indians from V. I., under orders from an officer of the H. B. Co., to whom they had reported the condition of the boat's crew. Clothing and provisions were despatched to them, and they were brought to Sooke harbor, where they received unlimited hospitality for three days. On coming to Victoria the *Kayuga* was found to be there, having by chance got into the strait and to port, but without endeavoring to pick up that portion of her crew and passengers left without provisions on an unknown coast. But that was not all. A considerable portion of Hancock's goods had been sold, for which no satisfaction could be obtained in a foreign port. The summing up of the whole matter shows that he was disappointed in his project of building a mill at Clallam Bay, and was subjected to much loss, which he endeavored to make up by furnishing timber for the California market. In the autumn of 1852 he removed to Neah Bay, determined to establish a trading-post among the Indians, which he succeeded in doing, though not without building fortifications and having some narrow escapes. He afterward purchased an interest in the brig *Eagle*, Wolfe master, and traded with the Indians on the northern coast, until the brig was blown on shore and wrecked, and the savages had despoiled it of its cargo. From this expedition he returned alive, after many adventures with the savages and the exercise of much tact in averting their hostile intentions. Escaping to Clyaquot Bay, he found the schooner *Demaris Cove*, Capt. Eli Hathaway, lying there, which returned with his party to Neah Bay; but the Indians having become more threatening than before at that place, Hancock determined to remove his goods to Whidbey Island, and did so—there being no vessel in port—by lashing together three canoes and covering them with planking, on which the movables were placed, a ship's long-boat being also loaded and towed behind. A sail was rigged by setting cedar planks upright, and then the craft was navigated 100 miles to Penn Cove. There he settled, and married Susan Crockett. His death occurred in Sept. 1883, at Coupeville.

south bank of the Nisqually, and there remained.[19] During the summer John Kindred, J. B. Logan, B. F. Shaw, Robert Logan, and A. D. Carnefix joined the settlement at the head of the Sound, and on the 10th of June the Skookum Chuck settlement was reenforced by the birth of Angeline Ford,[20] the first American girl born north of the Columbia. Late in the autumn there arrived at the Sound Thomas M. Chambers, with his sons, David, Andrew, Thomas J., and McLean, two of whom had families,[21] and George Brail and George Shazar.

From Nisqually the settlers obtained pork, wheat, pease, potatoes, and such other needful articles as the company's stores furnished. In 1846 Simmons put up a small flouring mill at Des Chutes falls, in a log house, with a set of stones hewn out of some granite blocks found on the beach, which was ready to grind the first crop of wheat, if not to bolt it; but unbolted flour was a luxury after boiled wheat.

[19] Packwood was a native of Patrick co., Va, born in 1813, removing with his father Elisha to Ind. in 1819. In 1834 he migrated to Mo., and ten years later to Or., finally coming to rest on the Nisqually. There was a large family of the Packwoods, six of whom arrived in Or. in 1845. See list on p. 526 and 530, *Hist. Or.*, i., this series. In 1848 William went to Cal., where his brother Elisha was then residing, but appears to have returned without much improving his fortunes. He constructed a ferry on the Nisqually, and remained on his claim—with the exception of a period of service in the Indian war of 1855—until 1867, when he sold it to Isaac P. Hawk. Later he made his residence at Centreville, on the Northern Pacific railroad. For many years Packwood occupied his summers in exploring the mountains east and west of the Sound, the pass at the head of the Cowlitz having been discovered by and named after him, and some valuable mineral deposits reported by him, especially of anthracite coal. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., i. 54–87.

[20] Miss Ford married John Shelton.

[21] This family was of Scottish origin, but had been for half a century in the U. S., residing in Ind. and Ky. They emigrated to Or. in 1845. Their goods being detained at The Dalles, in Feb. 1846, the sons constructed a flat-boat, 12 by 20 feet, with a whip-saw and hammer, using oak pins for nails, and loading it with 13 wagons and the goods of seven families, descended the Columbia. Thomas M. Chambers settled on the prairie south-east of Olympia, which bears his name, and where Eaton had settled before him. Here he lived, and at an advanced age died. David J. located on a smaller plain 3½ miles east of Olympia, and made a fortune in stock-raising; Andrew settled between the Nisqually plains and Yelm prairie. The first mill in Pierce co. was erected by Thomas M., on Chambers Creek near Steilacoom. He was born in Ky in 1791, and died at Steilacoom Dec. 1876. Rebecca, wife of Andrew J. Chambers, died June 29, 1853. On the 18th of January, 1854, he married Margaret White.

Late the following year a saw-mill was completed at Tumwater, built by M. T. Simmons, B. F. Shaw, E. Sylvester, Jesse Ferguson, A. B. Rabbeson, Gabriel Jones, A. D. Carnefix, and John R. Kindred, who formed the Puget Sound Milling Company, October 25, 1847, Simmons holding the principal number of shares, and being elected superintendent. The mill irons, which had been in use at Fort Vancouver, were obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company. The lumber found a market among the settlers, but chiefly at Nisqually, where it was sent in rafts, and also a little later was in requisition to erect barracks and officers' quarters at Steilacoom.[22] Shingle-making was also an important industry, shingles passing current at Fort Nisqually in exchange for clothing or other articles. Room for idlers there was none, and this was fortunate, since indolence in contact with savagery soon breeds vice, aggravated by enforced solitude.

Daniel D. Kinsey was the first lucky bachelor to secure a mate in these wilds, by marrying, on the 6th of July, 1847, Ruth Brock, M. T. Simmons, one of the judges of Vancouver county, officiating. Samuel Hancock and A. B. Rabbeson were the first to vary shingle-making with brick-making, these two taking a contract to burn a kiln of brick in July 1847, on the farm of Simon Plomondon at the Cowlitz. And thus they not only held their own in the new country, but increased in property and power.

As early as the summer of this second year they had begun to recognize the necessity of communication between points, and in August blazed out a trail from Tumwater to the claim of Sylvester and Smith, two miles below on the Sound, which now began to be called Smithfield, because Levi L. Smith resided there, and because it came to be the head of navigation by the law of the tides.

[22] The date of the lease from Simmons, proprietor of the claim, is August 20, 1847, to continue for 5 years with the privilege of ten. The site described was the north-west part of the lower fall. *Evans' Hist. Mem.*, ii.; *Hist. Or.*, ii. 70, this series.

In the autumn of 1847, rendered memorable by the massacre at Waiilatpu, which alarmed these feeble settlements, and by the prevalence of measles among the Indians, for which the white people knew themselves held responsible by the miserable victims and their friends, there were few additions to the population. Jonathan Burbee, an immigrant of that year, took to himself some land on the little Kalama River; Peter W. Crawford, E. West, and James O. Raynor located claims on the Cowlitz near its mouth, being the first settlers in this vicinity,[23] and Andrew J. Simmons took a claim on Cowlitz prairie, where he died February 1872.[24]

Nor were there many accessions to the population of the Sound in 1848. Rev. Pascal Ricard, oblate father, established a mission three miles below Tumwater, June 14th, on the eastern shore of the inlet, and thereby secured half a section of land to the church. Thomas W. Glasgow made a tour of exploration down the Sound, and took a claim on Whidbey Island, the first settlement attempted there, and situated north-east from the Port Townsend of Vancouver, directly facing the strait of Fuca. Here he erected a cabin and planted potatoes and wheat. His loneliness seems to have been alleviated during his brief residence, a half-caste daughter testifying to the favor with which he was regarded by some native

[23] In 1847, when Crawford, whose biography is given in my *Hist. Or.*, i. 647, was looking for a place to settle, the only white persons living on the Cowlitz were Antoine Gobain, a Canadian, who had charge of the H. B. Co.'s warehouse on the west bank of the river about two miles from the Columbia, and Thibault, another Canadian, who lived opposite on the east bank. From there to the Cowlitz farms all was an unbroken wilderness. Crawford and West took their claims adjoining each other on the east bank, where Crawford permanently had his home, and Raynor on the west bank, where he designed laying out a town. *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 98. Owen W. Bozarth, who was of the immigration of 1845, settled, as I suppose, about this time on Cathlapootle or Lewis River, so called from the land claim of A. Lee Lewis, about 7 miles above the mouth.

[24] *Olympia Wash. Standard*, March 2, 1872. I find mention of Alexander Barron, who died in Feb. 1878; William Rutledge, who died June 1872; Henry Beehman, who died April 1879; Felix Dodd, who died the same month and year; J. H. Smith, who died May 1879; and John E. Picknell—all of whom settled north of the Columbia this year.

brunette;[25] yet he returned to Tumwater to secure other companions, and persuaded Rabbeson and Carnefix to accompany him back to his island home.

On the voyage, performed in a canoe, they proceeded to the head of Case Inlet, and carrying their canoe across the portage to the head of Hood canal, explored that remarkable passage. Carnefix turned back from the mouth of the Skokomish River,[26] Glasgow and Rabbeson continuing on to Whidbey Island, which they reached in July. But they were not permitted to remain. Soon after their arrival a general council of the tribes of the Sound was held on the island, at the instigation of Patkanim, chief of the Snoqualimichs, to confer upon the policy of permitting American settlements in their country. It was decided that Glasgow must quit the island, which he was at length forced to do,[27] escaping by the aid of an Indian from the vicinity of Tumwater.

[25] Glasgow's daughter married William Hastie. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., i. 113.

[26] It was the turn of Carnefix to cook and attend to camp work. A chief seeing this thought him to be a slave, and offered to purchase him. The jests of his companions so annoyed Carnefix that he abandoned their company. *Evans' Hist. Mem.* ii.

[27] Patkanim exhibited the tact in this instance which marked him as a savage of uncommon intelligence. Parade has a great effect upon the human mind, whether savage or civilized. Patkanim gave a great hunt to the assembled chiefs. A corral was constructed, with wings extending across the island from Penn Cove to Glasgow's claim, and a drive made with dogs, by which more than 60 deer were secured for a grand banquet at the inauguration of the council. Patkanim then opened the conference by a speech, in which he urged that if the Americans were allowed to settle among them they would soon become numerous, and would carry off their people in large fire-ships to a distant country on which the sun never shone, where they would be left to perish. He argued that the few now present could easily be exterminated, which would discourage others from coming, and appealed to the cupidity of his race by representing that the death of the Americans in the country would put the Indians in possession of a large amount of property. But the Indians from the upper part of the Sound, who were better acquainted with the white people, did not agree with Patkanim. The chief of the bands about Tumwater, Snohodumtah, called by the Americans Grayhead, resisted the arguments of the Snoqualimich chief. He reminded the council that previous to the advent of the Americans the tribes from the lower sound often made war upon the weaker tribes of his section of the country, carrying them off for slaves, but that he had found the presence of the Boston men a protection, as they discouraged wars. Patkanim, angered at this opposition, created a great excitement, which seemed to threaten a battle between the tribes, and Rabbeson becoming alarmed fled back to the settlements. Two days later Glasgow followed, being assisted to escape by a friendly Indian, but leaving behind him all his property. *Id.*, 11–12.

Glasgow seems to have taken a claim subsequently in Pierce county, and to have finally left the territory.[28]

During this summer Hancock took a claim on the west side of Budd Inlet, and built a wharf and warehouse; but having subsequently engaged in several commercial ventures involving loss, he finally settled in 1852 on Whidbey Island, Patkanim having in the mean time failed in his design of exterminating the American settlers. Rabbeson, glad to be well away from the neighborhood of the Snoqualimich chief, went with Ferguson to work in the wheat-fields of the Cowlitz farm, now in charge of George B. Roberts, where they taught the Frenchmen how to save grain by cradling, after which the new method was high in favor and the cradling party in demand.

All at once this wholesome plodding was interrupted by the news of the gold discovery in California, and every man who could do so set off at once for the gold-fields. They made flat-boats and floated their loaded wagons down the Cowlitz River to where the old Hudson's Bay Company's trail left it, drove their ox-teams to the Columbia River opposite St Helen, and again taking the trail from the old McKay farm, which the Lees had travelled in 1834, emerged on the Tualatin plains, keeping on the west side of the Willamette to the head of the valley. They here came into the southern immigrant road, which they followed to its junction with the Lassen trail to the Sacramento Valley, where they arrived late in the autumn, having performed this remarkable journey without accident.[29]

[28] In July 1858 he married Ellen Horan. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, July 30, 1858.

[29] See *Hist. Or.*, ii. 45, this series. Also *Rabbeson's Growth of Towns*, MS., 11–12; *Hancock's Thirteen Years*, MS., 105–17. Sylvester, who with Rabbeson, Ferguson, and Borst went to California in the spring of 1849, describes the route as I have given it. His company had one wagon and 4 yokes of oxen; and there were three other wagons in the train. They started in April and reached Sacramento in July. *Olympia*, MS., 13–15.

The rush to the mines had the same temporary effect upon the improvement of the country north of the Columbia that I have noticed in my account of the gold excitement in the Willamette Valley. Farming, building, and all other industries were suspended, while for about two years the working population of the country were absent in search of gold. This interruption to the steady and healthy growth which had begun has been much lamented by some writers,[30] with what justice I am unable to perceive; because although the country stood still in respect to agriculture and the ordinary pursuits of a new and small population, this loss was more than made up by the commercial prosperity which the rapid settlement of the Pacific coast bestowed upon the whole of the Oregon territory, and especially upon Puget Sound, which without the excitement of the gold discovery must have been twenty years in gaining the milling and other improvements it now gained in three.

In the mean time, and before these results became apparent, the settlements on the Sound were threatened with a more serious check by the Snoqualimichs, who about the first of May attacked Fort Nisqually with the intention of taking it, and if they had succeeded in this, Patkanim's plans for the extermination of the white people would have been carried out. In this affair Leander C. Wallace was killed, and two other Americans, Walker and Lewis, wounded, the latter surviving but a short time. For this crime Quallawort, a brother of Patkanim, and Kassass, another Snoqualimich chief, suffered death by hanging, as related in a previous volume.[31] This was a somewhat different termination from that anticipated. Patkanim, even after the Snoqualimichs were re-

[30] Evans says, in his *Hist. Mem.* 16, that 'the exodus in search of gold was a grievous check, and that years of sober advancement and industry were required to recuperate from its consequences.' I have mentioned in my history of Oregon that other writers take the same view.

[31] *Hist. Or.*, ii. 67–8, 80.

pulsed, sent word to the American settlers that they would be permitted to quit the country by leaving their property. To this they answered that they had come to stay, and immediately erected block-houses at Tumwater and Skookum Chuck. This decided movement, with the friendship of the Indians on the upper part of the Sound, and the prompt measures of Governor Lane, who arrived March 2d at Oregon City, followed by the establishment of Fort Steilacoom about the middle of July, crushed an incipient Indian war.[32]

The outbreak did not seriously interrupt the dawning fortunes of the settlers, who were scrupulously careful to prevent any difficulties with the natives by a custom of uniform prices for labor and goods, and perfect equity in dealing with them.[33]

Owing to the California exodus, the year 1849 was remarkable only for its dearth of immigration.

[32] Writers on this attack on Nisqually have laid too little stress on Patkanim's designs. Taken in connection with the proceedings of the previous summer at Whidbey Island, the intention seems clear; the quarrel with the Nisquallies was but a pretence to account for the appearance at the fort of the Snoqualimichs in their war-paint. The killing of the Americans was but an incident, as they could not have known that they should meet a party of the settlers there. The plan was to capture the fort and the supply of ammunition, after which it would have been quite easy to make an end of the settlements, already deprived by the exodus to California of a large share of their fighting material. The H. B. Co., confident of their influence with the Indians, either did not suspect or did not like to admit that the Snoqualimichs intended mischief to them, though Tolmie confesses that when he went outside the fort to bring in Wallace's body he was aimed at; but the person was prevented firing by a Sinahomish Indian present, who reproved him, saying, 'Harm enough done for one day.' *Tolmie's Puget Sound*, MS. 35. All accounts agree that Patkanim was inside the fort when the firing by the Snoqualimichs was commenced, and that it began when a gun was discharged inside the fort to clean it. May not this have been the preconcerted signal? But the closing of the gates with the chief inside, and the firing from the bastion, disconcerted the conspirators, who retreated to cover.

[33] Evans mentions in his *Hist. Mem.*, 12, that Patterson, an immigrant of 1847, who afterward left the country, became indebted to an Indian for bringing his family up the Cowlitz River, but could not pay him, and gave his note for 12 months. At the end of the year the Indian came to claim his pay, but still the man had not the money, on learning which the Indian offered to take a heifer, which offer was declined. The Indian then went to the white settlement at Tumwater and entered his complaint, when a meeting was called and a committee appointed to return with him to the house of the debtor, who was compelled to deliver up the heifer. This satisfied the creditor and kept the peace.

But by the end of the year most of the gold-hunters were back on their claims, somewhat richer than before in the product of the mines. Early in January 1850 there arrived the first American merchant vessel to visit the Sound since its settlement. This was the brig *Orbit*, William H. Dunham master, from Calais, Maine. She had brought a company of adventurers to California, who having no further use for her, sold her for a few thousand dollars to four men, who thought this a good investment, and a means of getting to Puget Sound. Their names were I. N. Ebey, B. F. Shaw, Edmund Sylvester, and one Jackson. There came as passenger also Charles Hart Smith, a young man from Maine and a friend of Captain Dunham. M. T. Simmons, who had not gone to the mines, had sold, in the autumn of 1849, his land claim at Tumwater, with the mills, to Crosby [34] and Gray, formerly of Portland, for thirty-five thousand dollars. With a portion of this money he purchased a controlling interest in the *Orbit*, and taking C. H. Smith as partner, sent the brig back to San Francisco with a cargo of piles, with Smith as supercargo, to dispose of them and purchase a stock of general merchandise. The vessel returned in July, and the goods were opened at Smithfield, which by the death of Smith [35] had come to

[34] Captain Clanrick Crosby was a navigator, and first saw the waters of Puget Sound in command of a ship. He continued to reside at Tumwater down to the time of his death, Oct. 29, 1879, at the age of 75 years. His wife, Phœbe H., died Nov. 25, 1871. Their children are Clanrick, Jr, William, Walter, Fanny, Mrs George D. Biles, and Mrs J. H. Naylor. *New Tacoma Herald*, Oct. 30, 1879. Crosby was speaker of the house of representatives in 1864. *Bancroft's Hand-book*, 1864, 353.

[35] Levi Lathrop Smith was born in the state of New York, and studied for the presbyterian ministry; but migrating to Wisconsin, became there attached to a half-caste girl, a catholic. To marry under these circumstances would be a violation of rule, and he made another to remove to Oregon. But his health was affected, and he suffered with epilepsy. He was elected to the Oregon legislature in 1848, but did not live to take his seat, being drowned in the latter part of August while going from his claim to Tumwater, attacked, it was supposed, by convulsions, which overturned his canoe. He built the first cabin in what is now the city of Olympia, on Main Street, halfway between Second and Third streets, a cabin 16 feet square, of split cedar, with a stone fire-place, a stick chimney, and roofed with four-feet shingles held on with weight-poles. The cabin had one door, and three panes of glass for a window; a rough puncheon floor, and a rough partition dividing off a bedroom and closet. The furniture consisted of a bedstead, made by boring

be the sole property of Sylvester, and was now called Olympia, at the suggestion of I. N. Ebey.[36] Sylvester's claim on the prairie was abandoned when he took possession of the claim on the Sound,[37] and was taken by Captain Dunham of the *Orbit*, who was killed by being thrown from his horse[38] July 4, 1851, the government reserving the land for his heirs, who long after took possession.

In order to give his town a start, Sylvester offered to give Simmons two lots for business purposes, which were accepted; and a house of rough boards, two stories high—its ground dimensions twenty feet front by forty in depth—was erected at the corner of First and Main streets, and the cargo of the *Orbit* displayed for sale,[39] Smith acting as clerk. The firm

holes in the upright planking and inserting sticks to support the bed, two tables, some benches, and stools of domestic manufacture. The furniture of the table was tin, and scanty at that. Two acres of land were enclosed, in which corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, potatoes, pease, turnips, cabbages, melons, cucumbers, beets, parsnips, carrots, onions, tomatoes, radishes, lettuce, parsley, sweet fennel, peppergrass, summer-savory, and sunflowers were cultivated. The live-stock belonging to this establishment comprised 5 hogs, 3 pigs, 7 hens, a cock, a cat and dog, a yoke of oxen, and a pair of horses. These details are taken from a humorous document supposed to have been written by Smith himself, still in the possession of a gentleman of Olympia. As a picture of pioneer life, it is not without value. A diary kept by Smith has also been preserved, in which appear many hints of his sad and solitary musings upon his life in the wilderness and his disappointed hopes. *Evans' Hist. Notes*, 4.

[36] *Evans' Historical Notes*, a collection of authorities on the early settlements, with remarks by Evans, gives Ebey as the author. Sylvester says, speaking of Ebey, 'We got the name from the Olympic range;' from which I have no doubt Evans is correct. The town was surveyed by William L. Frazer in 1850; and afterward by H. A. Goldsborough, who, it will be remembered, remained in the territory when the U. S. steamer *Massachusetts* sailed away in the spring of 1850. *Hist. Or.*, ii., chap. ix., this series.

[37] Sylvester, in his *Olympia*, MS., does not mention L. L. Smith, but speaks only of himself, and gives the impression that he alone settled at Olympia in 1846. This evasion of a fact puzzled me until I came upon the explanation in *Evans' Hist. Notes*, 2, where he mentions Sylvester's reticence in the matter of Smith, and tells us that it arose from an apprehension that Smith's heirs might some time lay claim to the town site and disturb the title. This fear Evans declares to be groundless, and that Sylvester 'lawfully survived to the sole ownership of Smith's claim,' by the partnership clause of the Oregon land law.

[38] Swan, in *Olympia Club*, MS., 6.

[39] The *Orbit*, being of little or no use to her owners, Simmons having sold his mills, was taken to the Columbia by Captain Butler for her owners in the summer of 1851. She got into the breakers on the bar and was abandoned. The tide returning floated her into Baker Bay in safety. Some persons who beheld her drifting took her to Astoria and claimed salvage; but

had a profitable trade, as we may well believe when cooking-stoves without furniture sold for eighty dollars.[40] American commerce was thus begun with a population of not more than one hundred citizens of the United States in the region immediately about Puget Sound.[41] Three of the crew of the British ship *Albion* settled in the region of Steilacoom; namely, William Bolton, Frederick Rabjohn, and William Elders. If it is true, as I have shown in a previous volume,[42] that the Americans, as soon as they were armed with the power by congress, exhibited a most unfriendly exclusiveness toward the British company which had fostered them in its way, it is easy to perceive that they were actuated partly by a feeling of revenge, and a desire for retaliation for having been compelled to show the rents in their breeches as a reason for requiring a new pair,[43] and to account for the rents besides, to prove that the Indian trade had not been interfered with. Now these irrepressible Americans were bringing their own goods by the ship-load, and peddling them about the Sound in canoes under the noses of the company. It was certainly an unequal contest when legal impediment was removed.

Simmons brought her back to the Sound, where she was finally sold at marshal's sale, and purchased by a company consisting of John M. Swan, H. A. Goldsborough, and others, who loaded her with piles and undertook to navigate her to the S. I. They met with a gale in Fuca Straits and had their rigging blown to pieces, but managed to get into Esquimault harbor, where they sold the vessel to the H. B. Co. for $1,000. The company refitted her, changed her name to the *Discovery*, and used her on the northern coast until 1858, when she was employed as a police vessel on Fraser River in collecting licenses. Afterward she was resold to Leonard, of the firm of Leonard & Green of Portland, and her name of *Orbit* restored; she was taken to China and again sold, where she disappears from history. She is remembered as the first American vessel that ever penetrated to the head of Puget Sound, or engaged in a commerce with Americans on its waters. *Olympia Club*, MS., 2–8.

[40] Rabbeson, in *Olympia Club*, MS., 3.

[41] Rabbeson says that in the winter of 1849 or spring of 1850, at the time the British ship *Albion* was lying at Dungeness cutting spars, he went down to that port with Eaton and others, and in returning he fell in with an American vessel coming up for piles, which he piloted to the upper sound, securing the contract for furnishing the cargo. He thinks her name was *The Pleiades*, and the next vessel in the sound the *Robert Bowen*. *Growth of Towns*, MS., 14.

[42] *Hist. Or.*, ii., 104–6, this series.

[43] *Sylvester's Olympia*, MS., 12.

In the *Orbit* came John M. Swan,[44] who in 1850 settled on a claim immediately east of Olympia, which became Swantown. Another passenger was Henry Murray, who took a claim east of Steilacoom. In July Lafayette Balch, owner of the brig *George Emory*, arrived at Olympia with a cargo of goods, which he unloaded at that place; but finding he could not get such terms as he desired from the owner of the town lots, he put his vessel about and went down the Sound, establishing the town of Port Steilacoom, putting up a large business house, the frame of which he brought from San Francisco, and to which he removed the goods left at Olympia to be sold by Henry C. Wilson,[45] who appears to have arrived with Balch, and who settled on the west shore of Port Townsend on the 15th of August. On the 15th of October I. N. Ebey took up the claim from which Glasgow had been ejected by the Indians on the west side of Whidbey Island, about a mile south of Penn Cove. R. H. Lansdale about the same time took a claim at the head of Penn Cove, where the town of Coveland was ultimately laid out. In November the *George Emory*, which had made a voyage to San Francisco, brought up as passengers half a dozen men who intended getting out a cargo of piles for that market, and who landed five miles north of Steilacoom. One of their number, William B. Wilton, selecting a claim, built a cabin, and the adventurers went to work with a will to make their fortunes. Their only neighbor

[44] I do not know Swan's antecedents, except that he was in the mines in April 1849, and that after working there for three months he became ill, and determined to go north as soon as he could get away, for his health. Finding the *Orbit* about to sail, he took passage in her. His idea was to go to V. I., but when he arrived at Victoria he found the terms of colonization there repulsive to him, and went on with the vessel to the head of Puget Sound, where he remained. *Swan's Colonization*, MS., 2.

[45] *Wash. Sketches*, MS., 38–9; *Sylvester's Olympia*, MS., 19–20; *Swan's Colonization*, MS., 4–5. Wilson married Susan P. Keller in Oct. 1854. She was a daughter of Captain Josiah P. Keller of Maine, who settled at Port Gamble, or Teekalet Bay, in the autumn of 1853, with his family. He was born in 1812, and emigrated to Puget Sound from Boston. He was a useful and respected citizen, being the founder of the village of Teekalet. His death occurred June 11, 1862, at Victoria. *Port Townsend Northwest*, June 1862.

was William Bolton, who could not have been very well supplied with the requirements for a life in the woods, as they were unable to obtain oxen to drag the fallen timber to the water's edge, and in April 1851 abandoned their enterprise, after disposing of as much of the timber they had felled as could be loaded on a vessel without the aid of oxen. Two of their number, Charles C. Bachelder and A. A. Plummer,[46] then went to Port Townsend, and took claims on Point Hudson, about a mile north-west of Wilson, where they were joined in November by L. B. Hastings and F. W. Pettygrove, formerly of Oregon City and Portland, who had ruined himself by speculating in property at Benicia, California. In February, J. G. Clinger[47] and Pettygrove and Hastings took claims adjoining those of Bachelder and Plummer on the north and west, and soon these four agreed to lay out a town, and to devote a third of each of their claims to town-site purposes—a fair division, considering the relative size and location of the claims. Bachelder and Plummer, being unmarried, could take no more than a quarter-section under the Oregon land law, which granted but 160 acres as a donation when such claim was taken after the 1st of December, 1850, or by a person who was not a resident of Oregon previous to that time. Pettygrove and Hastings,[48] having both emigrated to the territory

[46] Plummer was a native of Maine. He was a saddler in the quartermaster's department under Parker H. French on the march to El Paso of the 3d infantry in 1849. From El Paso he went to Mazatlan, and thence by the bark *Phœnix* to San Francisco in May 1850. In the spring of 1851 he took passage on the *George Emory*, Capt. Balch, for Puget Sound. *Wash. Sketches*, MS., 37; see also *Solano Co. Hist.*, 157.

[47] Pettygrove and Hastings arrived in the schooner *Mary Taylor*, from Portland. Plummer, in *Wash. Sketches*, MS., a collection of statements taken down by my short-hand reporter, says that into his cabin, 15 by 30 feet, were crowded for a time the families of Pettygrove, Hastings, and Clinger. Houses were erected as soon as they conveniently could be on the claims taken by these settlers, and could not have been ready much before spring.

[48] Briggs, in his *Port Townsend*, MS., containing a history of the immigration of 1847, early Oregon matters, and an account of the settlement of Port Townsend, says that Hastings was in his company crossing the plains. Briggs settled on the Santiam, where Hastings paid him a visit, persuading him to go to Puget Sound. Hastings and Pettygrove then went over to look for a location, and fixed upon Port Townsend.

previous to 1850, and being married, were entitled to take a whole section, but their land, being less favorably situated for a town site, was worth less to the company; hence the terms of the agreement.

The new town was named after the bay upon which it was situated, Port Townsend, and the owners constituted a firm for the prosecution of trade.[49]

As timber was the chief marketable product of the country, and as Hastings and Pettygrove were owners of three yokes of oxen, the company at once set to work cutting piles and squaring timbers; at which labor they continued for about two years, loading several vessels,[50] and carrying on a general merchandise business besides.[51]

In May 1852 Albert Briggs settled a mile and a half south from Port Townsend,[52] and in September came Thomas M. Hammond, who took a narrow strip of land west of the claims of Hastings and Wilson, and which, coming down to the bay, adjoined Briggs on the north.[53] The names of all the donation-land

[49] In the agreement between the partners, says Briggs, $3,000 was to be put into a joint stock to carry on merchandising and a fishery, neither partner to draw out more than the net income according to their share; but at the end of three years the original stock might be drawn from the concern. A condition was imposed, on account of habits of intemperance on the part of Bachelder and Pettygrove, that if any member of the firm should be declared incompetent by a vote of the others to attend to business on account of drink, he should forfeit his interest and quit the company. Bachelder lost his share by this agreement, receiving a few hundred dollars for his land from Pettygrove. He died at Port Ludlow not long after. *Id.*, 24–5.

[50] The brig *Wellingsley* several times, brig *James Marshall* once, ship *Talmer* once, and bark *Mary Adams* once. Plummer, in *Wash. Sketches*, MS., 40.

[51] The first house erected in Port Townsend after Plummer's was by R. M. Caines, for a hotel on Water Street, later occupied as the *Argus* newspaper office. Then followed residences by Wilson, J. G. Clinger, who had taken a land claim a mile and a half south of the town, Benjamin Ross, who with his brother R. W. Ross had located land fronting on the Fuca sea at the head of the strait, William Webster, John Price, and E. S. Fowler, who had a stock of merchandise. Plummer, in *Wash. Sketches*, MS., 40–1. Mrs Clinger was the mother of the first white child born in Port Townsend.

[52] Briggs was born in Vt. He arrived in Or. in 1847 with the immigration, in company with Lot Whitcomb, and worked at his trade of carpenter for a year or more, settling at last on the Santiam, where he remained until 1852, when he went to the Sound on the solicitation of his friend Hastings. He brought his family, and built, according to his own statement, the first frame house and brick chimney at or near Port Townsend, and brought the first horses and cattle to the place. *Port Townsend*, MS., 1, 35.

[53] Hammond was a native of Ireland, born about 1820, arrived in the U. S. in 1829, and came to Cal. in 1849 with the gold-seekers. J. B. Beidelman

claimants about Port Townsend are here mentioned in my account of its settlements.

In the latter part of August 1851, in the van of the immigration, arrived at Portland John N. Low and C. C. Terry. In September they took their cattle and whatever live-stock they possessed down the Columbia, and by the Hudson's Bay Company's trail to the valley of the Chehalis, where they were left, while Low[54] and Terry proceeded to the Sound to explore for a town site, fixing at last upon Alki Point, on the west side of Elliott Bay, where a claim was taken about the 25th, and a house partially constructed of logs. They found that others were preparing to settle in the vicinity, and were encouraged. John C. Holgate, a young man and an immigrant of 1847, who had served in the Cayuse war, had visited the east side of Elliott Bay in 1850, selecting a claim for himself.[55]

Previous to the arrival of Low and Terry at Alki Point, Luther M. Collins took a claim in the valley of the Dwamish or White River,[56] and before they

& Co. of San Francisco wished him to start a fishery and cut piles for that market. He took passage on the bark *Powhatan*, Captain Mellen, for Puget Sound, but by the time he was ready to begin business the firm had failed, and Hammond cast in his lot with the settlers of Port Townsend. *Wash. Sketches*, MS., 95–7.

[54] John N. Low was born in Ohio in 1820. He removed to Ill., where he married, in 1848, Lydia Colburn, born in Penn. Low brought to Or. a herd of choice stock for dairy purposes, which were the first selected American cattle taken to the Sound country, and seems to have had a more definite purpose in emigrating than many who came to the Pacific coast at that period. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., i. 118–19. Charles Carroll Terry was a native of New York state.

[55] I follow the account of Mrs Abby J. Hanford, who, in a manuscript giving an account of the *Settlement of Seattle and the Indian War*, makes this positive statement concerning Holgate's visit. Mrs Hanford was a sister of Holgate, whose family came to Or. in 1853, and to Wash. in 1854. Mrs Elizabeth Holgate, mother of Mrs Hanford, was born at Middleton, Ct, in 1796; was married at Pittsburg, Pa, in 1818, to A. L. Holgate, who died in 1847, and accompanied her children to Or. She died in Jan. 1880, at the house of her daughter, whose husband's land adjoined that of J. C. Holgate. *Seattle Intelligencer*, Jan. 24, 1880.

[56] The river system of this region is peculiar; for example, White River and Cedar River both rise in the Cascade Mountains and have a north-west course. Cedar flows into Lake Washington, from which by the same mouth but a different channel it runs out again in a south-west course, called Black River,

returned to Portland, Collins, Henry Van Assalt, and Jacob and Samuel Maple arrived and settled upon the Dwamish, where they had previously taken claims.[57]

Leaving their house half built, the settlers at Alki Point returned to Portland, where Low had left his wife and four children. Here they found Arthur A. Denny, also from Illinois, although born in Indiana, with a wife and two children; William N. Bell, a native of Illinois, with a wife and two children; and C. D. Borem, with a wife and child; besides David T. Denny, unmarried—who were willing to accept their statement that they had discovered the choicest spot for a great city to be found in the north-west.

On the 5th of November this company took passage on the schooner *Exact*, Captain Folger, which had been chartered to carry a party of gold-hunters to Queen Charlotte Island, and Low's party with a few others to Puget Sound. The Alki Point settlers arrived at their destination on the 13th, and were disembarked at low tide, spending the dull November afternoon in carrying their goods by hand out of the reach of high water, assisted by the women and children. "And then," says Bell, artlessly, in an autograph letter, "the women sat down and cried."[58] Poor women! Is it any wonder? Think of it: the long jour-

into White River, joining the two by a link little more than two miles long. Below this junction White River is called Dwamish, with no better reason than that the Indians gave that name to a section of the stream where they resided. There is a link by creeks and marshes between White River and the Puyallup, and the whole eastern shore of the Sound is a network of rivers, lakes, creeks, and swales, the soil of the bottom-lands being very rich, but overgrown with trees of the water-loving species. Prairie openings occur at intervals, on which the settlements were made.

[57] I am thus particular in the matter of priority, because there is a slight but perceptible jealousy evident in my authorities as to the claim to precedence in settlement. From the weight of testimony, I think it may be fairly said that the Dwamish Valley was settled before Alki Point. Jacob Maple was born on the Monongehela River, Green county, Pennsylvania, 1798. His father removed to Jefferson county, Ohio, in 1800, and died in 1812. The family subsequently lived in southern Iowa, from which they emigrated to Oregon by the way of California, arriving in 1851. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 8. Another settler claiming priority is Martin Tafteson, who took a claim on Oak Harbor in 1851. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxi. 43–5.

[58] I have a valuable dictation by Mr Bell, entitled the *Settlement of Seattle*, MS., in which many historical facts are set forth in an interesting manner.

ney overland, the wearisome detention in Portland, the sea-voyage in the little schooner, and all to be set down on the beach of this lonely inland sea, at the beginning of a long winter, without a shelter from the never-ceasing rains for themselves or their babes. It did not make it any easier that nobody was to blame, and that in this way only could their husbands take their choice of the government's bounty to them. It was hard, but it is good to know that they survived it, and that a house was erected during the winter which was in a measure comfortable.[59]

Low and Terry laid out a town at Alki Point, calling it New York, and offering lots to those members of the company who would remain and build upon them. But the Indians in the vicinity had given information during the winter concerning a pass in the Cascade Range which induced the majority to remove in the spring of 1852 to the east side of the bay, where they founded a town of their own, which they called Seattle, after a chief of the Dwamish tribe residing in the vicinity, who stood high in the estimation of the American settlers.[60]

D. T. Denny, W. N. Bell, A. A. Denny, and C. D. Boren took claims in the order mentioned on the east shore, D. T. Denny's being farthest north, and Boren's adjoining on the south a claim made at the

[59] Bell's house was constructed of cedar planks split out of the tree, the Oregon cedar having a straight grain. These planks were made smoother with carpenter's tools, and were joined neatly in the flooring. Some window-sash were obtained from Olympia, and the 'first house in King county' (I quote Bell) was after all a decent enough domicile when it was completed.

[60] Seattle is described as a dignified and venerable personage, whose carriage reminded the western men of Senator Benton; but I doubt if the Missouri senator would have recognized himself, except by a very great stretch of imagination, in this naked savage who conversed only in signs and grunts. It is said that Seattle professed to remember Vancouver—another stretch of the imagination. See *Olympia Wash. Standard*, April 25, 1868; *Richardson's Missis.*, 416. It is well known that the Indians north of the Columbia change their names when a relative dies, *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 189, from a belief that the spirits of the dead will return on hearing these familiar names. Seattle, on hearing that a town was called by his name, and foreseeing that it would be a disturbance to his ghost when he should pass away, made this a ground for levying a tax on the citizens while living, taking his pay beforehand for the inconvenience he expected to suffer from the use of his name after death. *Yesler's Wash. Ter.*, MS., 6; Murphy, in *Appleton's Journal*, 11, 1877.

same time by D. S. Maynard from Olympia, who in turn adjoined Holgate, and who kept the first trading-house in the town. Seattle was laid off upon the water-front from about the middle of Maynard's claim, a larger one than either of the others,[61] and on which the first house was built, to the north line of Bell's claim. Then in the autumn came Henry L. Yesler, who was looking for a mill site, and who was admitted to the water-front by a re-arrangement of the contiguous boundaries of Boren and Maynard.[62]

[61] Maynard came to Or. in Sept. 1850, and took his claim under the donation law as a married man, and as a resident prior to Dec. 1850, which would have entitled him to 640 acres. But on the 22d of Dec., 1852, he obtained from the Or. leg. a divorce from Lydia A. Maynard, whom he had married in Vt, on the 28th of August, 1828, and left in Ohio when he emigrated. In Jan. 1853 he married Catherine Broshears, and soon after gave the required notice of settlement on his claim, acknowledging his previous marriage, but asserting that his first wife died Dec. 24, 1852. In due course a certificate was issued to Maynard and wife, giving the west half of the claim to the husband and the east half to the wife. But the commissioner of the general land-office held that the heirs of Lydia A. Maynard should have had the east half, she being his wife when he settled on the land, and until the following Dec. These matters coming to the ears of the first Mrs Maynard and her two sons, they appeared and laid claim to the land, and the case being considered upon the proofs, neither Lydia A. Maynard nor Catherine Maynard received any part of the land, the claim of the first being rejected because she had acquired no rights by her presence in the country previous to the divorce, nor could she inherit as a widow after the divorce—an iniquitous decision, by the way, where no notice has been served—and the claim of the second being rejected because she was not the wife of Maynard on the 1st of Dec., 1850, nor within one year thereafter. The 320 acres which should have belonged to one of these women reverted to the government. Maynard died in 1873. *Puget Sound Dispatch*, March 14 and April 18, 1872; *Seattle Intelligencer*, March 17, 1873, Feb. 10, 1877; *S. F. Alta*, March 2, 1873.

[62] Yesler was a native of Maryland; went to Ohio in 1832, and emigrated thence in 1851 to Or., intending to put up a saw-mill at Portland; but the wreck of the *General Warren* at the mouth of the river and other fancied drawbacks caused him to go to Cal. and to look around for some land in that state; but meeting a sailing-master who had been in Puget Sound, he learned enough of the advantages of this region for a lumbering establishment to decide him to go there, and to settle at Seattle. Yesler's was the first of the saw-mills put up with a design to establish a trade with S. F., and being also at a central point on the Sound, became historically important. The cook-house belonging to it, though only a 'dingy-looking hewed-log building about 25 feet square, a little more than one story high with a shed addition on the rear,' was for a number of years the only place along the east shore of the Sound where comfortable entertainment could be had. 'Many an old Puget Sounder,' says a correspondent of the *Puget Sound Weekly*, 1866, 'remembers the happy hours, jolly nights, strange encounters, and wild scenes he has enjoyed around the broad fireplace and hospitable board of Yesler's cook-house.' During the Indian war it was a rendezvous for the volunteers; it was a resort of naval officers; a judge—Lander—had his office in a corner of it; for a time the county auditor's office was there; it had served for town-hall, court-house, jail, military headquarters, storehouse, hotel, and church. Elec-

Before proceeding to these decisive measures, the town-site company made a careful hydrographic survey of the bay, Bell and Boren paddling the canoe while Denny took the soundings. On the 23d of May, 1853, the town plat was filed for record,[63] Bell keeping his claim separate, from which it was long called Belltown. Being really well situated, and midway between Port Townsend and Olympia, it rewarded its founders by a steady growth and by becoming the county seat of King county. Its population in 1855 was about three hundred.

The embryo city of New York never advanced beyond a chrysalid condition; but after having achieved a steam saw-mill, a public house, and two or three stores, and after having changed its name to Alki, an Indian word signifying in the future, or by and by, which was both name and motto, it gave way to its more fortunate rival. It had a better landing than Seattle at that time, but a harbor that was exposed to the winds, where vessels were sometimes blown ashore, and was otherwise inferior in position.[64] Terry, at the end of two years, removed to Seattle, where he died in 1867.[65] Low went to California and the east, but finally returned to Puget Sound and settled in Seattle.

In the spring of 1853 there arrived from the Willamette, where they had wintered, David Phillips[66]

tions, social parties, and religious services were held under its roof. The first sermon preached in King co. was delivered there by Clark, and the first suit at law, which was the case of the mate of the *Franklin Adams* for selling the ship's stores on his own account, was held here before Justice Maynard, who discharged the accused with an admonition to keep his accounts more correctly thereafter. For all these memories the old building was regretted when in 1865 it was demolished to make room for more elegant structures. *Yesler's Wash. Ter.*, MS., 13. D. S. Smith of Seattle is, though not the first settler at that place, the first of the men who finally settled there to have visited the place, on a whaling-vessel which entered the Sound in 1837. *Seattle Pac. Tribune*, June 24, 1877; *Puget Sound Dispatch*, July 8, 1876.

[63] *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 6.

[64] *Ellicott's Puget Sound*, MS., 19.

[65] Terry had a trading-post at Alki, as well as Low and S. M. Holderness. In 1856 he married Mary J. Russell, daughter of S. W. Russell, of the White River settlement. After her husband's death in 1873, Mrs Terry married W. H. Gilliam, but died in 1875.

[66] Phillips was a native of Penn., but for some years anterior to 1852

and F. Matthias from Pennsylvania, Dexter Horton and Hannah E., his wife, and Thomas Mercer, from Princetown, Illinois,[67] S. W. Russell, T. S. Russell, Hillery Butler, E. M. Smithers, John Thomas, and H. A. Smith. They came by the way of the Cowlitz and Olympia, whence they were carried down the Sound on board the schooner *Sarah Stone*, which landed at Alki, where the six last mentioned remained for the summer, removing to Seattle in the autumn. J. R. Williamson, George Buckley, Charles Kennedy, and G. N. McConaha and family, also arrived about this period, and settled at Seattle. A daughter born to Mrs McConaha in September was the first white native of King county.

There settled in the Dwamish or White River Valley, not far from the spring of 1853, William Ballston, D. A. Neely, J. Buckley, A. Hogine, J. Harvey, William Brown, a Mr. Nelson, and on Lake Washington[68] E. A. Clark.

The pursuits of the first settlers of Seattle and the adjacent country were in no wise different from those of Olympia, Steilacoom, and Port Townsend. Timber was the most available product of this region, and to getting out a cargo the settlers on the Dwamish River first applied themselves. Oxen being scarce in the new settlements previous to the opening of a

resided in Iowa. He went into mercantile business in partnership with Horton, having a branch house in Olympia. They dissolved in 1861, and Phillips took the Olympia business. In 1870 they reunited in a banking establishment in Seattle. In the mean time Phillips was elected to several county offices, and 3 times to a seat in the legislature of Wash. He was at the time of his death, March 1872, president of the pioneer society of W. T. *Olympia Transcript*, March 9, 1872; *Seattle Intelligencer*, March 11, 1872.

[67] Mercer, in *Wash. Ter. Sketches*, MS., 1–3.

[68] At this time the lakes in the vicinity of Seattle were not named. In 1854 the settlers held an informal meeting and decided to call the larger one Washington and the smaller Union, because it united at times the former with the bay. Mercer, in *Wash. Ter. Sketches*, MS., 6. It is not improbable, says Murphy, in *Appleton's Journal*, 11, 1877, that the government will open a canal between lake Washington and the Sound, which could be done for $1,000,000, in order to make the lake a naval station. It is 25 miles long, 3 to 5 miles wide, an altitude above sea-level of 18 feet, sufficient depth to float the heaviest ships, and is surrounded by timber, iron, and coal, which natural advantages it is believed will sooner or later make it of importance to the United States. *Puget Sound Dispatch*, July 8, 1876; *Victor's Or. and Wash.*, 246.

road from Walla Walla over the Cascade Mountains, there was much difficulty in loading vessels, the crew using a block and tackle to draw the timber to the landing.[69]

They cultivated enough land to insure a plentiful food supply, and looked elsewhere for their profits, a policy which the inhabitants of the Puget Sound region continued to pursue for a longer period than wisdom would seem to dictate. Many were engaged in a petty trade, which they preferred to agriculture, and especially the eastern-born men, who were nearly all traders. To this preference, more than to any other cause, should be attributed the insignificant improvements in the country for several years.

About the time that Seattle was founded, B. I. Madison settled at New Dungeness, near the mouth of the Dungeness River. He was a trader in Indian goods and contraband whiskey, and I fear had many imitators. His trade did not prevent him from taking a land-claim. Soon afterward came D. F. Brownfield, who located next to Madison. During the summer, John Thornton, Joseph Leary, George B. Moore, John Donnell, J. C. Brown, and E. H. McAlmond settled in the immediate vicinity of New Dungeness, and engaged in cutting timber to load vessels. They had four yokes of oxen, and were therefore equipped for the business. That season, also, George H. Gerrish located himself near this point, and kept a trading-post for the sale of Indian goods.

In the following spring came the first family, Thomas Abernethey and wife. C. M. Bradshaw[70] and

[69] The first vessel loaded at the head of Elliott Bay was the *Leonesa*, which took a cargo in the winter of 1851–2. I have among my historical correspondence a letter written by Eli B. Maple concerning the first settlement of King county, who says that his brother Samuel helped to load this vessel in Gig Harbor, which he thinks was the first one loaded on the Sound, in which he is mistaken, as I have shown. This member of the Maple family did not arrive until the autumn of 1852, when he joined his father and brother in the Dwamish Valley.

[70] Charles M. Bradshaw was born in Penn., came to Or. with the immigration of 1852, and settled soon afterward near New Dungeness, on Squim's prairie,

several other single men followed, namely, S. S. Irvine, Joseph Leighton, Eliot Cline, John Bell, and E. Price. Irvine and Leighton settled east of New Dungeness on Squim Bay. The second family in the vicinity was that of J. J. Barrow, who first settled on Port Discovery Bay in 1852, but removed after a year or two to Dungeness. Port Discovery had other settlers in 1852–3, namely, James Kaymer, John E. Burns, John F. Tukey, Benjamin Gibbs, Richard Gibbs, James Tucker,[71] Mr Boswell, and Mr Gallagher.

There was also one settler on Protection Island in 1853, James Whitcom, who, however, abandoned his claim after a few months of lonely occupation.[72] Chimacum Valley had also one settler, R. S. Robinson, in 1853.

There was no part of the country on the Sound that settled up so rapidly during the period of which I am speaking as Whidbey Island. This preference was

where he remained until 1867, when he removed to Port Townsend. He studied law, and was admitted to practice in 1864, after which he was several times elected to the legislature, and twice made attorney of the 3d judicial district, as well as member of the constitutional convention in 1878. *Wash. Sketches*, MS., 59.

[71] Tucker was murdered in 1863. It will appear in the course of this history that murders were very frequent. Many of them were committed by the Indians from the northern coast, who came up the strait in their canoes, and cruising about, either attacked isolated settlements at night, or seized and killed white men travelling about the Sound in canoes. The first vessel that came into the harbor of New Dungeness for a cargo was the *John Adams*, in the spring of 1853. Jewell, her master, started with his steward to go to Port Townsend in a small boat, and never was seen again. The Indians admitted that two of their people had murdered the two men, but as it could not be shown that they were dead, the accused were never tried. McAlmond, who was a competent ship-master, sailed the vessel to S. F. An eccentric man, who obtained the soubriquet of Arkansaw Traveller by his peregrinations in the region of Dungeness in 1854, was shot and killed by Indians while alone in his canoe. The crime came to light, and the criminals were tried and sentenced; but one of them died of disease, and the other escaped by an error in the entry of judgment. Bradshaw, in *Wash. Sketches*, MS., 65–6.

[72] Protection Island was so named by Vancouver because it lay in front of and protected Port Discovery from the north-west winds. The first actual or permanent settlers on this island were Winfield Ebey, brother of I. N. Ebey, and George Ebey, his cousin, who took claims there in 1854. *Ebey's Journal*, MS. Whitcom was a native of Ottawa, Canada, who came to Puget Sound in 1852, and first located himself on the Port Gamble side of Foulweather Bluff—also named by Vancouver—in the service of the milling company at that place, putting the first fire under the boilers of Port Gamble mill. He left the Sound in 1854, but returned in 1872.

owing to the fact that the island contained about six thousand acres of excellent prairie land, and that the western men, who located on farms, were accustomed to an open country. No matter how rich the river-bottoms or poor the plains, they chose the plains rather than clear the river-bottoms of the tangled jungles which oppressed them. Whidbey Island possessed, besides its open lands, many charms of scenery and excellences of climate, together with favorable position; and hither came so many of the first agriculturalists that it was the custom to speak of the island as the garden of Puget Sound. Its first permanent settlers were, as I have mentioned, Isaac N. Ebey and R. H. Lansdale.[73]

Lansdale first fixed his choice upon Oak Harbor, but removed to Penn Cove in the spring of 1852. The legislature of 1852–3 organized Island county, and fixed the county seat at Coveland, on Lansdale's claim. He continued to reside there, practising medicine, until he was made Indian agent, in December 1854, when his duties took him east of the Cascade

[73] I. N. Ebey was from Mo., and came to Or. in 1848 just in time to join the first gold-hunters in Cal., where he was moderately successful. His wife, Rebecca Whitby, *née* Davis, came to join her husband, bringing with her their two sons, Eason and Ellison, in 1851, in company with the Crockett family. Mrs Ebey, a beautiful and refined lady, was the first white woman on Whidbey Island. A daughter was born to her there. She died of consumption Sept. 29, 1853, and Ebey married for his second wife Mrs Emily A. Sconce. In 1853 George W. Ebey, a young man and cousin to I. N., immigrated to Puget Sound in company with other cousins named Royal. In 1854 came Jacob Ebey, father of I. N., his mother, whose maiden name was Sarah Blue, born in Va, his brother Winfield Scott Ebey, two sisters, Mrs Mary Wright and Ruth Ebey, two children of Mrs Wright, whose husband was in Cal., and George W. Beam, who afterward married the daughter, later Mrs Almira N. Enos of S. F. Mrs Enos has placed in my hands a series of journals kept by members of her family, covering a period between April 1854 and April 1864, in which year Winfield died of consumption. Jacob Ebey, who died in Feb. 1862, was born in Penn. Oct. 22, 1793. He served in the war of 1812, under Gen. Harrison. He emigrated to Ill. in 1832, and in the Black Hawk war commanded a company in the same battalion with Captain Abraham Lincoln. Subsequently he removed to Adair county, Missouri, whence the family came to Washington. The death of his wife, which occurred in 1859, was hastened by the shocking fate of her son, Isaac N., who was murdered at his own home by the Haidah Indians, in one of their mysterious incursions, in the summer of 1857, concerning which I shall have more to say in another place. George W. Beam died in 1866. This series of deaths makes the history of this pioneer family as remarkable as it is melancholy.

Mountains, where he remained for some years.[74] The other settlers of 1851 were Uric Friend, Martin Taftson, William Wallace and family, James Mounts, Milton Mounts, Robert S. Bailey, Patrick Doyle, and G. W. Sumner. In 1852 came Walter Crockett,[75] with his son John and family, and five other children, Samuel, Hugh, Charles, Susan, and Walter, Jr, Judah Church, John Chondra, Benjamin Welcher, Lewis Welcher, Joseph S. Smith and family, S. D. Howe, G. W. L. Allen, Richard B. Holbrook, born and bred near Plymouth Rock, George Bell, Thomas S. Davis, John Davis, John Alexander and family, Mr Bonswell and family, N. D. Hill,[76] Humphrey Hill, W. B. Engle, Samuel Maylor, Thomas Maylor, Samuel Libbey, Captain Eli Hathaway, and Mr Baltic.

In the spring of 1853 the brig *J. C. Cabot*, Dryden master, brought to the island from Portland John Kellogg, James Busby, Thomas Hastie, Henry Ivens, John Dickenson, all of whom had families, Mrs Rebecca Maddox and five children,[77] Mrs Grove Terry and daughter Chloe, R. L. Doyle, who married Miss Terry, Nelson Basil, and A. Woodard, who subsequently went to Olympia. Others who settled on Whidbey Island in 1853 were Edward Barrington,[78] Robert C. Hill, Charles H. Miller, Nelson Miller, Captain Thomas Coupe, who founded Coupeville, John Kenneth, Isaac Powers, Captain William Rob-

[74] Richard Hyatt Lansdale was born in Md in 1812, but bred in Ohio, and removed to Ind., then to Ill., and finally to Mo. in 1846. In 1849 he came to Or. via Cal., entering the Columbia in Oct. He was first auditor of Clarke co., and first postmaster north of the Columbia. He purchased half of Short's town site at Vancouver, which he lost and abandoned.

[75] Walter Crockett, Sen., died Nov. 25, 1864, aged 83 years. *Seattle Intelligencer*, Dec. 6, 1869.

[76] Nathaniel D. Hill was born in Pa in 1824, and came to Cal. in 1850; was employed in the S. F. custom-house; went to the mines and on a farm in Sonoma Valley, but finally embarked with his brothers for Puget Sound, and settled on Whidbey Island. *Wash. Sketches*, MS., 79–81.

[77] Mrs Maddox married L. M. Ford of Skagit River in November 1855. *Id.*, 41.

[78] Edward Barrington died in Jan. 1883. *Port Townsend Argus*, Jan. 26, 1883. Coupe died in 1877.

ertson,[79] Charles Seybert, Thomas Lyle, all of whom had families, Henry McClurg, Captain B. P. Barstow, Edward Grut, Lawrence Grenman, Marshall Campbell, Jacob S. Hindbaugh, George W. Ebey, and Charles Thompson.

When I have added the names of Samuel Hancock, John Y. Sewell, Thomas Cramey, John M. Izeth, Dana H. Porter,[80] Winfield S. Ebey, and George W. Beam, who settled the following year, I have enumerated most of the men who at any time have long resided upon Whidbey Island, so quickly were its lands taken up, and so constant have been its first settlers.

Settlement was extended in 1852 to Bellingham Bay. William Pattle, while looking for spar timber among the islands of the Fuca sea, landed in this bay, and while encamped upon the beach observed fragments of coal, which led to the discovery of a deposit. Pattle posted the usual notice of a claim, and went away to make arrangements for opening his coal mine. During his absence Henry Roder,[81] who was looking

[79] Robertson was born in Norfolk, Va in 1809. At the age of 27 he began sea-going, and first came to S. F. in command of the bark *Creole*. He was afterward in command of the brig *Tarquina*, which he owned, and which brought him to Puget Sound in 1852. Taking a claim on Whidbey Island, he continued to trade to S. F. until 1855, when he sent his vessel to the S. I. in charge of his first officer, who sold her and pocketed the proceeds. Robertson lost $30,000 by this transaction, but had a competency remaining. He was first keeper of the light erected in 1860 on Admiralty Head, on the west coast of the island. *Id.*, 30–1.

[80] Porter was inspector of spars at Port Ludlow some years later. He died in March 1880.

[81] Roder was a native of Ohio, and came to Cal. in 1850. His partner, R. V. Peabody, and himself had the usual adventures in the mines, narrowly escaping death at the hands of the famous Joaquin Murieta. After spending two years in mining and trading, Roder and Peabody went to Or. City to engage in salmon-fishing, but were diverted from their purpose by the high price of lumber consequent upon the great fire in S. F., and determined to build a saw-mill. Visiting Puget Sound with this object in view, they were led by information obtained at Port Townsend to erect their mill at Bellingham Bay, on a stream which dried up as soon as the winter rains were over, a misfortune which, added to a fall in the price of lumber, nearly ruined Roder and Peabody. These facts, with a general account of the history of the lower sound and Bellingham Bay, are obtained from *Roder's Bellingham Bay*, MS., an excellent authority, and also from a well-written autograph *Sketch* by Edward Eldridge, who settled at the same time with Roder. Roder,

for a place to establish a saw-mill, arrived from San Francisco on the schooner *William Allen*, with R. V. Peabody, Edward Eldridge,[82] H. C. Page, and William Utter, Henry Hewitt and William Brown. Roder, Peabody, and a millwright named Brown, whom they found at Olympia, formed the Whatcom Milling Company, taking the Indian name of the place where their mill was situated as a designation. Hewitt and William Brown, who were engaged in getting out logs for the mill, in the summer of 1853, discovered coal on the land adjoining Pattle's claim, and sold their discovery for $18,000, Roder and Peabody having just abandoned this claim for one more heavily timbered.[83] About the same time came L. N. Collins, Alexander McLean, Mr Roberts, and Mr Lyle, with their families, which completes the catalogue of American settlers in this region in 1853.

In the autumn of 1852, on account of devastating fires in California, and the great immigration of that year to Oregon, a milling fever possessed men of a speculative turn, and led to the erection of several saw-mills besides those at Seattle and Bellingham Bay. In March 1853 the Port Ludlow mill was erected by W. T. Sayward[84] on a claim taken up by J. K. Thorndike the previous year. It was followed the same season by the Port Gamble mill at the

Eldridge, and Peabody still reside at Whatcom on Bellingham Bay. Roder married Elizabeth Austin of Ohio.

[82] Eldridge was a sea-faring man, and shipped at N. Y. for S. F., where he arrived in 1849, and went to the mines. Not making the expected fortune, he joined the P. M. Steamship *Tennessee* in 1850, but married and returned to mining, which he followed for a year, when on going to S. F. to take passage to Australia he met Roder, a former acquaintance, and was persuaded to accompany him to Puget Sound. Mrs Eldridge was the first white woman in the Bellingham Bay settlement. Eldridge has occupied some official positions, and was a member of the constitutional convention of 1878.

[83] In a chapter on minerals, I shall give this history more particularly.

[84] Sayward was a native of Maine. He came to Cal. via Mexico, arriving in the spring of 1849. The narrative of his business experience in 1849–51 forms a story of unusual interest, which is contained in a manuscript by himself called *Pioneer Remeniscences*, very little of which, however, relates to Washington. The mill which he built was leased in 1858 to Amos Phinney & Co., who subsequently purchased it. See also *Sylvester's Olympia*, MS., 21, and *Wash. Sketches*, MS., 42.

entrance to Hood Canal, erected by the Puget Mill Company, the site being selected by A. J. Talbot. Almost simultaneously Port Madison and Port Blakely were taken up for mill sites, and somewhat earlier C. C. Terry and William H. Renton erected a mill at Alki, which was removed two or three years later to Port Orchard.[85]

From 1847 to 1853 there had been a steady if slow march of improvement in that portion of the territory adjacent to the Columbia and Cowlitz rivers and the Pacific ocean. A few families had settled on Lewis River, among whom was Columbia Lancaster, whom Governor Abernethy had appointed supreme judge of Oregon in 1847, vice Thornton, resigned, but who removed from Oregon City to the north side of the Columbia in 1849. In the extreme south-west corner of what is now Pacific county were settled in 1848 John Edmunds, an American, James Scarborough, an Englishman, John E. Pinknell, and a Captain Johnson; nor does it appear that there were any other residents before the returning gold-miners—being detained now and then at Baker Bay, or coming by mistake into Shoalwater Bay—discovered the advantages which these places offered for business. William McCarty had a fishery and a good zinc house at Chinook in 1852; and Washington Hall was postmaster at that place in the same year, and it is probable they settled there somewhat earlier. In 1850, the fame of these places having begun to spread, Elijah White, who had returned to the Pacific coast, essayed to build upon Baker Bay a town which he named Pacific City, but which enjoyed an existence[86] of only a year or two.

[85] *Yesler's Wash. Ter.*, MS., 4–5. Port Orchard was named after an officer of Vancouver's ship *Discovery*, May 24, 1792. See also *Ellicott's Puget Sound*, MS., 24.

[86] Lawson, in his *Autobiography*, MS., 35, gives some account of this enterprise. He says that White was the originator of it. 'I do not know,' he observes, 'whether he made any money out of the scheme, but he did succeed in making a number of dupes, among whom was James D. Holman.'

That great expectations did attach to Pacific City was made apparent by a petition signed by A. A. Skinner and 250 others to have it made a port of entry and delivery.[87]

About the same time that Pacific City was at its best, Charles J. W. Russell, who was engaged in trade there, settled on Shoalwater Bay, and turned his attention to taking oysters, with which the bay was found to be inhabited. In 1851 Russell introduced Shoalwater Bay oysters into the San Francisco market, carrying them down by the mail-steamer. In the autumn Captain Fieldstead took a load of oysters to San Francisco, which arrived in a damaged condition. Anthony Ludlum then fitted out the schooner *Sea Serpent* for Shoalwater Bay, which succeeded in saving a cargo, and a company was formed to carry on a trade in oysters, composed of Alexander Hanson, George G. Bartlett, Garrett Tyron, Mark Winant, John Morgan, and Frank Garretson, who purchased the schooner *Robert Bruce*, after which the town of Bruceport was named,[88] and entered into the business of supplying the California market. In the autumn of 1852, besides the above-named persons, there were at Shoalwater Bay Thomas Foster, Richard Hillyer, John W. Champ, Samuel Sweeny, Stephen Marshall,

Holman had expended $28,000 in erecting and furnishing a hotel. White represented that there might be found at Pacific City a park filled with deer, school-houses, handsome residences, and other attractions. A newspaper was to be started there by a Mr Shephard; a Mr Hopkins was engaged to teach in the imaginary school-house, and others victimized in a similar manner. Holman, who was the most severe sufferer, vacated the hotel and took a claim in the neighborhood, which the government subsequently reserved for military purposes. Twenty-nine years afterward Holman received $25,000 for his claim, and had land enough left to lay out a sea-side resort, which he called Ilwaco. *Sac. Transcript*, June 29, 1850; *Or. Spectator*, Aug. 22, 1850; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, xx. 604. Holman was born in Ky in 1814, bred in Tenn., and came to Or. in 1846. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 88–9.

[87] *Or. Statesman*, April 4, 1850; *S. F. Pacific News*, Aug. 1, 1850; *S. F. Courier*, Sept. 21 and Oct. 2, 1850.

[88] I take this account from an article published in the *S. F. Bulletin*, where it is said the schooner was burned while lying at her landing, and the company forced to go ashore, where they encamped on the south side of North Bay, and from being known as the Bruce company, gave that name to the place as it grew up. *Evans' Hist. Mem.*, 21; *Pac. R. R. Reports*, i. 465.

Charles W. Deuter, Richard J. Milward, A. E. St John, Walter Lynde, and James G. Swan.[89]

A transient company of five men were at the same time engaged in cutting a cargo of piles for San Francisco, and during the autumn Joel L. Brown, Samuel Woodward, J. Henry Whitcomb, Charles Stuart, Joel and Mark Bullard, and Captain Jackson, of the immigration of that year, settled on the bay. Brown's party cut a wagon-road across the portage between Baker and Shoalwater bays. Brown intended erecting a trading-house and laying out a town, but died before he had fairly got to work,[90] at his house on the Palux River. Later in the same season Charles Stuart took a claim on the Willopah River; and David K. Weldon and family from San Francisco—Mrs Weldon being the first white woman in this settlement—built a residence and trading-house at the mouth of the Necomanche or North River, besides

[89] Author of *The North-west Coast*, or *Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory*, which, besides being an entertaining narrative, is a valuable authority on Indian customs and ethnology. Swan was born in Medford, Mass., Jan. 11, 1818; a son of Samuel Swan, an East Indian trader, who was lost on Minot's ledge, Cohasset, Mass., in 1823, while on his homeward voyage from the west African coast with a cargo of palm-oil, ivory, and gold-dust, in the brig *Hope Still* of Boston. His maternal uncle, William Tufts, was supercargo for Theodore Lyman of Boston, in the ship *Guatimozin*, in 1806, and was wrecked on Seven Mile beach, New Jersey, on his return, Feb. 3, 1810. Stories of the Nootka, Neah Bay, and Chinook chiefs were familiar to him in his childhood, and his interest in the aboriginal inhabitants was greater than that of a casual observer, as his remarks are more happily descriptive or scientific. He left Boston in the winter of 1849, in the ship *Rob Roy*, Thomas Holt, arriving in S. F. in the spring of 1850, where he bought an interest in the steamboat *Tehama*, running to Marysville, acting as purser of the boat. He was concerned in other enterprises with Farwell and Curtis, until becoming acquainted with C. J. W. Russell, who invited him to make a visit to Shoalwater Bay, he determined to remain, and take a claim at the mouth of the Querquelin Creek, where he resided until 1856, when he went east and published his book, returning in 1859 to Port Townsend. In 1862 he was appointed teacher to the Makah Indians at Neah Bay, and filled that position for four years, when he again went east and published a second book on the Makah Indians, with a treatise on their language, which was issued as authoritative by the Smithsonian Institution in 1869, as was also another paper on the Haidah Indians of Queen Charlotte Island. In 1875 Swan was appointed commissioner to collect articles of Indian manufacture for the national museum, which were exhibited at the great exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia, besides having occupied many public places of more honor than profit. He was later a practising lawyer of Port Townsend. These facts, with much more for which I have not space, I find in his autograph *Sketches of Washington Territory*, MS., in my collection.

[90] *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 64.

which he erected, in company with George Watkins, the first saw-mill in this part of the territory in 1852–3. Woodward settled on the Willopah River, ten miles from its mouth, being the first to locate on that stream.[91] Whitcom was the second,[92] followed by William Cushing, Gardiner Crocker, Soule, Christian, and Geisy.

On the Boisfort prairie, previously settled by Pierre Chelle, a Canadian half-breed, C. F. White was the first American settler in 1852.[93] From 1851 to 1853 near Claquato settled H. N. Stearns, H. Buchanan, Albert Purcell, A. F. Tullis, L. A. Davis, Cyrus White, and Simeon Bush.

In the winter of 1850–1 John Butler Chapman, from the south side of the Columbia, made a settlement on Gray Harbor, and laid out the town of Chehalis City. But the undertaking languished, getting no further than the erection of one house, when Chapman, finding himself too remote from affairs in which he was interested, removed to the Sound, and with his son, John M. Chapman, took a claim adjoining Balch at Steilacoom, and competed with him for the distinction of founding a city at this point, his claim finally relapsing to the condition of a farm. In 1852 J. L. Scammon, from Maine by way of California, settled several miles up the Chehalis from Gray Harbor, where Montesano later was placed, with four others

[91] *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 74; *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 65.

[92] J. H. Whitcom was born in Vt in 1824, removed to Ohio at the age of 13 years, married in that state, and went to Ill. in 1845, whence he came to Or. in 1847, and to Shoalwater Bay in 1852. Morse, who has expended much labor in searching out pioneer families, says that in 1854 S. P. Soule, S. A. Soule, E. Soule, Charles Soule, Christian, and Geisy settled in the vicinity of Shoalwater Bay. The Geisy families, of which there were two, were members of the communistic association of Pennsylvania farmers, who had emigrated to Wisconsin; but being dissatisfied, had sent this Geisy as agent to look out lands in Or. or Wash. He selected land on the Boisfort prairie, near Bullard, Crocker, and Woodward, and soon after brought out 40 families. The Geisy families, however, having met with several losses by death from accident and natural causes, and being unable to gain control of Woodward's landing on the river, which they desired for their community purposes, became discouraged and left the country.

[93] *North Pacific Coast*, Jan. 15, 1880.

who did not remain. In the two succeeding years the lesser Chehalis Valley was settled up rapidly, connecting with the settlements on the upper Chehalis made at an earlier period by H. N. Stearns, H. Buchanan, Albert Purcell, A. F. Tullis, and L. A. Davis; and the Cowlitz Valley, which was also being settled, but more slowly.

Jonathan Burbee, who removed to the mouth of the Cowlitz in 1848, was drowned on the Columbia bar in the winter of 1851–2, when a schooner which he had loaded with potatoes for California[94] was lost; but his family remained. Next after him came, in 1849, H. D. Huntington, Nathaniel Stone, Seth Catlin, David Stone, James Redpath, James Porter, and R. C. Smith, the three first named having large families, now well-known in Oregon and Washington. Their claims extended from near the mouth of the Cowlitz on the west side for a distance of two or three miles.

The next settlement was at Cowlitz landing, made by E. D. Warbass,[95] in July 1850, when Warbassport was founded by laying off a town and opening a trading-house. About the same time a settlement was made on the north side of the Columbia at the lower cascades, by George Drew, who had a town surveyed called Cascade, where a trading-house was established by George L. and George W. Johnson, F. A. Chenoweth and T. B. Pierce. Contemporaneously, at the upper cascades, Daniel F. and Putnam Bradford, B. B. Bishop, Lawrence W. Coe, and others had settled,

[94] Swan says that Captain Johnson, John Dawson, and another man were drowned together while crossing the Columbia in a boat; that before this, McCarty was drowned while crossing the Wallacut River, returning from a visit to Johnson, and that Scarborough died before Johnson at his home. This was all previous to 1854.

[95] Warbass was born in N. J. in 1825, came to Cal. in 1849, where he was an auctioneer at Sac., but his health failing there, he visited Or., and ended by settling on the Cowlitz, though he explored the Snohomish and Snoqualimich rivers in 1851, and in 1853 assisted Howard to explore for coal. He was postmaster under postal agent Coe in that year, and continued to reside on the Cowlitz until 1855, when he volunteered as captain of a company to fight the Indians. He became a post sutler afterward at Bellingham Bay and San Juan Island, where he then resided, and was county auditor and member of the legislature from San Juan county. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 54; *Alta California*, Nov. 2, 1852.

and the Bradfords had also established a place of trade.[96]

These were the people, together with some who have yet to be mentioned, and others who may never be mentioned, who had spread themselves over the western portion of Washington previous to its organization as a territory, concerning which I shall speak presently.[97]

[96] *Or. Spectator*, Aug. 28, 1850; *Coke's Ride*, 319.

[97] I have gathered the following names of the pioneers of 1852 not mentioned in the foregoing pages: Rev. Daniel Bagley, Rev. D. R. McMillan, R. M. Hathaway, Smith Hays, Logan Hays, Gilmore Hays, Stephen Hodgdon, Samuel Holmes, John Harvey, Richard B. Holbrook (married Mrs Sylvester, *née* Lowe, of Maine), John Hogue, Levi L. Gates, Charles Graham, William H. Gillan and family, Daniel B. Fales, wife and children, Felt, Cortland Etheridge, W. B. Engle, Shirley Ensign, Joel Clayton, Joseph Cushman, Levi Douthitt, Frank P. Dugan, Gideon Bromfield, George A. Barnes and wife, Anna, Thomas Briggs, J. C. Brown, John Buckley, James Allen, G. W. L. Allen, W. B. D. Newman, William Jarmin, Daniel Kaiser, A. W. Moore, John W. McAllister, Caleb Miller, Thomas Monroe, Stephen P. McDonald, Joseph Mace, William Metcalfe, Samuel McCaw, F. McNatt, Abner Martin, Asa W. Pierce, F. K. Perkins, James Riley, B. Ross and family, Daniel Stewart, Samuel D. Smith, David Shelton and wife, Christina, M. C. Simmons, James Taylor, Thomas Tallentire and family, Amos F. Tullis, J. K. Thorndyke, William Turnbull, J. S. Turner, John Vail, Charles Vail, D. K. Welden, H. R. Woodward, G. K. Willard, Benjamin Welcher, Lewis Welcher, William C. Webster and family, Samuel Woodward, John Walker, James R. Watson, B. F. Yantis, Judah Church, from Pontiac, Michigan, died in 1853, aged 60 years. William Rutledge, who settled on Black River, near Lake Washington, was also an immigrant of 1852. He died June 1, 1872, aged 78 years.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICS AND DEVELOPMENT.

1845–1853.

PUBLIC MEETINGS—SETTLERS VERSUS THE PUGET SOUND ACRICULTURAL COMPANY—REPRESENTATION IN THE OREGON LEGISLATURE—MOVEMENTS TOWARD THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEW TERRITORY OF COLUMBIA—MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS—IF NOT A TERRITORY, THEN A STATE—QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLAND EXPEDITION—THE OREGON LEGISLATURE PETITION CONGRESS FOR A DIVISION OF TERRITORY—CONGRESS GRANTS THE PETITON—BUT INSTEAD OF COLUMBIA, THE NEW TERRITORY IS CALLED WASHINGTON—OFFICERS APPOINTED—ROADS CONSTRUCTED—IMMIGRATION.

IN the previous chapter I have made the reader acquainted with the earliest American residents of the territory north of the Columbia, and the methods by which they secured themselves homes and laid the foundations of fortunes by courage, hardihood, foresight, by making shingles, bricks, and cradling-machines, by building mills, loading vessels with timber, laying out towns, establishing fisheries, exploring for coal, and mining for gold. But these were private enterprises concerning only individuals, or small groups of men at most, and I come now to consider them as a body politic, with relations to the government of Oregon and to the general government.

The first public meeting recorded concerned claim-jumping, against which it was a protest, and was held in Lewis county, which then comprised all of the territory north of the Columbia and west of the Cascade Mountains not contained in Clarke county, and probably at the house of John R. Jackson, June 11, 1847. The second was held at Tumwater November 5, 1848,

and was called to express the sentiments of the American settlers concerning the threatened encroachments of the Puget Sound Agricultural Association. "This fall," says an old settler, "the company conceived the design of making claim under the treaty for the immense tract called the Nisqually claim, lying south of the Nisqually River, and with that view drove a large herd of cattle across the river." The American residents, in a convention called to order by M. T. Simmons and presided over by William Packwood, passed a series of resolutions, a copy of which was presented to W. F. Tolmie, the agent in charge of Fort Nisqually, by I. N. Ebey who had just arrived in the country, and Rabbeson, with the declaration that the Americans demanded the withdrawal of the Hudson's Bay Company's herds to the north side of the Nisqually within one week from the day the notice was received.

The preamble set forth that the herds of the company would soon consume all the vegetation of the country ranged by them, to the detriment of the settlers on the south or west side of the river; and that, as these cattle were wild, if suffered to mix with domesticated cattle they would greatly demoralize them. It was thereupon resolved that the Hudson's Bay Company had placed obstacles in the way of the Americans who first designed settling on Puget Sound—referring to the Simmons colony—using misrepresentation and fraud to prevent them, and even threatening force; that they held the conduct of Tolmie censurable in endeavoring to prevent settlement by Americans on certain lands which he pretended were reserved by the terms of the treaty of 1846, although he knew they were not; that this assumption of right was only equalled by the baseness of the subterfuge by which the company was attempting to hold other large tracts by an apparent compliance with the organic land law of the territory—that is, by taking claims in the names of servants of the company who

did not even know where to find the lands located in their names, but who were compelled to agree to convey these lands to the company when their title should have been completed.

They declared that they as American citizens had a regard for treaty stipulations and national honor, and were jealous of any infringement of the laws of the country by persons who had no interest in the glory or prosperity of the government, but were foreign-born and owed allegiance alone to Great Britain. They warned the company that it had never been the policy of the United States to grant pre-emption rights to other than American citizens, or those who had declared their intention to become such in a legal form, and that such would without doubt be the conditions of land grants in the expected donation law.

They declared they viewed the claims and improvements made subsequent to the treaty by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company as giving them no rights; and as to their previous rights, they were only possessory, and the United States had never parted with the actual title to the lands occupied, but that any American citizen might appropriate the land to himself, with the improvements, and that the claims held by the servants of the company would not be respected unless the nominal settlers became settlers in fact and American citizens.[1]

Within the week allowed the company to withdraw their cattle from the Nisqually plains they had withdrawn them, and there was no trouble from that source. The threat implied in the resolutions, to sustain any American citizen in appropriating the lands claimed by the company and not by individuals who had renounced allegiance to Great Britain, together with the improvements, was carried out to the letter during the

[1] *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 11, 1849. I. N. Ebey is said by Rabbeson to have draughted the resolutions, though Rabbeson was chairman of the committee, and S. B. Crockett the third member. He knew of the long feud between certain of his countrymen and the Hudson's Bay Company, and without knowing the merits of the case on either side, was prepared in any event to be strongly American.

following twelve years, their lands being covered with squatters, and the products of the Cowlitz farm taken away without leave or compensation,[2] not by the men who composed this meeting, but by others who adopted these views of the company's rights.

The land laid claim to by the agricultural company, in their memorial to the joint commission provided for by the convention between the United States and Great Britain March 5, 1864, was "the tract of

[2] George B. Roberts, in his *Recollections*, MS., 89, 91, 94, speaks very feelingly of what he was compelled to suffer from 1846 to 1871, by reason of his membership and agency of the company at the Cowlitz farm. 'The fortunes of the company were upon the fast ebb,' he says, 'and rather than go north, or elsewhere, I thought I had better settle as a farmer on the Newaukum. I made out very poorly as a settler, and when Stevens' war broke out, I left my family and went for a short time as mail-guard, but was soon employed as a clerk to Gen. Miller, quartermaster-general of volunteers...In the Fraser River excitement of 1858, I went to Victoria and arranged with Tolmie, then agent of the P. S. A. A., to carry on the Cowlitz farm on a small scale for my own benefit; but I was to keep the buildings in repair and the farm at its then size until some action was had with the government. I took possession unopposed, and all went well until my hay was put up in cocks, when here came a lot of fellows, armed with rifles, and carried it all off. One of these squatters was the justice; so my lawyer, Elwood Evans, recommended changing the venue. The jury decided that they knew nothing of treaties, and of course I had all the expense to bear. The company said the crops were mine, and they would have nothing to do with it. Then followed the burning of a large barn, etc., poor Kendall's letter and murder, then injunction and dissolution, the loss of papers by the judge when the time of trial came, so as not to pronounce, and so this matter went from 1859 to 1871...The judge was a federal appointee, and in theory independent, but liable to be unseated at any time and returned to the people whom he had offended...I could not with any grace relinquish the property entrusted to my care, to say nothing of the squatters rendering me too poor to leave. Whether the company from any sinister motives helped these troubles I know not. I leave to your imagination the state I was kept in, and my family; sometimes my windows at night were riddled with shot, my fences set open, and in dry weather set on fire. It was an immense effort to unseat me, and cheat the government of these lands, and all the clamor against the P. S. A. A. was for nothing else... The P. S. A. A. one year paid Pierce county $7,000 in taxes, but it is likely the company was astute enough to do so with the view of the record showing the value of their property at that time. In 1870 or 1871 Salucius Garfielde succeeded in getting donation claims for the "hardy pioneers." Well, I always thought a pioneer was a person who hewed out a farm, not one who violently took possession of a beautiful property that had been carefully, not to say scientifically, farmed for over thirty years.' This shows to what acts the sentiment adopted by the early settlers toward the Puget Sound Company influenced rude and unscrupulous or ignorant and prejudiced men; and also the injustice inflicted upon individuals by the carrying-out of their views. For the previous biography of G. B. Roberts, see *Hist. Or.*, i. 38–9, this series. He finally settled at Cathlamet, where he kept a store, and held the offices of probate judge, treasurer, and deputy auditor of Wahkiakum county. He died in the spring of 1883, and his wife, Rose Birnie, a year or two earlier. See note on p. 111 of vol ii., *Hist. Or.*

land at Nisqually, extending along the shores of Puget Sound from the Nisqually River on one side to the Puyallup River on the other, and back to the Cascade Range, containing not less than 261 square miles, or 167,040 acres," with "the land and farm at the Cowlitz consisting of 3,572 acres, more or less,"[3] which they proposed to sell back to the United States together with the Hudson's Bay Company's lands, and the improvements and live-stock of both companies, for the sum of five million dollars. They received for such claims as were allowed $750,000. That the sum paid for the blunder of the government in agreeing to confirm to these companies their claims without any definite boundary was no greater, was owing to the persistent effort of the settlers of Washington to diminish their possessions.[4] Another specimen of the temper of the early settlers was shown when the president and senate of the United States sent them a federal judge in the person of William Strong. They refused, as jurors, to be bidden by him, "in the manner of slave-driving," to repair to the house of John R. Jackson to hold court, when the county commissioners had fixed the county seat at Sidney S. Ford's claim on the Chehalis, at which place they held an indignation meeting in October 1851, M. T. Simmons in the chair.[5]

When the Hudson's Bay Company in 1845 made a compact with the provisional government of Oregon to give it their support on certain conditions, there existed no county organization north of the Columbia River, except as the counties or districts of Tualatin and Clackamas extended northward to the boundary of the Oregon territory, declared by the legislature

[3] *New Tacoma North Pacific Coast*, June 15, 1880, 180.

[4] At a meeting held at Steilacoom in May 1851, it is stated that Tolmie as the company's agent had diminished their claim to 144 square miles, after the passage of the land law, but that he was using every means to drive settlers off that tract, with what success I need not say. *Or. Spectator*, June 5, 1851.

[5] See *Hist. Or.*, ii. 162, this series.

of 1844 to be at the parallel of 54° 40′, when, as no American citizens resided north of the Columbia at that time, no administration of colonial law had ever been necessary; but on the compact going into effect, and Americans settling in the region of Puget Sound, the district of Vancouver was created north of the Columbia, and officers appointed as follows: James Douglas, M. T. Simmons, and Charles Forrest district judges, and John R. Jackson sheriff.[6]

On the 19th of December 1845 the county of Lewis was created "out of all that territory lying north of the Columbia River and west of the Cowlitz, up to 54° and 40′ north latitude," and was entitled to elect the same officers as other counties, except that the sheriff of Vancouver county was required to assess and collect the revenue for both districts for the year 1846. No county officers were appointed, but the choice of judges and a representative was left to the people at the annual election in 1846, when W. F. Tolmie was chosen to represent in the legislature Lewis county, and Henry N. Peers[7] Vancouver county, while the privilege[8] of electing judges was not regarded.

Dugald McTavish, Richard Covington, and Richard Lane, all Hudson's Bay Company men, were appointed judges of Vancouver district to fill vacancies, but no appointments were made in Lewis county. At the session of 1846 a change was made, requiring the people to elect their county judges or justices of the peace for the term of two years, at the annual election. Under this law, in 1847 Vancouver county

[6] The legislature of August 1845 established a bench of county judges to hold office one, two, and three years, and the same body in the following December made the three years' judge president of the district court of his district. *Or. Laws*, 1843–9, 32–3. Douglas was president of the district court of Vancouver; Simmons held office two years and Forrest one year.

[7] Peers was a talented young man of the H. B. Co., a good versifier, and fair legislator.

[8] This was simply a privilege granted by resolution of the legislature of 1845, these officers being appointed by that body, and vacancies filled by the governor until December 1846, when an act was passed providing for the election of judges and other county officers. *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 21, 1847.

elected Richard Lane, R. R. Thompson, and John White, one man of the fur company and two Americans, justices of the peace, and Henry N. Peers representative; while Lewis county elected Jacob Wooley, S. B. Crockett, and John R. Jackson justices,[9] and Simon Plomondon, Canadian, for representative. Vancouver county elected William Bryan sheriff and assessor, Adolphus Lee Lewis treasurer, and R. Covington county clerk; Lewis county elected M. Brock assessor, James Birnie treasurer, and Alonzo M. Poe sheriff.[10] The vote of Lewis county at this election gave Abernethy the majority for governor, which he did not have south of the Columbia.

In 1848 Lewis county was not represented, the member elect, Levi Lathrop Smith, whose biography I give elsewhere, having been drowned; Vancouver county was represented by A. Lee Lewis. Little legislation of any kind was effected, on account of the absence of so large a part of the population in California. For the same reason, the only general newspaper in the territory, the *Oregon Spectator*, was suspended during several months of 1849, covering the important period of the erection of a territorial government under the laws of the United States by Joseph Lane, appointed governor of Oregon by President Polk, and on its resuming publication it gave but briefly election and legislative news. From this meagre statement, it appears, however, that the apportionment of representatives under the new order of things allowed one joint member for each branch of the legislature for Lewis, Vancouver, and Clatsop counties, Samuel T. McKean of the latter in the council, and M. T. Simmons of Lewis in the lower house.[11] The territory having been laid off into

[9] Simmons must have acted as judge of Lewis county previous to this, though appointed for Vancouver, for the marriage of Daniel D. Kinsey and Ruth Brock was solemnized in July 1847 by 'Judge' Simmons. *Evans' Hist. Notes*, 9.

[10] *Or. Spectator*, July 22, 1847.

[11] *Id.*, Oct. 18, 1849.

three judicial districts, Lewis county being in the third, the first territorial legislature passed an act attaching it to the first district, in order that the judge of that district, Bryant, the other judges being absent, might repair to Steilacoom and try the Snoqualimich who had shot two Americans at Nisqually in the March previous, which was done, as I have fully related elsewhere;[12] this being the first court of which there is any record in Lewis county, and the first United States court north of the Columbia.

The member from the north side of the Columbia was absent from the long term held after the adjournment in July; and as McKean was more interested in Clatsop than Lewis or Vancouver, the settlers of the latter counties felt themselves but poorly represented, the most important act concerning their division of the territory being the change of name of Vancouver to Clarke county.[13] In the following year they were in no better case, although they elected for the first time a full set of county officers. McKean was still their councilman, and another member from Clatsop their assemblyman, Truman P. Powers, a good and true man, but knowing nothing about the wants of any but his own immediate locality. However, by dint of lobbying, a new county was created at this session out of the strip of country bordering on Shoalwater Bay and the estuary of the Columbia; and in 1851 the three counties north of the river were able to elect a councilman, Columbia Lancaster, and a representative, D. F. Brownfield, in whom they put their trust as Americans. Alas, for human expectations! Both of these men, instead of attending to the needs of their constituents, entered into a squabble over the location of the seat of government, and with idiotic obstinacy remained staring at empty benches in Oregon City with three other dunces for two weeks, when they returned to their homes.

[12] *Hist. Or.*, ii. 79–80, this series.
[13] *Or. Jour. Council*, 1849, 69.

Now, the people south of the Columbia, whose representatives were ever on the alert to secure some benefits to their own districts, were not to be blamed for the state of affairs I have indicated in the remote region of Puget Sound, or for not embodying in their frequent memorials to congress the wants and wishes, never properly expressed in the legislative assembly. But with that ready jealousy the people ever feel of the strong, they held the territorial legislature guilty of asking everything for the Willamette Valley and nothing for Puget Sound. This feeling prepared their minds for the development of a scheme for a new territory, which was first voiced by J. B. Chapman, a lawyer, the founder of Chehalis City,[14] a trading politician and promoter of factions. He had lived in Oregon City or Portland, but conceived the idea of enlarging his field of operations, and in the winter of 1850–1 explored north of the Columbia for a proper field. On the 17th of February, 1851, he wrote to A. A. Durham of Oswego, on the Willamette, that he found "the fairest and best portion of Oregon north of the Columbia," and that no doubt it must and would be a separate territory and state from that of the south. "The north," he said, "must be Columbia Territory and the south the State of Oregon. How poetical!—from Maine to Columbia; and how meaning of space!"[15] The letter was signed 'Carman and Chapman,' but no one ever heard of Carman, and Evans, who made special inquiry, thinks he was a myth.

Chehalis City being too remote, and wanting in population for the centre of Chapman's designs, he removed soon after to the Sound, where he attempted to establish Steilacoom City, adjoining the Port Steilacoom of Balch, but failed to secure his object of sup-

[14] J. B. Chapman also located a paper town on the upper Chehalis, which he called Charleston, but which never had a real existence. *Evans' Division of the Territory*, i., being a collection of printed matter on the subject, with notes by Elwood Evans.

[15] *Or. Spectator*, April 10, 1851; *Olympia Standard*, April 28, 1868; *Evans' Division of Territory*.

planting the latter. In politics he was more successful, because he contrived to assume the distinction of originating the idea which he had only borrowed from those who were nursing their wrath over wrongs, and of anticipating a contemplated movement by getting it into print over his signature.

The first real movement made in the direction of a new territory was on the 4th of July, 1851, when the Americans about the head of the Sound met at Olympia to celebrate the nation's birthday. Chapman, being, as he asserts, the only lawyer among them, was chosen orator of the occasion, and in his speech referred to "the future state of Columbia" with an enthusiasm which delighted his hearers. After the ceremonies of the day were over, a meeting was held for the purpose of organizing for the effort to procure a separate government for the country north of the Columbia, Clanrick Crosby, the purchaser of the Tumwater property of M. T. Simmons, being chairman of the meeting, and A. M. Poe secretary. The meeting was addressed by I. N. Ebey, J. B. Chapman, C. Crosby, and H. A. Goldsborough.[16] A committee on resolutions was appointed, consisting of Ebey, Goldsborough, Wilson, Chapman, Simmons, Chambers, and Crockett. The committee recommended a convention of representatives from all the election precincts north of the Columbia, to be held at Cowlitz landing on the 29th of August, the object of which was to "take into careful consideration the present peculiar position of the northern portion of the territory, its wants, the best method of supplying those wants, and the propriety of an early appeal to congress for a division of the territory."

[16] H. A. Goldsborough was a brother of Louis M. Goldsborough, commander of the *Massachusetts*, which was in the Sound in the spring of 1850, making an examination of the shores with reference to military and naval reservations, and the security of commerce. H. A. Goldsborough remained at Olympia when the *Massachusetts* left in July, and became a resident of the territory. He devoted much time to exploring for minerals, and discovered coal on the Stilaguamish River as early as the autumn of 1850. *Or. Spectator*, Nov. 14, 1850. He was the first collector of internal revenue in Wash.

To this motion the settlers on the Cowlitz made a quick response, holding a meeting on the 7th of July at the house of John R. Jackson, who was chairman, and E. D. Warbass secretary. At this meeting Chapman was present, and with Warbass and S. S. Ford reported resolutions favoring the object of the proposed convention. The committee of arrangements consisted of George Drew, W. L. Frazer, and E. D. Warbass, and the corresponding committee of J. B. Chapman and George B. Roberts.

When the convention assembled on the day appointed there were present twenty-six delegates.[17] The business the convention accomplished was the memorializing of congress on the subject of division, the instruction of the Oregon delegate in conformity with this memorial, the petitioning of congress for a territorial road from some point on Puget Sound to Walla Walla, and a plank road from the Sound to the mouth of the Cowlitz, with suitable appropriations. It also asked that the benefits of the donation land law should be extended to the new territory in case their prayer for division should be granted. It defined the limits of twelve counties, substantially in the form in which they were established by the Oregon legislature; and having made so good a beginning, adjourned on the second day to the 3d of May following, to await the action of congress in the interim,[18] when, if their prayer should have been refused, they were to proceed to form a state constitution and ask

[17] From Monticello, near the mouth of the Cowlitz, Seth Catlin, Jonathan Burbee, Robert Huntress; from Cowlitz landing, E. D. Warbass, John R. Jackson, W. L. Frazer, Simon Plomondon; from Newaukum, S. S. Saunders, A. B. Dillenbaugh, Marcel Birnie, Sidney S. Ford, James Cochran, Joseph Borst; from Tumwater, M. T. Simmons, Clanrick Crosby, Joseph Broshears, A. J. Simmons; from Olympia, A. M. Poe, D. S. Maynard, D. F. Brownfield; from Steilacoom, T. M. Chambers, John Bradley, J. B. Chapman, H. C. Wilson, John Edgar, and F. S. Balch. *Or. Statesman*, Sept. 23, 1851.

[18] The memorial was prepared by Chapman, Balch, and M. T. Simmons. The other committees were as follows: Territorial Government, Chapman, Jackson, Simmons, Huntress, and Chambers; Districts and Counties, Brownfield, Wilson, Crosby, Jackson, Burbee, Plomondon, Edgar, and Warbass; Rights and Privileges of Citizens, Huntress, Maynard, and Chapman; Internal Improvements, M. T. Simmons, Burbee, and Borst; Ways and Means, Frazer, A. J. Simmons, and Bradley.

admission into the union! Such was the expression of the representatives[19] of Lewis county—for every precinct represented was in the county of Lewis, Pacific and Clarke counties having sent no delegates. The grievances suffered were in fact chiefly felt in the region represented at the convention.

Soon after the Cowlitz meeting occurred the conflict of the jurymen of Lewis county, before referred to, with their first federal officer, Judge Strong. In accordance with an act of the legislature authorizing and requiring the county judges, any two of whom should constitute a board of county commissioners for the selection of a county seat, the place of holding court was fixed at S. S. Ford's claim on the Chehalis. But Judge Strong preferred holding court at Jackson's house, twenty miles nearer to the Cowlitz landing, sending a peremptory order to the jurymen to repair to Highlands, which they, resenting the imperiousness of the judge, refused to do, but held a public meeting and talked of impeachment. Chapman, for purposes of his own, glossed over the offence given by Strong, both he and Brownfield, as well as Lancaster, siding with the federal officers against the people on the meeting of the legislature in December;

[19] Chapman, in his autobiography in Livingston's *Eminent Americans*, iv. 436, says that, after much exertion, 'he obtained a convention of 15 members, but not one parliamentary gentleman among them, hence the whole business devolved upon him;' that he 'drew up all the resolutions' and the memorial, though other members offered them in their own names, and so contrived that every name should appear in the proceedings, to give the appearance of a large convention; and that neither of the men on the committee with him could write his name. Autobiographies should be confirmed by two credible witnesses. In this instance Chapman has made use of the circumstance of Simmons' want of education to grossly misrepresent the intelligence of the community of which such men as Ebey, whose private correspondence in my possession shows him to be a man of refined feelings, Goldsborough, Catlin, Warbass, Balch, Crosby, Wilson, and others were members. As to Simmons, although his want of scholarship was an impediment and a mortification, he possessed the real qualities of a leader, which Chapman lacked; for the latter was never able to achieve either popularity or position, though he strove hard for both. The census of 1850 for Lewis county gives the total white population at 457, only six of whom, over twenty years of age, were not able to write. It is probable that not more than one out of the six was sent to the convention, and he was appointed on account of his brain-power and consequent influence.

and the affairs of the whole trans-Columbia region, not attended to by J. A. Anderson of Clatsop and Pacific counties, were suffered to pass without notice.[20]

This, however, Anderson did for them: he presented a petition from J. B. Chapman and fifty-five others for the establishment of a new county, to be called Simmons, and the readjustment of the eastern boundary of Lewis county. The boundary of the new county was defined as described by the committee on counties of the August convention, but the council amended the house bill by substituting Thurston for Simmons; and the limits of Lewis on the east were removed fifteen miles east of the junction of the forks of the Cowlitz, running due north to the southern boundary of Thurston county.

In joint convention of both branches of the legislature, I. N. Ebey was elected prosecuting attorney for the third judicial district, receiving fourteen votes, and the ubiquitous Chapman two.[21] Ebey being popular, energetic, and devoted to the interests of his section, much comfort was derived from this legislative appointment. Meantime congress took no notice apparently of the memorial forwarded by the convention of August, nor did the citizens north of the Columbia assemble in May to frame a state constitution as they had threatened, yet as they could not seriously have contemplated. But as a means to a desired end, *The Columbian*, a weekly newspaper, was established at Olympia,[22] which issued its first number on the 11th of September, 1852; and was untiring in its advocacy of an independent organization. It was wisely sug-

[20] Evans says, in his *Division of the Territory*, 5, that when he came to Puget Sound J. B. Chapman was extremely unpopular, and he doubts if, anxious as the people were for an organization north of the Columbia, they would have accepted it with Chapman as an appointee, which he was aiming at. He did not get an appointment, as he confesses in his *Autobiography*.

[21] The first judges of Thurston county were A. A. Denny, S. S. Ford, and David Shelton. *Olympia Columbian*, Nov. 6, 1851. See also *Or. Jour. Council*, 1851–2, 68.

[22] *The Columbian* was published by J. W. Wiley and T. F. McElroy, the latter having been connected with the *Spectator*. McElroy retired in September 1853, and M. K. Smith became publisher.

gested that, as many influential citizens would be assembled at the house of J. R. Jackson on the 25th of October to attend the sitting of the court, the opportunity should be seized to make arrangements for another convention, a hint which was adopted. On the 27th of September a meeting was held, and a general convention planned for the 25th of October, at Monticello. It was considered certain that all the inhabitants about Puget Sound would vote for a separate organization, but not quite so evident that those living upon the Columbia, and accustomed to act with the people south of it, would do so. By holding the convention at Monticello, it was hoped to influence the doubtful in the direction of their wishes.

At the time appointed, the delegates assembled and organized by electing G. N. McConaha president and R. J. White secretary. After an address by the president, a committee of thirteen[23] was selected to frame another memorial to congress, which contained the following arguments: It was desired to have organized a separate territory, bounded on the south and east by the Columbia; and for these reasons: the territory was too large ever to be embraced within the limits of one state, containing as it did 341,000 square miles, with 640 miles of sea-coast, while the proposed territory would embrace about 32,000 square miles, that being believed to be of fair and just extent. Those portions of the undivided territory lying north and south of the Columbia must, from their geographical positions, become rivals in commerce. The southern portion, having now the greatest number of voters, controls legislation, from which fact it was evident that northern Oregon received no benefit from congressional appropriations, which were subject to the disposition of the legislature. The seat of government was, by the nearest practicable route, 500 miles from a large portion of the citizens of the territory.

[23] Quincy A. Brooks, D. S. Maynard, William W. Plumb, Alfred Cook, J. R. Jackson, E. L. Finch, A. F. Scott, F. A. Clarke, C. S. Hathaway, E. A. Allen, E. H. Winslow, Seth Catlin, and N. Stone constituted the committee.

A majority of the legislation of the south was opposed to the interests of the north. Northern Oregon possessed great natural resources and an already large population, which would be greatly increased could they secure the fostering care of congress. Wherefore they humbly petitioned for the early organization of a territory, to be called the Territory of Columbia, north and west of the Columbia River, as described. Then followed forty-four names of the most influential citizens of Lewis and Thurston counties.[24]

As before, the convention appointed a meeting for May, and adjourned; the memorial was forwarded to Lane, and the proceedings were made as public as the Oregon newspapers could make them.

But matters were already slowly mending north of the Columbia. There had been some valuable accessions to the population, as the reader of the previous chapter is aware; a good many vessels were coming to the Sound for timber,[25] which gave employment to men without capital, and brought money into the country, and the influence of United States laws were

[24] G. N. McConaha, Seth Catlin, R. J. White, J. N. Law, Q. A. Brooks, C. C. Terry, C. S. Hathaway, A. J. Simmons, E. H. Winslow, S. Plomondon, A. Cook, H. A. Goldsborough, A. F. Scott, G. Drew, W. N. Bell, M. T. Simmons, A. A. Denny, H. C. Wilson, L. M. Collins, L. B. Hastings, G. B. Roberts, S. S. Ford, Sen., N. Stone, B. C. Armstrong, L. H. Davis, J. Fowler, C. H. Hale, A. Crawford, S. D. Rundell, H. D. Huntington, E. J. Allen, W. A. L. McCorkle, A. B. Dillenbaugh, N. Ostrander, J. R. Jackson, C. F. Porter, D. S. Maynard, E. L. Finch, F. A. Clarke, H. Miles, Wm W. Plumb, P. W. Crawford, A. Wylie, S. P. Moses. *Cong. Globe*, 1852–3, 541; *Columbian*, Dec. 11, 1852; *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 1, 1853; *Olympia Standard*, May 9, 1868.

[25] No list of vessels was kept previous to the arrival of a collector in Nov. 1851; but between the 15th of that month and the last of June following there were 38 arrivals and departures from Olympia, as follows: Brigs, *George Emory, Orbit, G. W. Kendall, John Davis, Franklin Adams, Daniel, Leonesa, Jane, Eagle;* brigantine, *Mary Dare*; schooners, *Exact, Demaris Cove, Susan Sturges, Alice, Franklin, Mary Taylor, Cynosure, Honolulu Packet, Mexican, Cecil;* bark, *Brontes;* steamer, *Beaver.* The memoranda made by the collector was as follows: Brigantine *Mary Dare* and steamer *Beaver* seized for infractions of the U. S. revenue laws. U. S. sloop of war *Vincennes*, W. L. Hudson commander, visited the Sound, obtained supplies and exercised her batteries. Sloop *Georgiana* wrecked on Queen Charlotte Island, her passengers and crew taken prisoners by the Indians. Schooner *Demaris Cove* promptly sent to their relief by the collector. Schooner *Harriet*, from the Columbia, bound to S. F. with passengers and freight, blown to about lat. 55°, lost sails, etc.; came into port in distress. Brig *Una* totally wrecked at Cape Flattery. *Olympia Columbian*, Sept. 11, 1852.

beginning to be felt in the presence of a customs office as well as a district court. In May 1851 President Fillmore commissioned Simpson P. Moses of Ohio collector of customs, and W. W. Miller of Illinois surveyor of the port of Nisqually, on Puget Sound. These officials arrived in the months of October and November, Miller overland and Moses by the Nicaragua route, then newly opened.[26] With the latter came the family of the collector, two unmarried women named Relyea,[27] A. B. Moses, brother of the collector, and Deputy Collector Elwood Evans, who later became so well known in connection with the history of Washington and its preservation in a written form.[28] There came also, as passengers from San Francisco, Theodore Dubosq, J. M. Bachelder and family, and John Hamilton.[29]

I have already in a previous volume related with what ardor Collector Moses adopted the anti-Hudson's Bay Company tone of the early settlers, and how he brought the government into debt many thousand dollars by seizures of British vessels[30] after the removal of the port of entry to Olympia. The seizure of the *Beaver* and the *Mary Dare*[31] occurred about

[26] Evans says the collector sailed from N. Y. August 14th in the steamship *Prometheus*, which connected with the *Independence* at San Juan del Sur, arriving at S. F. Sept. 17th. The remainder of the voyage to Puget Sound was performed in the brig *George Emory*, owned by Lafayette Balch of Port Steilacoom, which left Oct. 24th, and arrived off Port Townsend Nov. 10th, where the collector and his deputy were sworn in by Henry C. Wilson, justice of the peace of Lewis county. *Notes on Settlement*, 15; *N. W. Coast*, MS., 1.

[27] Louisa Relyea married Frederick Myers, and her sister John Bradley. *Evans' Notes on Settlement*, 16.

[28] Evans was born in Philadelphia, Dec. 29, 1828. Wishing to come to the Pacific coast, he was tendered the appointment of deputy clerk to the collector of Puget Sound, and accepted. He returned to Philadelphia in 1852, and came out again in 1853 as private secretary to Gov. Stevens. From that time he carefully observed and noted the progress of events, in which he took no insignificant personal interest. By profession a lawyer, he resided at Olympia from 1851 to 1879, when he removed to New Tacoma. He married Elzira Z. Gove of Olympia, formerly of Bath, Maine, on the 1st of January, 1856.

[29] Hamilton was a brother-in-law of Bachelder. He was drowned March 27, 1854, on the ill-fated expedition of Major Larned, U. S. A. *Evans' Notes on Settlement*, 16.

[30] *Hist. Or.*, ii. 105–8, this series.

[31] Moses appointed I. N. Ebey and A. J. Simmons temporary inspectors, and on the 1st of December directed Ebey to make a strict examination, which resulted in finding $500 worth of Indian goods on board the *Beaver*, and on the *Mary Dare* a contraband package of refined sugar weighing 230 pounds. By the 103d section of the act of March 2, 1799, refined sugar could not be

the last of November, and on the 20th of January a special term of court was held at Olympia to try these cases, this being the first term of the federal court in Thurston county, Judge Strong presiding, Simon B. Mayre of Portland being attorney for the Hudson's Bay Company, and David Logan of the same place acting for the United States district attorney, Ebey, in these cases. Quincy A. Brooks acted as clerk of the court, and A. M. Poe as deputy marshal. At this term were admitted to practice Brooks, S. P. Moses, Ebey, and Evans.

Evans describes, in a journal kept by him at that time, and incorporated in his *Historical Notes on Settlement*, the appearance of Olympia in the winter of 1851–2. There were "about a dozen one-story frame cabins of primitive architecture, covered with split-cedar siding, well ventilated, but healthy. There were about twice that number of Indian huts a short distance from the custom-house, which was in the second story of Simmons' building, before described, on the first floor of which was his store, with a small room partitioned off for a post-office."

It was during the month of November that the *Exact* arrived at Olympia with the gold-seekers for Queen Charlotte Island, after leaving the Alki Point settlers. The *Exact* brought, as settlers to Olympia, Daniel B. Bigelow, a lawyer and a Massachusetts man who crossed the continent that summer. His first case was a suit between Crosby and M. T. Simmons, growing out of a question of title to the Tumwater claim, Bigelow representing Simmons and J. B. Chapman being Crosby's attorney. James Hughes and family also arrived by the *Exact*.

The rumor which led the Portland company to charter this vessel to take them to Queen Charlotte

imported in packages of less than 600 pounds, under penalty of forfeiture of the sugar and the vessel in which it was imported. It was also shown that the *Beaver* had anchored at Nisqually and sent boats ashore. These were the infractions of the revenue law on which the seizures were made.

Island was first brought to Puget Sound by one McEwen, mate of the sloop *Georgiana* from Australia. McEwen exhibited gold in chunks which had been chiselled out of quartz-veins in rock on the island, and created thereby such an excitement that a company was immediately raised to visit the new gold region, Goldsborough at the head. On the 3d of November the adventurers sailed from Olympia in the *Georgiana*, with tools and provisions, and arrived on the 18th in the harbor on the east side of the island, called Komshewah by the natives, though their true destination was Gold Harbor on the west side. On the following day the sloop was blown ashore and wrecked, when the Haidahs, a numerous and cruel tribe, plundered the vessel, took the company prisoners, and reduced them to slavery. Their final fate would probably have been death by starvation and ill treatment, but for a fortunate incident of their voyage.

On coming opposite Cape Flattery, the sloop was boarded by Captain Balch of the *Demaris Cove*, who on learning her destination promised to follow as soon as he should have met the *George Emory*, then due, with the collector of Puget Sound on board. In pursuance of this engagement, the *Demaris Cove* ran up to the island in December, where she learned from the Indians of the wreck of the *Georgiana*, and being in danger from the natives, Balch at once returned to the Sound to procure arms and goods for the ransom of the prisoners.

On hearing what had happened, Collector Moses, after conferring with the army officers at Fort Steilacoom, chartered the *Demaris Cove* and despatched her December 19th for Queen Charlotte Island, Lieutenant John Dement of the 1st artillery, with a few soldiers, A. B. Moses, Dubosq, Poe, Sylvester, and other volunteers, accompanying Captain Balch. On the 31st the schooner returned with the ransomed captives, to the great joy of their friends, who held a public meeting to express their satisfaction, giving

unstinted praise to the collector for his prompt action in the matter.[32]

[32] The details of the *Georgiana* affair are interesting and dramatic. The Indians took possession of every article that could be saved from the vessel, which they then burned for the iron. They swooped down upon the shivering and half-drowned white men as fast as they came ashore through the surf—some able to help themselves, and others unconscious, but all finally surviving—to strip them of their only possessions, their scanty clothing. This last injury, however, was averted on making the chief understand that he should be paid a ransom if their safety and comfort were secured until such time as rescue came. They escaped the worst slavery by affecting to be chiefs and ignorant of labor. Their sufferings from cold and the want of bedding, etc., were extreme, and their captivity lasted 54 days. The pay demanded for each person was 5 four-point blankets, 1 shirt, 1 bolt of muslin, and 2 pounds of tobacco, besides all the plunder of the vessel. S. D. Howe and three others were permitted by the savages take a canoe and go to Fort Simpson for relief, but their efforts were a partial failure.

The names of the rescued captives were, of the vessel's crew, William Rowland, captain; Duncan McEwen, mate; Benjamin and Richard Gibbs, sailors; Tamaree, an Hawaiian cook; passengers, Asher Sargent, E. N. Sargent, Samuel D. Howe, Ambrose Jewell, Charles Weed, Daniel Show, Samuel H. Williams, James McAllister, John Thornton, Charles Hendricks, George A. Paige, John Remley, Jesse Ferguson, Ignatius Colvin, James K. Hurd, William Mahard, Solomon S. Gideon, George Moore, B. F. McDonald, Sidney S. Ford, Jr, Isaac M. Browne, and Mr. Seidner. I find, besides the reports made at the time by S. D. Howe, George Moore, Capt. Rowland, and subsequently by Charles E. Weed, an account by the latter among my manuscripts, under the title of *Weed's Charlotte Island Expedition*, from all of which I have drawn the chief facts. Weed was 27 years of age, a native of Ct, and had just come to Olympia by way of the Willamette from Cal. George A. Paige, a native of N. H., had served in the Mexican war, and had been but a short time in Or. He remained on the Sound, serving in the Indian wars, and receiving an appointment as Indian agent at Port Madison. He died at Fort Colville in 1868. See references to the *Georgiana* affair, in *Or. Statesman*, Feb. 15 and 24, and March 9, 1852; *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 27, 1852; *New Tacoma Ledger*, July 9, 1880.

While the Olympia gold-seekers were experiencing so great ill fortune, the *Exact's* company, which left the Sound somewhat later, succeeded in landing, and spent the winter exploring the island, which they found to be a rocky formation, not susceptible in the higher parts of being cultivated, though the natives at Gold Harbor raised excellent potatoes and turnips. The climate was severe, and no gold was found except in quartz veins, which required blasting. The Indians had some lumps of pure gold and fine specimens of quartz stolen from a blast made by the crew of the H. B. Co.'s brigantine *Una* a short time previous. This vessel was stranded on Cape Flattery, Dec. 26th, the passengers getting ashore with their baggage, when they were attacked by the Indians, who would have killed them to get possession of their goods had they not fled, leaving everything in the hands of the savages, who burned the vessel. The crew and passengers, among whom were three women, were so fortunate as to signal the *Demaris Cove* on her way to rescue the Olympia company, which took them on board and carried them to Fort Victoria. The Indians of Gold Harbor, though they did not prevent the *Exact's* company from prospecting, represented that they had sold the island to the H. B. Co., and were to defend it from occupation by Americans. The prospectors remained until March, when they returned to Puget Sound, bringing a few specimens obtained from the natives. The *Exact* refitted and returned in March. Three other vessels, the *Tepic*, *Glencoe*, and *Vancouver*, advertised to take passengers to the island, but nothing like success followed the expedi-

But if the persons concerned approved of the action of the collector, the government did not, and refused to, pay the expenses of the rescue, which Moses in a letter to Secretary Corwin of the treasury assumed that it would do; and the collector of Puget Sound was reminded somewhat sharply that it was not his business to fit out military expeditions at the expense of the United States, the first cost of which in this case was seven or eight thousand dollars.[33] But congress, when memorialized by the legislature of Washington at its first session, did appropriate fifteen thousand dollars, out of which to pay the claims of Captain Balch and others, as in justice it was bound to do. Had the collector waited for the governor to act, another month would necessarily have been consumed, during which the captives might have perished.

On the meeting of the Oregon legislature, ten days

tions. According to the *S. F. Alta* of April 1, 1859, a nugget weighing $250 was obtained from the natives by the captain of the H. B. Co.'s str *Labouchere*. The Indians refused to reveal the location of the gold mine, but offered to procure more of it for sale; and it is certain that the company did buy a large amount of gold from them about this time. A third vessel, the brig *Eagle*, was fitted out at Portland for prosecuting gold discovery on the north coast, and for trading with the Indians. On the 9th of August, while attempting to enter a harbor on V. I., the brig was wrecked, the crew and passengers reaching the shore with only a few articles of food and clothing. No sooner had they landed than they were stripped and their lives threatened. On the 11th the party contrived to escape in a whale-boat, coasting along the island for five days, subsisting on shell-fish, being treated barbarously by the natives, who attacked them in Nootka Sound, taking two of them prisoners. The remainder of the company escaped to sea and were picked up by a trading vessel soon after. On board the rescuing vessel were some friendly Indians, who volunteered to undertake the ransom of the captives, which they succeeded in doing, and all arrived safely in Puget Sound in Sept. *Olympia Columbian*, Sept. 11, 1852. Report of Ind. Agent Starling, in *U. S. Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 1, v. i. pt i. 464, 32d cong. 2d sess. Some of the gold-seekers being left on Queen Charlotte Island, wishing to return home, and not having a vessel to bring them, four men set out in an open boat, 14 feet long by 4½ wide, carrying one small sail, and neither chart nor compass. After many dangers from the sea and savages, they reached Whidbey Island in an exhausted condition, after being 15 days at sea. Their names were Ellis Barnes, James C. Hedges, Clement W. Sumner, and Thomas Tobias. The Indians of the north-west coast were at this time, and for a number of years later, troublesome to the daring pioneers of the northern coast. During the summer of 1852 the northern Indians committed depredations on the schr *Franklin*, Capt. Pinkham, and at different times many murders on Puget Sound. *Olympia Columbian*, Sept. 18, 1852.

[33] For the papers in the case, see *House Ex. Doc.*, 130. 32d cong. 1st sess.

after the Cowlitz convention, Lancaster, the councilman whose term held over, did not appear to take his seat, but resigned his office at so late a moment, that although an election was held, Seth Catlin being chosen against A. A. Denny, it was too late to be of use to the region he represented; but F. A. Chenoweth and I. N. Ebey being members of the lower house in addition to Anderson of Clatsop and Pacific, there was a perceptible change from the neglect of former legislatures, and it is probable, if no action had been taken looking to a separate territory, that the Puget Sound country would have obtained recognition in the future. But the Oregon legislators were not averse to the division, the counties south of the Columbia having, as the northern counties alleged, diverse commercial interests, and being at too great a distance from each other to be much in sympathy. But the legislature adopted without demur a resolution of Ebey's that congress should appropriate thirty thousand dollars to construct a military road from Steilacoom to Walla Walla. Four new counties were established, Jefferson, King, Pierce, and Island. Two joint representatives were allowed, one for Island and Jefferson, and one for King and Pierce. Pacific county was also separated from Clatsop for judicial purposes, and the judge of the 3d district required to hold two terms of court annually in the former.[34]

On the 10th of January Chenoweth introduced a resolution in the house in regard to organizing a territory north of the Columbia. On the 14th Ebey reported a memorial to congress as a substitute for

[34] The county seat of Jefferson was fixed at Port Townsend; of King at Seattle; and Olympia was made the county seat of Thurston. The commissioners appointed for Jefferson co., to serve until their successors were elected, were L. B. Hastings, D. F. Brownfield, and Albert Briggs; H. C. Wilson sheriff, and A. A. Plummer probate clerk. For Island co., Samuel B. Howe, John Alexander, and John Crockett; George W. L. Allen sheriff, and R. H. Lansdale probate clerk. For King co., A. A. Denny, John N. Lowe, and Luther N. Collins; David C. Boren sheriff, and H. D. Yesler probate clerk. For Pierce co., Thos M. Chambers, William Dougherty, Alexander Smith; John Bradley sheriff, and John M. Chapman probate clerk. *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 22, 1853; *Columbian*, Jan. 29 and Feb. 19, 1853; *North Pacific Coast*, vol. i., no. 1, p. 16.

the resolution, which he asked the assembly to adopt, and which passed without opposition or amendment, the only question raised in connection with the subject being the division by an east and west line, some members contending that Oregon should include Puget Sound and all the country west of the Cascade Mountains, while the country east of that range should form a new territory—an opinion long held by a minority in view of the admission of Washington as a state. Such a division at that time would have made Portland the capital.[35]

But Lane had not waited to hear from the Oregon legislative assembly concerning the division of the territory. Immediately on receiving the memorial

[35] *Olympia Columbian*, May 9, 1868. The memorial was as follows: 'Your memorialists, the legislative assembly of Oregon, legally assembled upon the first Monday in December, A. D. 1852, would respectfully represent unto your honorable body that a period of four years and six months has elapsed since the establishment of the present territorial government over the territory of Oregon; and that in the mean time the population of the said territory has spread from the banks of the Columbia River north along Puget Sound, Admiralty Inlet, and Possession Sound, and the surrounding country to the Canal de Haro; and that the people of that territory labor under great inconvenience and hardship by reason of the great distance to which they are removed from the centre of the present territorial organization. Those portions of Oregon territory lying north and south of the Columbia River must, from their geographical position, difference in climate, and internal resources, remain in a great degree distinct communities, with different interests and policies in all that appertains to their domestic legislation, and the various interests that are to be regulated, nourished, and cherished by it. The communication between these two portions of the territory is difficult, casual, and uncertain. Although time and improvement would in some measure remove this obstacle, yet it would for a long period in the future form a serious barrier to the prosperity and well-being of each, so long as they remain under one government. The territory north of the Columbia, and west of the great northern branch of that stream, contains a sufficient number of square miles to form a state, which in point of resources and capacity to maintain a population will compare favorably with most of the states of the union. Experience has proven that when marked geographical boundaries which have been traced by the hand of nature have been disregarded in the formation of local governments, that sectional jealousies and local strifes have seriously embarrassed their prosperity and characterized their domestic legislation. Your memorialists, for these reasons, and for the benefit of Oregon both north and south of the Columbia River, and believing from the reservation of power in the first section of the organic act that congress then anticipated that at some future time it would be necessary to establish other territorial organizations west of the Rocky Mountains, and believing that that time has come, would respectfully pray your honorable body to establish a separate territorial government for all that portion of Oregon territory lying north of the Columbia River and west of the great northern branch of the same, to be known as the Territory of Columbia.' *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 29, 1853; *Columbian*, Feb. 12, 1853.

of the Monticello convention, which was about the beginning of the second session of the thirty-second congress, he presented it in the house by a resolution requesting the committee on territories to inquire into the expediency of dividing Oregon, and framing a new territory north of the Columbia, by the name of Columbia Territory, which resolution was adopted. On the 8th of February, 1853, the house proceeded to the consideration of the bill prepared by the committee. The bill did not confine the new territory to the limits described in the memorial, but continued the line of partition from a point near Fort Walla Walla, along the 46th parallel, to the Rocky Mountains, making a nearly equal division of the whole of Oregon. The arguments used by Lane in favor of the bill were the same as those given in the memorial, with the addition of some explanations and statements more effective than veracious, but which may have been necessary to success; as, for instance, the statement that the population of the proposed territory was as great as that of the whole of Oregon at the time of its organization into a territory,[36] whereas it was about one third.

Stanton of Kentucky moved to substitute the name of Washington for that of Columbia, to which Lane agreed, notwithstanding it was an ill-advised change. The vote of the house was taken on the 10th, the bill passing by a majority of 128 to 29. The senate passed it on the 2d of March without amendment, the president signing it the same day.[37] Thus painlessly was severed from the real Oregon that northern portion over which statesmen and pioneers had at one time so hotly contended with Great Britain.

Information of this act did not reach those interested until near the last of April. About the middle of May it became known that I. I. Stevens of An-

[36] The census of Washington, taken in 1853, and finished in Nov., fixed the white population at 3,965. *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 401.

[37] *House Jour.*, 8, 210, 32d cong. 2d sess.; *Cong. Globe*, vol. 26, 555, 1020, 32d cong. 2d sess.; *Olympia Columbian*, April 23, 1853.

dover, Massachusetts, had been appointed governor, Edward Lander of Indiana chief justice, John R. Miller of Ohio and Victor Monroe of Kentucky associate justices, and J. S. Clendenin, of Louisiana United States district attorney. Miller falling ill, Moses Hoagland of Millersburg, Ohio, was appointed in his place, but did not accept, O. B. McFadden of Oregon being subsequently appointed to his district. J. Patten Anderson of Mississippi was appointed United States marshal, and directed to take the census.[38] I. N. Ebey was appointed collector of Puget Sound, in place of S. P. Moses, removed;[39] and not long afterward A. B. Moses was appointed surveyor of the port of Nisqually, in place of Miller, removed.

The marshal was the first of the federal officers to arrive, reaching Puget Sound early in July, accompanied by his family. He was soon followed by Judge Monroe, and in September by Judge Lander, C. H. Mason, secretary of the territory, and District Attorney Clendenin and family. Governor Stevens did not reach Olympia until about the last of November, his proclamation organizing the government being made on the 28th of that month. Before proceeding to discuss his administration, the rapid

[38] According to the census completed in the autumn of 1853 by the marshal, the several counties were populated as follows:

Name.	Population.	Voters.
Island	195	80
Jefferson	189	68
King	170	111
Pierce	513	276
Thurston	996	381
Pacific	152	61
Lewis	616	239
Clarke	1,134	466
Total	3,965	1,682

W. T. House Jour., 1854–5, 185; *Olympia Columbian*, Nov. 26, 1853.

[39] Moses was accused of retaining a lady's private wardrobe, of shielding a mutinous crew, and conniving at smuggling by the H. B. Co.'s servants. *Or. Statesman*, Dec. 4, 1852. None of the charges I think could be sustained; but the secretary of the treasury instituted a suit against him for $7,608.70, balance due the United States, and caused his indictment as a defaulter. *Id.*, Jan. 17, 1860.

changes taking place in the territory compel a brief review of its progress in a material point of view.

The most important thing to be done for a new country is the laying-out and improvement of roads. No country ever suffered more from the absence of good roads than Oregon, and the pioneers of the Puget Sound region realized fully the drawback they had to contend against to induce immigrants from the border states to come to the shores of their new Mediterranean after having reached the settled Valley Willamette. The only way in which they could hope to secure large families of agricultural people and numerous herds of cattle, with work-oxen and horses, was to have a road over the Cascade Mountains on the north side of the Columbia as good as the one around the base of Mount Hood on the south side. As early as 1850 it was determined at a public meeting to make the effort to open a road over the mountains and down the Yakima River to Fort Walla Walla, to intersect the immigrant road from Grand Rond. A sum of money was raised among the few settlers, and a company of young men, headed by M. T. Simmons, was organized to hew out a highway for the passage of wagons to the Sound.[40] Another incentive to this labor was the alleged discovery of gold on the Yakima and Spokane rivers by J. L. Parrish and W. H. Gray, while making a tour through the eastern division of Oregon. The undertaking of opening a road through the dense forests and up and down the fearfully steep ridges proved too great for the means and strength of Simmons' company, and only served to fix the resolve to complete the work at some future time.

There was, previous to 1852, no road between Olympia and Tumwater, or between Tumwater and

[40] According to Gray, Pierre C. Pambrun of Fort Walla Walla, and Cornelius Rogers, first explored the Nachess pass at the head of the Yakima. *Or. Spectator*, May 12, 1849.

Cowlitz landing. The first mail contract over this route was let July 11, 1851, and the mail carried on horseback, in the pockets of A. B. Rabbeson,[41] Simmons being postmaster at Olympia, and Warbass at the Cowlitz, or Warbassport. The road was so much improved in 1852 that a mail-wagon was driven over it that year,[42] yet with great difficulty, being avoided as much as possible by passengers.[43] In 1853 an express line was established over the route by John G. Parker and Henry D. Colter carrying mail and light packages on horseback,[44] nor was there much improvement in this route for another two or three years.

In 1853 it was again resolved to open the road for

[41] *Rabbeson's Growth of Towns*, MS., 15.

[42] *Id.; Puget Sound Dir.*, 1872.

[43] The mail carrier in 1853 was James H. Yantis, son of B. F. Yantis of Mound Prairie, who died August 7th of that year. *Olympia Columbian*, August 13, 1853. B. F. Yantis was a Kentuckian, born March 19, 1807. He removed to Mo. in 1835, and to the Pacific coast in 1852. He occupied many positions of trust in Wash., and served as justice of the peace and legislator. After the creation of Idaho territory he resided there for some time and served in the legislature, but finally returned to Puget Sound, where he died in 1879. *Olympia Standard*, Feb. 15, 1879.

[44] John G. Parker, long a resident of Olympia, and later capt. of the steamboat *Messenger*, came to S. F. in 1851 as messenger for Gregory & Co., and to Puget Sound in 1853 as an agent to close the affairs of a trading-house kept by Wright & Colter at Olympia. Finding that there was no way of carrying money between Puget Sound and S. F. except by lumber vessels, which were irregular and often went to the S. I., he decided to remain in Wash., in view of which he bought out the interest of his employers, and established Parker & Colter's express, carrying the mail through to the Cowlitz in a single day by relays of horses, a distance of 70 miles, to connect with Adams' express at Portland. At the end of 18 months Colter absconded with several thousand dollars belonging to the firm, which put an end to the first express company. The second express enterprise was by A. B. Stuart, who began business in 1854, followed by Wells, Fargo & Co. in Feb. 1856, and by Charles E. Williams of Olympia in April 1858, who continued in the business for 10 years, during which mail facilities were greatly increased throughout the territory. The first passenger line to the Cowlitz, to connect with boats to Portland, was started in Dec. 1854, by W. B. Goodell, who furnished passage by stage or riding horses for $10 from Olympia to Warbassport. The contract for carrying the mail was not then let to an express company. Ward & Robinson of Olympia had the contract from 1854 to 1858, when Henry Winsor took it. He carried passengers to and from Olympia to Rainier on the Columbia for $15; by wagon to Cowlitz landing, and from there to Monticello either by canoe or horses as preferred. The canoe was used a good deal until about 1868. The wagon-road was not then, nor many years later, a good one, but in summer it compensated for the discomforts of the ride by giving the traveller a view of the most magnificent fir forest in the world, the boles of the trees towering 100 or 150 feet without a limb; while 100 feet above, their tapering tops seem to pierce the sky.

the immigration to come into the new territory over the Cascade Mountains. A general meeting of citizens was held at Olympia May 14th to discuss the subject in all its bearings, when G. N. McConaha, Whitfield Kirtley, Charles Eaton, John Edgar, and E. J. Allen were chosen road-viewers to report upon the practicability of the undertaking.[45] At the end of three weeks a report was made of the route from Olympia to the summit of the Cascade Range, and by the middle of July volunteers were at work upon the survey, who so far succeeded in their design as to cut a way by which thirty-five wagons reached the shores of the Sound that autumn,[46] bringing between one and two hundred men, women, and children, to populate the rich valleys of White and Puyallup rivers.[47]

[45] At this meeting was read a statement furnished by Blanchet, catholic bishop of Walla Walla in 1847, who had a knowledge, gained from the Indians, of the passes of the mountains. The priests were in the habit of visiting the Sound with the Indians for guides.

[46] This enterprise will receive further mention hereafter. The men who labored for it were, besides those before mentioned, George Shazer, B. F. Yantis, William Packwood, B. F. Shaw, John Alexander, B. Close, A. W. Moore, E. Sylvester, James Hurd, and W. W. Plumb. The men who worked upon the eastern end of the road were Whitfield Kirtley, Edwin Marsh, Nelson Sargent, Paul Ruddell, Edward Miller, J. W. Fouts, John L. Perkins, Isaac M. Brown, James Alverson, Nathaniel G. Stewart, William Carpenter, E. L. Allen, A. C. Burge, Thomas Dixon, Ephraim Allyn, James H. Allyn, George Githers, John Walker, John H. Mills, R. S. More, R. Forman, Ed. Crofts, James Boise, Robert Patterson, Edward Miller, Edward Wallace, Lewis Wallace, James R. Smith, John Barrow, and James Meek.

[47] Among them were John W. Lane and wife, Samuel Ray, William Ray, Henry Mitchell, H. Rockenfield, James Barr, J. A. Sperry, William Claflin, Evan Watts, J. J. Ragan, William McCreary, G. Miller, John Nelson, J. Langmyre, wife and 5 children, E. A. Light, wife and child, William M. Kincaid, wife and 6 children, Isaac Woolery, wife and 4 children, Abram H. Woolery, wife and 3 children, and Peter Judson, wife and 2 children, composing the first train of 47 persons. This train had 62 work-oxen, 20 cows, and 7 mares. There were, besides, J. W. Woodward, John B. Moyer, Z. Gotzan, Aaron Rockenfield, Norman Kilborn, Isaac Lemmon, R. A. Finnell, William R. Downey, wife and children, John James Downey and daughter, Abiel Morrison, Charlotte his wife, and family, George Haywood, James Bell, John Bell, W. H. Brannon and family, John Carson and wife, Israel Wright, Byrd Wright, Frank Wright, Van Ogle, and Addison S. Persham, most of whom crossed by the Nachess pass. Many of them had families and friends who are not named here. Other immigrants of this year were William H. Wallace, Elijah E. Baker, David C. Forbes, J. H. Cleale, John L. Clarke, Mason Guess (married Miss Downey), William H. Williams, G. F. Whitworth and family, Mrs Sarah Thompson, J. Stillman, Peter Stiles (died in 1877, aged 91 years), W. B. Sinclair (marrried a daughter of J. N. Low), J. R. Roundtree, James H. Roundtree, William Ryan, A. H. Robie, E. G. Price, W. H. Pearson, William Newton, Mrs Rebecca Maddox and children (Joseph, Michael, Stephen,

John Thomas and John Nelson [43] founded the White River settlement. Owing to the peculiar system of drainage of these rivers, to which I have referred, by which the same stream has several names, it is necessary to remark in this place that White River settlement means that portion of the common valley between the Dwamish and Black sections. Above the junction of Black and White rivers is what is known as the Slaughter settlement, which was founded by C. E. King, W. H. Brannan, Joseph Brannan, Joseph Lake, Donald Lake, H. Meter, E. Cooper, W. A. Cox, D. A. Neely, M. Kirkland, and S. W. Russell.

The Black River Valley was settled in 1854 by O. M. Eaton, H. H. Tobin, and Mr Fanjoy, who built a saw-mill at the entrance of Cedar River,[49] which was burned by Indians the following year. William N. Kincaid [50] settled in the Puyallup [51] Valley, together with Isaac Woolery, A. H. Woolery, W. Boatman, J. H. Bell, T. R. Wright, I. H. Wright, G. Hayward, A. Benson, I. McCarty, I. Lemmon, Thomas Owen, Daniel Lane, Thomas Hadley, H. Whitesell, R. More, R. Nix, A. S. Persham, and D. Warner. A settlement had been commenced at the mouth of the Puyallup River in the spring of 1852,

and 2 others), J. Mowerman, wife and children, H. Meter, Christopher Kennedy, Franklin Kennedy, W. Krice, B. F. Kendall, James Kymes, Joel Knight, Michael Luark and family, Joseph Lake, Donald Lake, Lenark, J. B. Ladee, Lambert, William Lane and family, Henry Ivens, Tyrus Himes, James Biles, Martin V. Harper, Baily Gatzert, Alonzo B. Dillenbaugh, J. C. Davis, Perry Dunfield, Simeon Cooper, E. Cooper, John Dickenson, W. C. Briggs, Joseph N. Baker, John E. Burns, Rev. C. Biles and family, P. Ahern, H. Patterson, M. Kirkland, and W. A. Cox.

[48] Nelson was a native of Norway. The *Seattle Intelligencer*, in *Olympia Transcript* of Feb. 1, 1873, states that Nelson settled first on White River in 1852. If so, he did not come with the immigration named above, though he is set down as one of them in the *Olympia Columbian*, Oct. 15, 1853, a good authority.

[49] None of these men were living in 1857. Tobin died and his widow married E. M. Smithers, who had settled between Smith's Cove and Salmon Bay, but who went to reside on the Tobin place after his marriage with Mrs Tobin. Eaton and Fanjoy were murdered by the Indians while en route to the Colville mines in 1855. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, ii., MS. 8–10.

[50] Kincaid died in Feb. 1870, at his home in the Puyallup Valley, aged 75 years. *Seattle Intelligencer*, Feb. 2, 1870.

[51] Puyallup signifies, in the Indian tongue, shadow, from the dense shade of its forest. *Evans' Puyallup Address*, in *New Tacoma Ledger*, July 9, 1880.

when Nicholas Delin took a claim at the head of Commencement Bay, just east of the present town site of New Tacoma.[52] In October Peter Judson of the immigration settled on the town site, which had been previously taken and abandoned by Jacob Barnhart.

James Biles settled at Tumwater. Tyrus Himes[53] took a claim six miles east of Olympia. James Allen settled in Thurston county.[54] John L. Clarke and J. H. Cleale[55] took up their residence in Olympia. Most of the immigration chose claims in the fall of 1853. Those who followed the next year also immediately selected land, these two immigrations being the last that were permitted to take donation claims. The Indian war of 1855–6, and the insecurity of life in isolated settlements for a number of years, caused the abandonment of the greater part of the farms just opened, and it was not until 1859 that settlement was reëstablished in the valleys where the first direct overland immigration made their choice.[56]

Owing to the many hinderances to growth which

[52] It was taken for a mill site, and in 1853 M. T. Simmons and Smith Hays went in partnership with Delin to put up two saw-mills, one on his claim and one on Skookum Bay. One mill was completed that spring, and two cargoes of lumber shipped on the *George Emory*, Captain Alden Y. Trask, but that was all. The site was unfavorable, the lumber having to be rafted a mile to the vessel.

[53] These two worthy pioneers were united by more than the usual bonds of fellowship in trials, Himes having been rescued from short rations for himself and family of wife and four children, at the Rocky Mountains, and brought through to Puget Sound by the warm-hearted Kentuckian who led the first train through the Nachess pass. Himes was born in Troy, Pa, April 14, 1818. He married, in May 1843, Emmeline Holcomb of Le Roy, Pa. After making several removes, he settled in Lafayette, Ill., where he was in comfortable circumstances, when he was seized with the Oregon fever, and started for Polk co.; but having miscalculated the requirements of the journey, and being thrown upon the hospitality of Mr. Biles, he was led to Washington. He died in April 1879, at his home in Thurston co. George H. Himes, job printer of Portland, Or., is the eldest son of Tyrus Himes. Evans, in *Trans. Or. Pioneer Asso.*, 1879, 49–53.

[54] Allen was born in Pa, Nov. 3, 1798, and removed while young to Ohio. He married in 1815, and lost his wife in 1836, after which he remained unmarried, accompanying his children to Puget Sound in 1853, and residing there until his death in 1868. *Olympia Transcript*, Nov. 2, 1868.

[55] Clarke and Cleale both died in 1873. *Olympia Courier*, Oct. 4, 1873; *Olympia Transcript*, May 17, 1873.

[56] Evans says that Arthur Miller returned to the Puyallup in 1859, followed in 1860 by J. V. Meeker, and in 1861 by a sufficient number of families to justify the establishment of a post-office, of which J. P. Stewart was postmaster for 12 years. *New Tacoma Ledger*, July 9, 1880.

the territory encountered, and which I shall attempt to set forth in this volume, the Pioneer Association of Washington[57] set its limit of pioneer settlement at 1860, at about which time these difficulties began finally to disappear. It will be observed that there were no large annual accessions to this territory as there had been south of the Columbia, and that although it commenced its existence after the other had conquered many obstacles, and with seemingly superior advantages, its situation proved unfavorable to rapid development.

In November 1853 a steam-packet, the *Fairy*, was placed upon the Sound by her owner and master, D. J. Gove, to ply between the settlements;[58] and the first of a line of clipper-built lumbermen, the *Live Yankee*, for the trade between the Sound and San Francisco, was being constructed at Bath, Maine, during the summer, while a constantly increasing fleet of American vessels visited these waters. Schools had been opened in several neighborhoods, but for obvious reasons there was no system of education established. Of ministers there were enough, but not much church-going, and as yet no churches nor sectarian institutions of any kind except the catholic Indian mission near Olympia. But with a population of

[57] In Jan. 1871 a meeting was called at Columbia Hall, in Olympia, for the purpose of perfecting the organization of a pioneer association, the call being signed by 67 names of residents from a period antedating 1860. The committee on constitution and by-laws, consisting of Joseph Cushman, Elwood Evans, E. T. Gunn, Benjamin Harned, Levi Shelton, S. Coulter, W. W. Miller, and O. B. McFadden, reported Feb. 15th. The requisition for membership was a residence in the territory previous to Jan. 1, 1860, or on the Pacific coast prior to Jan. 1, 1855. *Olympia Transcript*, Feb. 18, 1871. David Phillips, first president of the society, died in March 1872. *Seattle Intelligencer*, March 11, 1872. A call similar to the first was made at Vancouver in October 1874, signed by Joseph Petrain, M. R. Hathaway, A. M. Andrew, John Proebstel, R. D. Fales, David Wall, William H. Traut, B. F. Preston, Guy Hayden, S. P. McDonald, H. L. Caples, John F. Smith, G. H. Steward, and S. B. Curtis. F. W. Bier, S. P. McDonald, and G. T. McConnell were appointed a committee on constitution and by-laws. This society sought to limit the pioneer period to Jan. 1, 1856, the Columbia River section of the territory being a much older settlement than Puget Sound. By the same rule, the pioneers of eastern Washington should be allowed until 1865 or 1868. *Vancouver Register*, Aug. 7, 1874, Oct. 9, 1874.

[58] *Olympia Columbian*, Nov. 4, 1853. Rabbeson afterward owned the *Fairy*. She was blown up in Oct. 1857, at Olympia.

less than 4,000, not quite 1,700 of whom were voters, the ambitious young commonwealth was already talking of a railroad from the Skookum Chuck coal-fields, discovered in 1850, to Olympia, and J. W. Trutch was engaged in surveying a route [59] in the autumn of 1853. In this chaotic but hopeful condition was the new territory of Washington, when on the 26th of November, 1853, Governor I. I. Stevens arrived at Olympia to set in motion the wheels of government.

[59] *Olympia Columbian*, Oct. 2 and 16, 1853.

CHAPTER III.

ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT.

1853-1855.

GOVERNOR ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS—HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER—RAILROAD SURVEYS—POLITICAL PARTIES—ELECTION—FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY—ITS PERSONNEL AND ACTS—EARLY NEWSPAPERS—COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS—FEDERAL COURTS—LAND CLAIMS AND LAND TITLES—ROADS, MAILS, AND EXPRESS COMPANIES—SAN JUAN ISLAND—INDIAN TROUBLES—TREATIES AND RESERVATIONS—STEVENS IN EASTERN WASHINGTON.

ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS, the man who had been sent to organize the government of Washington, was one fitted by nature and education to impress himself upon the history of the country in a remarkable degree. He was born at Andover, Massachusetts, and educated in the military school of West Point, from which he graduated, in 1839, with the highest honors. He had charge for a few years of fortifications on the New England coast. He had been on the staff of General Scott in Mexico, and for four years previous to his appointment as governor of Washington had been an assistant of Professor Bache on the coast survey, which gave him the further training which was to make his name prominent in connection with the survey for the Northern Pacific railroad—the historic road of the continent—the idea of which had for thirty years been developing in connection with the Columbia River and a route to China.

Congress having at length authorized the survey of this and other routes to the Pacific, Stevens was placed in charge of the northern line, whose terminus, by the progress of discovery and events, was now

fixed at Puget Sound. He was to proceed from the head waters of the Mississippi to this inlet of the Pacific, and report not only upon the route, but upon the Indian tribes along it, with whom he was to establish friendly relations, and, when practicable, to treat. The manner in which the survey was conducted is spoken of in another portion of my work, and I proceed here with the narration of territorial affairs.[1] The day appointed by Governor Stevens for electing a delegate to congress and members of a council and house of representatives was the 30th of January, 1854, the members chosen to convene at Olympia February 27th following. In the time intervening, two political parties organized and enacted the usual contest over their candidates. The democratic candidate for delegate to congress, Columbia Lancaster, is not unknown to the reader. He had served the county of Lewis in the council of the Oregon legislature, if service it could be called, in which he did nothing but cover himself with ridicule. His whig opponent was William H. Wallace,[2] and the independent candidate M. L. Sim-

[1] The officers appointed to assist Stevens in the survey of a railroad route were W. T. Gardiner, capt. 1st dragoons; George B. McClellan, brev. capt., assigned to duty as capt. of eng.; Johnson K. Duncan, 2d lieut 3d art.; Rufus Saxton, Jr, 2d lieut 4th art.; Cuvier Grover (brother of L. F. Grover of Oregon), 2d lieut 5th art.; A. J. Donelson, 2d lieut corps of engineers; John Mullan, Jr, brev. 2d lieut 1st art.; George F. Suckley and J. G. Cooper, surgeons and naturalists; John Evans, geologist; J. M. Stanley, artist (the same who was in Oregon in 1847–8); G. W. Stevens and A. Remenyi, astronomers; A. W. Tinkham and F. W. Lander (brother of Judge Lander), civil engineers; John Lambert, draughtsman. *Washington (City) Republic*, May 7, 1853. The survey was to be commenced from both ends of the route, to meet somewhere west of the Rocky Mountains. McClellan, who had charge of the west end of the line, arrived in S. F. in June 1853, and proceeded to explore the Cascade Range for passes leading to Puget Sound, starting from Vancouver, and dividing his party so as to make a reconnoissance on both sides of the range the same season. The narratives of these surveys contained in the Pacific R. R. reports are interesting. Several persons connected with the expeditions remained on the Pacific coast; others have since revisited it in an official capacity, and a few who are not mentioned here will be mentioned in connection with subsequent events.

[2] Wallace was born in Miami county, Ohio, July 17, 1811, whence he removed when a child to Indiana, and in 1839 to Iowa, where he served in both branches of the legislature. He was appointed receiver of public moneys at Fairfield, Iowa, holding the office until Pierce's administration, when he removed to Washington, in 1853. His subsequent career will be given hereafter. His death occurred Feb. 8, 1879. *Olympia Standard*, Feb. 15, 1879; *New Tacoma Herald*, Feb 14, 1879.

mons, who, notwithstanding his popularity as a man and a democrat, received only eighteen votes.[3] Wallace received 500, and Lancaster 690. Democracy was strong on the north side of the Columbia, as it was on the south, but it had not yet assumed the same dictatorial tone,[4] and Lancaster, who had affiliated with the whigs in 1851 in Oregon, was a thorough enough democrat in 1853.[5] He had a talent for humorous story-telling, which in debate often goes as far as argument or forensic eloquence before a promiscuous assemblage. The unsuccessful candidates were John M. Hayden,[6] surgeon at Fort Steilacoom, F. A.

[3] Simmons' influence naturally declined when he was put in comparison and competition with men of different degrees of education, and he felt the embarrassment and humiliation of it keenly. To it he ascribed the loss of his property, which occurred later. Although a man of large frame and good constitution, he died at the age of 53 years, Nov. 15, 1867. He was buried with imposing ceremonies by the masonic order, of which he was a member, having subscribed liberally toward the erection of a masonic hall at Olympia in 1854. *Olympia Standard*, Nov. 23, 1867.

[4] Joseph Cushman was appointed by a democratic legislature first probate judge of Thurston co. He was born at Middlebury, Mass., March 13, 1807, and was a lineal descendant of Robert Cushman of the *Mayflower* company, had a good home education and a Boston business training, hence was a valuable man in any community, besides being an orator of ability, and ready writer. He went to South America in 1849, and after a brief stay in Valparaiso, came to California, and engaged in jobbing goods on the Sacramento River. Making the acquaintance of Samuel Merritt, owner of the brig *G. W. Kendall*, he took charge of Merritt's business, established in Olympia in 1852, Merritt running a line of vessels, and having a trading-house at that place. In 1857 Cushman was admitted to practice as an attorney, and successfully defended Luther M. Collins, who was charged with murder in connection with the execution of an Indian outlaw. In 1855 he was nominated by the free-soil party for delegate to congress, but was beaten by J. P. Anderson, democrat. In the Indian war he enlisted as a private in Eaton's company of rangers, and was one of the party besieged on Lemmon's land in the Puyallup Valley, remaining in the service until the close of the war. He was president of the first board of trustees for Olympia in 1869. In 1861 he was appointed by President Lincoln receiver of public moneys in connection with the land-office, which appointment he held until 1870. His name is incorporated with the history of the capital of Washington particularly, and with the country in general. He died Feb. 29, 1872. *Olympia Echo*, March 7, 1872; *Olympia Standard*, March 2, 1872.

[5] P. W. Crawford relates how by a little sharp practice he procured the nomination in convention of his friend Lancaster, who lived on or near the Columbia, against the candidates of the Sound district, by dividing the votes against him, and as they failed, gathering them in solid for the remaining candidate. *Narr.*, MS., 267.

[6] Hayden was strongly supported by Pierce co., having resided at the fort ever since its establishment, practising his profession also outside the military reservation. Being recalled to the east in 1854, companies A and C, 4th infantry, presented him a flattering farewell address, published in *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Jan. 21, 1854.

Chenoweth, Judge Strong, Gilmore Hays,[7] and W. H. Wallace.

In the legislature, which organized by choosing G. N. McConaha[8] president of the council, and F. A. Chenoweth speaker of the lower house, there was a democratic majority of one in the council[9] and six in

[7] Gilmore Hays was a native of Ky, but resided in Mo., where he was district judge, when the gold discovery drew him to Cal. Returning to Mo., he led a train of immigrants to Oregon in 1852, and in 1853 settled on Des Chutes River near the head of Budd Inlet. The year 1852 was the time of the cholera on the plains, and Hays lost his wife and two children, who were buried near Salmon Falls of Snake River, together with the wife of B. F. Yantis. There remained to him three sons, James H., Charles, and Robert, and one daughter, who married J. G. Parker, all of whom reside in Olympia. In the same company were John P. and Isaac Hays, his brothers, N. Ostrander, Hilary Butler, James Scott, and their families, Thomas Prather, George Fry, and others. When the Indian war threatened, he was first to volunteer, his was the first company raised, and throughout he was of much service to the territory. After the termination of the war, he returned to Mo., but in 1863 removed to Idaho, and was useful to the supt of Ind. affairs for Washington in arranging treaties with the natives. Failing health caused him to return to Puget Sound, where he died October 10, 1880. *Olympia Transcript*, Oct. 30, 1880; *Olympia Standard*, Oct. 29, 1880; *Olympia Courier*, Oct. 29, 1880.

[8] McConaha was drowned, in company with P. B. Barstow, in the Sound, on the 23d of May, 1854. His widow, Ursula, had a series of other losses and misfortunes. An 8-year old daughter was burned to death in March 1858, a son was killed by a vicious horse, and another son terribly maimed by an accident. In August 1859 she married L. V. Wyckoff of Seattle.

[9] The first legislative assembly was composed of nine councilmen, as follows: Clarke county, Daniel F. Bradford and William H. Tappan; Island and Jefferson, William T. Sayward; Lewis and Pacific, Seth Catlin and Henry Miles; Pierce and King, Lafayette V. Balch and G. N. McConaha; Thurston, D. R. Bigelow and B. F. Yantis. H. M. Frost of Pierce was elected chief clerk, and U. E. Hicks of Thurston assistant clerk. Hicks was county clerk of Thurston. He figured a good deal in politics, served in the Indian war of 1855-6, and afterward edited one or more newspapers. He emigrated to Washington from Mo. in 1850, with his young wife, who died Nov. 16, 1853, aged 21 years. He married, Jan. 21, 1855, India Ann Hartsock. Frost served but a part of the term, and resigned, when Elwood Evans was elected and served from March 8th to May 1st. J. L. Mitchell of Lewis was elected sergeant-at-arms, and W. G. Osborn of Thurston door-keeper. The council being divided into three classes by lot, D. R. Bigelow, Seth Catlin, and W. H. Tappan drew the three-years term; B. F. Yantis, Henry Miles, and G. N. McConaha, the two-years term; W. T. Sayward, D. F. Bradford, and L. Balch, the one-year term. The house of representatives consisted of seventeen members, one from Island county, S. D. Howe (whig); five from Clarke, J. D. Biles, F. A. Chenoweth, A. J. Bolan, Henry R. Crosbie, and A. Lee Lewis (whig); one from Lewis, H. D. Huntington (whig)—John R. Jackson and F. A. Clarke received the same number of votes, and the second member from Lewis was not elected; one from Jefferson, D. F. Brownfield; one from King, A. A. Denny (whig); three from Pierce, L. F. Thompson, John M. Chapman, and H. C. Moseley; four from Thurston, Leonard D. Durgin, David Shelton, Ira Ward (whig), and C. H. Hale (whig); one from Pacific, John Scudder, who died before the legislature convened. Scudder was one of the first settlers in Pacific county, and was much regretted. A singular fatality attended the

the house of representatives; but there was no undue exhibition of partisan zeal, nor any occasion for it, the assembly being impressed with the importance of the public duties which had been assigned to them. The organization being completed on the 28th, Governor Stevens was invited to communicate to the legislature a message, in which he made certain statements which will not be out of place here as an introduction to his administration and the history of the territory.

After a just encomium upon the country and its natural advantages for commerce, he reminded them that as the Indian title to lands had not been extinguished, nor a law passed for its extinguishment, titles could not be secured under the land law of congress, and the public surveys were languidly conducted. He spoke of the importance of a road to Walla Walla, another to the Columbia, and one along the eastern shore of the Sound to Bellingham Bay, and advised them to memorialize congress on the urgent necessity for these roads, to prevent suffering and loss to the immigrations. He counselled them to ask for a surveyor-general of the territory, and that liberal appropriations might be made for the surveyors, that they might keep in advance of the settlements. He proposed to request an amendment to the land law making it possible to acquire title by the payment of the minimum valuation, by a residence of one year, or by improvements equal to the minimum valuation, and that single women should be placed on the same footing with married women. He recommended the early settlement of the boundary

representatives from Pacific. In the first instance, J. L. Brown was nominated, and died before the election. His successor, Scudder, who was nominated after his death and elected, did not live to take his seat. Henry Feister was then chosen to fill the vacancy, but died of apoplexy on the evening of the day on which he was sworn in. Feister also left a family. Another election being ordered, James C. Strong was chosen, and took his seat April 14, 1854. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, April 15, 1854. B. F. Kendall was elected chief clerk, and J. Phillips assistant clerk, of the lower house; Jacob Smith of Whidbey Island sergeant-at-arms; and J. H. Roundtree door-keeper. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, March 4, 1854.

line between Washington and the British territory on the north, and that congress should be memorialized on this subject, and on the importance of continuing the geographical and geological surveys already commenced. He made the usual prophetic remarks on the Pacific railroads,[10] referred to the inefficient mail service, of which I have spoken at length in the history of Oregon, gave same advice concerning the preparation of a code of laws, and adverted to the importance of organizing new counties east of the Cascade Range, and readjusting the boundaries of some of the older ones.

In referring to the position occupied by the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural companies, the governor declared them to have certain rights granted to them, and lands confirmed to them, but that the vague nature of their limits must lead to disputes concerning their possessions, and recommended that congress should be memorialized to extinguish their title. As to the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to trade with the Indians, that he said was no longer allowed, and under instructions from the secretary of state he had already informed the company that they would be given until July to wind up their affairs, after which time the laws regulating intercourse with the Indians would be rigidly enforced.

He recommended a special commission to report on a school system, and that congress should be asked to appropriate land for a university; also that some military training should be included in the curriculum of the higher schools. An efficient militia system was declared to be necessary in a distant territory, which

[10] 'In my judgment, with such aid as the government can rightfully furnish as a proprietor in making surveys and granting lands, the energies of our people are adequate to building not simply one, but three or four roads. Our commerce doubles in 7 years, our railroads in 4 or 5 years, and we have reason to believe that for some years to come this rate of increase will be accelerated. ...I am firmly of opinion, however, that these great undertakings should be controlled and consummated by the people themselves, and that every project of a government road should be discountenanced.' *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1854, 14.

must in case of war be compelled for a time to rely upon itself; and this he thought, with the arms and ammunition to which the territory would be entitled under the laws of congress, would enable it to protect itself from any foreign invader.[11] Such is a brief abstract of the first message of the first governor of Washington, which is an epitome also of the condition, needs, and prospects of the new commonwealth. Most of the suggestions made by the governor were carried out in some form.

Immediately after organization, the house adopted for the territorial seal a device furnished by Lieutenant J. K. Duncan of Stevens' surveying expedition.[12]

SEAL.

The first bill passed was on the 1st of March, an act providing for a board of commissioners to prepare a code of laws for the territory; the board appointed consisting of judges Edward Lander, Victor Monroe, and William Strong, who adopted as many of the

[11] *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1854, 10–18.

[12] On one side, a log cabin and an immigrant wagon, with a fir forest in the background; on the other, a sheet of water being traversed by a steamer and sailing-vessels; a city in perspective; the goddess of hope and an anchor in the centre, the figure pointing above to the significant Indian word 'Alki'—by and by. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Feb. 25, 1854; *Wash. Jour. House*, 1854, 14.

laws of Oregon as they found practicable, and other suitable ones from other codes,[13] the laws originated by the legislature being chiefly local.

The counties of Sawamish,[14] Whatcom,[15] Clallam, Chehalis, Cowlitz, Wahkiakum, Skamania, and Walla Walla[16] were created, the latter with the county seat "on the land claim of Lloyd Brooks," now the site of the city of Walla Walla. The county seat of Clarke county was fixed at Vancouver,[17] "on the east side

[13] *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS., 62. J. W. Wiley of the *Pioneer and Democrat*, a new name for the *Columbian*, was elected territorial printer by the legislature, but A. M. Berry, Wiley's partner, was appointed to superintend the printing of the laws in the east. He died of malignant small-pox soon after reaching his home in Greenland, N. H., at the age of 29 years, and the laws were not in readiness for the next legislature. Alfred Metcalf Berry came to the Pacific coast in 1849, and to Or. in 1850 for his health. In Dec. 1853 he formed a partnership with Wiley, and the name of *Columbian* being no longer significant, the publishers changed it to *Washington Pioneer*. In Jan. 1854 R. L. Doyle brought a press and material to Olympia, with the intention of starting a new paper to be called the *Northwest Democrat*, but finally consolidated with the *Pioneer*, which then became the *Pioneer and Democrat*. See *Wash. Pioneer*, Jan. 28, 1854. Soon after the death of Berry, George B. Goudy, another young man, became associated with Wiley as publisher, the firm being Wiley, Goudy, & Doyle, but Doyle retired before the end of the year (1855), and only Wiley and Goudy remained, Wiley being editor. Goudy was elected territorial printer Jan. 27 1855, the *Pioneer and Democrat* remaining the official paper of the territory until a republican administration in 1861. He was a native of Indianapolis, Ind., and born in 1828. He came to Or. in 1849, and for a year had charge of the publication of the *Spectator*. He married Elizabeth Morgan of Lafayette, Or., in Sept. 1854, and removed to Olympia early in 1855. His connection with the *Pioneer and Democrat* ceased in Aug. 1856. He died Sept. 19, 1857, leaving a wife and child. E. Furste succeeded Goudy as publisher of the *Pioneer and Democrat*. In May 1858 Wiley retired, leaving Furste publisher and editor. Wiley died March 30, 1860, at the age of 40, the victim of intemperate drinking. He was born in Ohio, was possessed of brilliant talents, and impressed his mind and energy upon the history of his adopted country, but fell by a power mightier than himself. *Pioneer and Dem.*, March 30, 1860. In November 1860 Furste sold the paper to James Lodge, who found the change in public sentiment against the democratic antecedents of this journal, which lost precedence, and was discontinued not long after. Historically, the *Pioneer and Democrat* is of more importance than any other journal or journals.

[14] Sawamish county, first organized March 13, 1854, had its name changed to Mason Jan. 3, 1864, in honor of Charles H. Mason, first secretary of the territory. The county officers appointed on its organization were: commissioners, Wesley Gosnell, Charles Graham, Lee Hancock; sheriff, Finis K. Simmons; judge of probate, Alfred Hall; auditor, V. P. Morrow; treasurer, Orrington Cushman; justice of the peace, Aaron M. Collins. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, May 27, 1854.

[15] Commissioners appointed for Whatcom county were William Cullen, H. C. Page, R. V. Peabody; sheriff, Ellis Barnes; auditor, A. M. Poe.

[16] Commissioners appointed for Walla Walla were George C. Bamford, John Owen, Dominique Pambrun; sheriff, Narcisse Raymond; judge of probate and justice of the peace, Lloyd Brooke.

[17] Vancouver is called Columbia City in the act. This patriotic change of

of Mrs Esther Short's land claim," and by the same act Mrs Short's dwelling was made the legal place of holding courts until suitable buildings should be erected by the county.[18] The county seat of Che-

name occurred about 1851 or 1852, but I fail to find any mention of it. I think it was done on the motion of the first postmaster at that place, R. H. Lansdale, who had the post-office called Columbia City. The name, however, would not pass in the face of long usage, and the Washington legislature at its second session changed it to Vancouver. The commissioners appointed for Clarke county by the first territorial legislature were William Dillon, C. C. Stiles, and Mr Fairchilds; sheriff, George W. Hart; judge of probate, Henry Gullifer; auditor, William Ryan; treasurer, Henry Burlingame; justices of the peace, Solomon Strong, Michael Tubbs; coroner, William M. Simmons; assessor, Henry C. Morse; constable for Vancouver precinct, Moses Kirkham, for Cathlapootle precinct, C. C. Bogarth, for Washougal precinct, Berry Paten.

[18] Officers were appointed for all the counties already in existence, as well as the new ones, and as the list furnishes a guide to the distribution of the population, they are here given. Skamania county commissioners, S. M. Hamilton, Joseph Robbins, Jacob W. Scroder; sheriff, E. F. McNoll; judge of probate, Cornelius Salmer; treasurer, J. H. Bush; auditor, George W. Johnson; justices of the peace, N. H. Gales, B. B. Bishop, and Lloyd Brooke.

Cowlitz county commissioners, Thomas Lowe, A. A. Abernethy, Scylor Rue; justice of the peace for Monticello precinct, Nathaniel Stone; constable, R. C. Smith; judge of probate, Nathaniel Ostrander; auditor, Charles Holman; treasurer, Alexander Crawford; sheriff, James Huntington; assessor, Benjamin Huntington; justice of the peace for Oak Point precinct, W. H. Harris; constable, F. A. Smith.

Wahkiakum county commissioners, James Birnie, Thompson Dray, Austin Nye; auditor, Newell Bearfs; treasurer, James Birnie, Jr; sheriff, William Stilwell; judge of probate and justice of the peace, Solomon Stilwell.

Pacific county commissioners, George T. Eastabrook, P. J. McEwen, Daniel Wilson; judge of probate, George P. Newell; justice of the peace, Ezra Weston; constable, William Edwards.

Lewis county commissioners, Henry R. Stillman, Thomas Metcalf, J. C. Davis; judge of probate, James Gardiner; auditor, Horace H. Pints; justices of the peace, Charles F. White, O. Small, N. Stearns, F. Delin; constables, Baptiste Bone, William C. Many; sheriff, J. L. Mitchell; auditor, Martin Budson; treasurer, C. C. Pagett; coroner, George B. Roberts; superintendent of common schools, A. B. Dillenbaugh.

Thurston county commissioners, Sidney S. Ford, Sen., David J. Chambers, James McAllister; auditor, Urban E. Hicks; sheriff, Franklin Kennedy; assessor, Whitfield Kirtley; judge of probate, Stephen D. Ruddell; treasurer, Daniel R. Bigelow; justices of the peace, Nathan Eaton, Joseph Broshears, W. Plumb; superintendent of schools, Elwood Evans; constable for Olympia precinct, Franklin Kennedy.

Chehalis county commissioners, George Watkins, John Vail, John Brady; auditor, A. O. Houston; treasurer, D. K. Weldon; judge of probate, James H. Roundtree; sheriff, M. A. Fairfield; justices of the peace, William M. Bullard, C. L. Russell, I. L. Scammon.

Pierce county commissioners, William P. Dougherty, L. A. Smith, William N. Savage; treasurer, H. C. Perkins; sheriff, C. Dunham; assessor, Hugh Patterson; coroner, Anthony Laughlin; justices of the peace, H. M. Frost, George Brown, Samuel McCaw; auditor, G. Bowlin; judge of probate, H. C. Moseley; constables, William McLucas, William Sherwood.

King county commissioners, Thomas Mercer, G. W. W. Loomis, L. M. Collins; judge of probate, William A. Strickler; sheriff, C. D. Boren; auditor,

halis county was fixed temporarily "at the house of D. K. Weldon;" of Cowlitz, at Monticello; and of Skamania, at the "south-east corner of the land claim of F. A. Chenoweth."

Olympia was fixed upon as the temporary seat of government, the judicial districts were defined, and the judges assigned to them as follows: the first district comprised Walla Walla, Skamania, Clarke, Cowlitz, Wahkiakum, and Pacific counties, Judge McFadden; second district, Lewis, Chehalis, Thurston, and Sawamish counties, Judge Monroe; third district, Pierce, King, Island, Clallam, Jefferson, and Whatcom, Judge Lander. At the second session of the legislature Lander was assigned to the second district, and the judge of that district to the third, which brought the chief justice to the more central portion of the territory. In their districts the judges were required to reside, and to hold two terms of the district court annually in each county, except in those which were attached to some other for judicial purposes, like Walla Walla, which was attached to Skamania, and Chehalis to Thurston.

The first federal court held in Washington after the organization of the territory was by the proclamation of the governor on the 2d day of January, 1854, at Cowlitz landing, by Judge Monroe, who in May held regular terms in all the counties of his district according to the act of the legislature, and to the

H. L. Yesler; treasurer, William P. Smith; superintendent of schools, Henry A. Smith; assessor, John C. Holgate; justices of the peace, John A. Chase, S. L. Grow, S. W. Russell; constables, B. L. Johns, S. B. Simmons, James N. Roberts.

Jefferson county commissioners, J. P. Keller, William Dunn, F. W. Pettygrove; treasurer, J. K. Thorndyke; sheriff, W. T. Sayward; judge of probate, L. B. Hastings; auditor, A. A. Plummer; justices of the peace, J. P. Keller, William Webster, F. W. Pettygrove, J. K. Thorndyke; assessor, J. Clinger.

Clallam county commissioners, E. H. McAlmond, E. Price, Daniel F. Brownfield; sheriff, Charles Bradshaw; justice of the peace, G. H. Gerrish; assessor, J. C. Brown; treasurer, Mr Fitzgerald; judge of probate, John Margrave; auditor, G. B. Moore.

Island county commissioners, John Alexander, John Crockett, Ira B. Powers; sheriff, Hugh Crockett; auditor, R. H. Lansdale; assessor, Humphry Hill.

satisfaction of the people. Yet in October he was removed, upon the false representation of some persons unknown that he had absented himself from the territory.[19] F. A. Chenoweth was appointed in his place, and was present as the judge of the 2d judicial district at the meeting of the supreme court in Olympia in December,[20] the bench now containing but one of the original appointees for Washington, Lander, the chief justice.[21]

There was none of that romantic attempt at creating something out of nothing in the first acts of the Washington legislature which invested with so much interest the beginnings of government in Oregon, for the legislators had at the outset the aid of United States judges and men familiar with law, besides having the government at their back to defray all necessary expenses. There is therefore nothing to relate concerning their acts, except in instances already pointed out in the message of Governor Stevens, where certain local interests demanded peculiar measures or called for the aid of congress.

The most important matter to which the attention

[19] *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Oct. 21, 1854. Monroe died at Olympia Sept. 15, 1856, aged 40 years. He was buried on the point on Budd Inlet near the capitol at Olympia, but 15 years afterward the remains were reinterred in the masonic cemetery. *Olympia Transcript*, March 13, 1869.

[20] *Id.*, Dec. 9, 1854.

[21] Edward Lander was a native of Salem, Mass. He was graduated at Harvard in 1836, and soon after entered the law school at Cambridge. His first law practice was in Essex co., but in 1841 he removed to Ind., where he was soon appointed prosecuting attorney for several counties, and subsequently judge of the court of common pleas of the state. His habits were said to be correct, his manners dignified and polished, and his legal and literary attainments of a high order. *Boston Times*, in *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Jan. 7, 1854. For McFadden's antecedents, see *Hist. Or.*, ii., chap. xi., this series. He died of heart disease, at the age of 58 years, at the residence of his son-in-law, W. W. Miller of Olympia, in June 1875, after a residence of 22 years in the territory, during which he was a member of the legislature and delegate to congress. *Spirit of the West*, June 26, 1875; *Olympia Transcript*, July 3, 1875; *U. S. House Jour.*, 43d cong. 1st sess., 13. F. A. Chenoweth was born in 1819, in Franklin co., Ohio, and admitted to the practice of law in Wisconsin at the age of 22 years. He came to Or. in 1849, and settled on the north side of the river near the Cascades, being elected to the legislature from Lewis and Clarke counties in 1852. In 1863 he removed to Corvallis, where he was again elected to the Or. legislature, and to the presidency of the Willamette Valley and Coast railroad. *Portland West Shore*, July 1877.

of the national legislature was called was a change in the land law, to effect which congress was memorialized to grant them a surveyor-general of their own, and a land system "separate from, and wholly disconnected with, that of Oregon territory."[22]

By comparing the demands with the memorials of the Oregon legislature from time to time, it will be perceived that the earth hunger was not all confined to the people south of the Columbia. And by reference to my *History of Oregon*, the reader may learn to what extent congress responded to the demands of

[22] The amendments petitioned for were: 1. To be relieved from the prohibition preventing the holders of donation certificates from selling any portion of their claims before they received a patent; their certificates to be prima facie evidence of title. Suggestions were given as to the manner of establishing a claim by witnesses before the surveyor-general. 2. That persons entitled to a donation should be permitted to take irregular fractions of land. 3. That town proprietors should be authorized to convey lots by valid deeds, the same as if a patent had been issued. 4. That when either parent of a child or children should have died upon the road to Washington, the survivor should be entitled to as much land as both together would have been entitled to; provided the land taken in the name of the deceased should be held in trust for the children. Or when either parent should have started for or arrived in the territory, and the other, though not yet started, should die, having a child or children, the surviving parent should be entitled, by complying with the provisions of the law, to the full amount that both parents and such child or children would have been entitled to had they all arrived in the territory. Or that when both parents should die after having begun their journey to Washington, or before locating a claim, having a child or children, such child or children should, by guardian, be entitled to locate as much land as both parents would have taken under the law had they lived. 5. That widows immigrating to and settling in the territory should be allowed to take the same amount of land as unmarried men, by compliance with the law. 6. That all persons who should have located claims under the provisions of the donation law prior to the 1st of Jan., 1852, should be entitled to their patents as soon as the land should have been surveyed, and they have obtained a certificate from the surveyor-general. And that all persons who should have located claims subsequent to the 1st day of Jan., 1852, should be entitled to patents by residing thereon for the term of two years, or by having made improvements to the amount of four hundred dollars; provided, that the removal of timber from the public lands without intention to reside thereon should be regarded as trespass; the improvements to be estimated by the increased value of the lands by clearing, cultivating, fencing, and building. 7. That all American citizens, or those who had declared their intention to become such, including American half-breeds, on arriving at the age of twenty-one, should be entitled to the benefit of the donation act. 8. That the provisions of the law be extended to an indefinite period. 9. That each single person should be entitled to receive 160 acres, and a man and wife double that amount; provided, that the estate of the wife should be sole and separate, and not alienable for the debts or liabilities of the husband. 10. That all persons who had failed or neglected to take claims within the time prescribed by law should be permitted to take claims as if they had but just arrived in the country. *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1854, 179–81.

both legislatures in the matter of amount of bounty and limit of time.[23] A surveyor-general and register and receiver were given to Washington; in no other wise was a separate land system granted; but the new territory was entitled to the same privileges with Oregon, no more or different.[24]

[23] *Hist. Or.*, ii., chap. x., this series. The points gained by an act of congress passed July 17, 1854, were the withdrawal of town sites from the provisions of the donation act, and subjecting them to the operation of the act of May 23, 1844, 'for the relief of citizens of towns upon lands of the United States, under certain circumstances,' and the reduction of the time of occupancy before purchase to one year; the repeal of that portion of the land law which made void contracts for the sale of land before patent issued, provided that sales should not be valid unless the vendor should have resided four years upon the land; the extension of the preëmption privilege to Oregon and Washington; the extension of the donation privilege to 1855; the grant of two townships of land for university purposes; the donation of 160 acres of land to orphans whose parents, had they lived, would have been entitled to a donation; and the appointment of a register and receiver for each of the two territories. *Wash. Ter. Statutes*, 1854, 53–5.

[24] The subject of amended land laws for their territory was not permitted to drop with this attempt. When the privileges of the old donation act expired in 1855, a petition signed by 200 settlers was presented to congress, asking that the clause in that act which required them to reside for 4 years consecutively on their claims before receiving a certificate should be expunged, and that they be allowed to purchase them at the rate of $1.25 an acre, counting the value of their improvements as payment; the amount of labor bestowed being taken as evidence of an intention to remain a permanent settler. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Aug. 19, 1855. No change was made as therein requested. Tilton, the surveyor-general appointed for Washington, was directed to join with the surveyor-general of Oregon in starting the survey of his territory, carrying out the work as already begun, and using it as a basis for organizing the Washington surveys in that part of the country where the settlers most required a survey. *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, vol. i., pt i., 33d cong. 1st sess. In his first report, Sept. 20, 1855, Tilton asked for increased compensation per mile for contractors, owing to the difficulty of surveying in Washington, where one enormous forest was found growing amidst the decaying ruins of another, centuries old, in consequence of which horses could not be used, and provisions had to be packed upon the backs of men, at a great cost. *Id.*, vol. i., pt i., 292, 34th cong. 1st sess.

W. W. De Lacy ran the standard meridian from Vancouver through to the northern boundary of Washington. The Willamette meridian fell in the water nearly the whole length of the Sound, compelling him to make repeated offsets to the east. One of these offsets was run on the line between range 5 and 6 east of the Willamette meridian, which line runs through the western part of Snohomish City. After the close of the Indian war, De Lacy ran and blazed out the line of the military road from Steilacoom to Bellingham Bay, with the assistance of only one Indian, Pims, who afterward murdered a settler on the Snohomish River, named Carter. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xx. 36–7. The total amount surveyed under the Oregon office was 1,876 miles, the amount surveyed under Tilton previous to Dec. 1855, 3,663 miles, and the quantity proposed to be surveyed in the next 2 years, 5,688 miles, all west of the Cascade Range. The Indian wars, however, stopped work for about that length of time. It was difficult to find deputies who would undertake the work, on account of Indian hostilities, even after the war was declared at an end. Deputy Surveyor Dominick Hunt was murdered on

Next in importance was a memorial relative to the extinguishment of the Indian title, congress being urged to make provisions for the immediate purchase of the lands occupied by the natives; and this request was granted, as I shall soon proceed to show. Congress was also asked to change the organic act of the territory, which apportioned the legislature by the number of qualified voters, so as to make the apportionment by the number of inhabitants, which was not allowed. Not less important than either of these was a memorial concerning the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and the difference of opinion existing between the company and the citizens of Washington in relation to the rights of the association under the treaty of 1846. The memorial set forth that the then present moment was an auspicious one for the extinction of their title, and gave as a reason that "buildings, once valuable, from long use are now measurably worthless; and lands once fertile, which paid the tiller of the soil, are now become destitute of any fertilizing qualities; that said farms are now less valuable than the same amount of lands in a state of nature;" and congress was entreated to save the country from this

Whidbey Island in the latter part of July 1858. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Aug 6, 1858; *Land-office Rept*, 1858. The field of operations in 1858 was on Shoalwater Bay, Gray Harbor, Whidbey Island, and the southern coast of the Fuca strait. As there was but one land-office in the territory, and that one situated at Olympia, the land commissioner, at the request of the territorial legislature, recommended the formation of three new districts. No action was taken, and in 1858 the legislature passed another resolution asking for three additional land districts, one to be called Columbia River Land District. The commissioner again made his former recommendation, the house committee on lands recommending two new districts. *U. S. Misc. Doc.*, 130, vol. ii., 34th cong. 1st sess.; *Id.*, doc. 114; *Id.*, doc. 30, vol. i., 35th cong. 2d sess.; *U. S. H. Com. Rept*, 376, vol. iii., 35th cong. 1st sess. On the 16th of May, 1860, congress passed an act to 'create an additional land district in Washington territory,' but provided no appropriation for carrying out its purpose until the following year, when the office at Vancouver was established. In 1857 a bill was brought before the house of representatives to extend the public surveys east of the Cascade Mountains. The senate referred the matter to the secretary of the interior, who declared there was no necessity for the bill, and that it would render emigration overland dangerous by exciting the Indians. *U. S. Sen. Misc.*, 28, 34th cong. 3d sess. It was not until the close of the Indian war east of the mountains in 1858 that the land laws were extended to that region. In 1862 the legislature memorialized congress for a land-office at Walla Walla, which was established. *Wash. Stat.*, 1861–2, 139.

deterioration.[25] The memorial also stated that at the period of the ratification of the treaty the amount of land enclosed by the Puget Sound Company at Cowlitz and Nisqually did not exceed 2,000 acres, yet that the company claimed 227 square miles, or in other words, all the land over which their herds of wild stock occasionally roamed, or to which they were from time to time removed for change of pasture. The Americans held that the treaty confirmed only the lands enclosed by fences. They had settled upon and improved the unenclosed lands in many instances; yet they had received written notices from the agents of the company commanding them to vacate their homes or be served with writs of ejectment and trespass; for which causes congress was petitioned to take steps to ascertain the rights of the company, and to purchase them.[26]

A joint resolution was also passed instructing the delegate to congress to use his influence with the administration to effect a settlement of the disputed boundary between the United States and Great Britain, involving the right to the islands of the archipelago of Haro, the matter being afterward known as the San Juan question, and to take some steps to remove the foreign trespassers from the islands—a resolution suggested, as we already know, by the message of Governor Stevens.[27]

[25] This remarkable statement is corroborated by subsequent writers, who account for the impoverishment of the soil by the substratum of gravel, which, when the sod was disturbed, allowed the rains to wash down, as through a filter, the component parts of the soil. For the same reason, the cattle-ranges, from being continually trampled in wet weather, received no benefit from the dung of the animals, and deteriorated as stated above. On the plains between the Nisqually and Puyallup rivers, where once the grass grew as tall as a man on horseback, the appearance of the country was later one of sterility.

[26] *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1854, 183–5. Two other memorials were passed at this session; one asking that the claim of Lafayette Balch for the expense incurred in rescuing the *Georgiana's* passengers from Queen Charlotte Island be paid, and one praying congress to confirm the land claim of George Bush, colored, to him and his heirs. *Id.*, 185–8. As to the first, congress had already legislated on that subject. *Cong. Globe*, xxx. 125.

[27] The other joint resolutions passed related to the establishment of a mail service, by the way of Puget Sound, between Olympia and other points in Washington to San Francisco, New York, and New Orleans; to appropriations for territorial and military roads; to light-houses at Cape Flattery, on Blunt's

The selection of territorial officers by the legislature resulted in the appointment of William Cook treasurer, D. B. Bigelow auditor, F. A. Chenoweth prosecuting attorney of the first judicial district, D. R. Bigelow for the second, and F. A. Clarke for the third. B. F. Kendall[28] was chosen territorial librarian. The legislature adjourned May 1st, after passing 125 acts, and conducting its business harmoniously.

That which appears as most deserving of comment in the proceedings of this body is a resolution passed early in the session, that, in its opinion, no disadvantage could result to the territory should the governor proceed to Washington city, "if, in his judgment, the interest of the Pacific railroad survey and the matters incident thereto could thereby be promoted." Stevens was anxious to report in person on the results of the railroad survey. In anticipation of this, he made a voyage down the Sound, looking for the best point for the terminus of the Northern Pacific, and he named Steilacoom, Seattle, and Bellingham Bay as impressing him favorably.[29] But there were other matters which he wished to bring to the attention of the government in his capacity of superintendent of

Island, and at New Dungeness; to an appropriation for a marine hospital; to a requisition for arms and equipments for the male citizens of the territory between the ages of 18 and 45; to the completion of the geological survey; to the building of an arsenal; to having Columbia City, Penn Cove, Port Gamble, Whatcom, and Seattle made ports of delivery; to having the office of the surveyor of customs removed from Nisqually to Steilacoom; to increasing the salary of the collector of customs; and to the advantage of annexing the Sandwich Islands; with some lesser local matters. Among the latter was one setting forth that Henry V. Colter, one of the firm of Parker & Colter's express, had absconded with $3,875 of the government funds, and instructing the delegate to urge congress to confer authority upon the accounting officers of the treasury to place that amount to the credit of the secretary of the territory. This matter has been already referred to in Parker's account of the earliest mails and express companies. It is said that Colter afterward fell heir to a fortune of $200,000. *Olympia Transcript*, Aug. 8, 1874.

[28] *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1854, 116. The first appropriation for a public library, $5,000, was expended by Stevens. The report of the librarian for 1854 was that there were 2,130 volumes in the library. Stevens said in his first message that he had taken care to get the best books in each department of learning, and that he had applied to the executives of every state and territory and to many learned societies to donate their publications. In 1871 the territorial library contained over 4,100 volumes, besides maps and charts. *Wash. Jour. House*, 1871, app. 1–86.

[29] *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Jan. 28, 1854.

Indian affairs for Washington, and as a commissioner to ascertain what were the rights and what was the property of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound companies in Oregon and Washington, as well as to urge the settlement of the northern boundary of the latter territory.[30]

The matter of the boundary line between the island of Vancouver and Washington was a later question. The earliest conflict arose in 1854 between I. N. Ebey, in the discharge of his official duties as collector

[30] In Stevens' report is found a list of all the forts of the H. B. Co., with their rank and value, and the amount of cultivated land, making the whole foot up no more than $300,000, whereas they received twenty years later more than double that amount. The other information contained in the report relates to the segregation of the land claimed by the companies into donation lots, with the names of the squatters, and is of interest in the history of the early settlement of the country. The following are the names of the so-called trespassers: At Fort Vancouver, Bishop Blanchet, for a mission claim, the same 640 acres being claimed by James Graham of the H. B. Co. The county of Clarke also claimed 160 acres of the same land as a county seat, which was allowed, as I have mentioned elsewhere. Over all these claims the United States military reserve extended. Immediately east of Vancouver 640 acres were claimed by Forbes Barclay (British), and the same tract by an American, Ryan, who resided on it and cultivated it, while Barclay lived at Oregon City. Adjoining was a claim of 640 acres, which, after passing through several hands—a servant of the company, Chief Factor Ogden, and Switzler—was finally sold to Nye, an American. A tract 4 miles square above these claims, and embracing the company's mills, was claimed by Daniel Harvey (British); but 640 acres, including the grist-mill, were claimed by a naturalized citizen, William F. Crate; and 640, including the saw-mill, by Gabriel Barktroth, also a naturalized citizen. A portion of this section, with the mill, was claimed by Maxon, an American. On the Camas prairie, or Mill Plain, back of this, were settled Samuel Valentine, Jacob Predstel, and Daniel Ollis, Americans. On the river above Nye were Peter Dunnington and John Stringer. Mrs Esther Short, widow of Daniel V. Short, claimed 640 acres adjoining the military reservation. The other claimants on the lands near Vancouver were George Maleck, American, and Charles Prew, naturalized, who claimed the same section, Maleck residing on it. Francis Laframboise, Abraham Robie, St Andrew, and James Petram held each 640 acres as lessees of the H. B. Co. Seepleawa, Isaac E. Bell, John C. Allman, T. P. Dean, Malky, William H. Dillon, David Sturgess—also claimed by Geo. Harvey, British subject—George Batty, James Bowers, Linsey, John Dillon, Ira Patterson, Samuel Matthews, Clark Short, Michael Trobb, John B. Lee, George Morrow, J. L. Myers, George Weber, Benjamin Olney, Job Fisher, William M. Simmons, Alexander Davis, Americans, each claiming from 320 to 640 acres, were residing and making improvements on land claimed by the H. B. Co. on the Columbia, and in several instances by individuals under the treaty, but only when not resided upon by these claimants. This list was made by I. N. Ebey for Governor Stevens. *U. S. Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 37, 33d cong. 2d sess. W. H. Dillon resided at Dillon's Ferry, near Vancouver. His daughter Olive married Matthias Spurgeon, who was born in Muscatine, Ia, and migrated to Or. in 1852, residing for 7 years in Dillon's family. He went to Idaho during early mining times in that territory, but returned and engaged in farming near Vancouver.

of customs, and a justice of the peace under the colonial government of Vancouver Island, named Griffin. Ebey finding San Juan Island covered with several thousand head of sheep, horses, cattle, and hogs, imported from Vancouver Island without being entered at the custom-house, was questioned by Griffin as to his intentions in paying the island a visit, and declined to answer, but proceeded to encamp near the shore. On the following day the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *Otter* ran over from Vancouver and anchored in front of Ebey's encampment, sending a boat ashore, in which was Mr Sankster, collector of customs for the port of Victoria, who also desired to know Ebey's errand, and was told that he was there in his official capacity of collector for the district of Puget Sound. Sankster then declared that he should arrest all persons and seize all vessels found navigating the waters west of Rosario strait and north of the middle of the strait of Juan de Fuca.

This growl of the British lion, so far from putting to flight the American eagle, only caused its representative to declare that an inspector of customs should remain upon the island to enforce the revenue laws of the United States, and that he hoped no persons pretending to be officers of the British government would be so rash as to interfere with the discharge of his official duties. Sankster then ordered the British flag to be displayed on shore, which was done by hoisting it over the quarters of the Hudson's Bay Company on the island.

During these proceedings James Douglas, governor of Vancouver Island and vice-admiral of the British navy, was on board the *Otter,* waiting for Ebey to capitulate. Sankster even proposed that he should go on board the *Otter* to hold a conference with his excellency, but the invitation was declined, with a declaration that the collector of Puget Sound would be happy to meet Governor Douglas at his tent. Soon after, the steamer returned to Victoria, leaving a boat

and crew to keep watch; and Ebey next day appointed and swore into office Inspector Webber, whom he stationed on San Juan Island.[31]

This occurrence was in the latter part of April or first of May 1854, about the time that Governor Stevens left the territory for Washington city, and was probably occasioned in part by the intimations given in the message of the governor and resolution of the legislature that the question of boundary would be agitated, with a desire and determination on the part of Douglas to hold the islands in the Fuca straits when the struggle came. This subject furnished a valid reason for wishing to secure the attention of the heads of government. The extinguishment of the Indian titles was perhaps more imperative than any other, and to this Stevens addressed himself with the energy, ability, and straightforwardness which were his characteristics, supplementing the feebler efforts of Lancaster, and with Lane of Oregon coming to the rescue of the most important bills for Washington,[32] and really doing the work of the delegate. In his readiness to assume every responsibility, Stevens resembled Thurston of Oregon, but was more solidly and squarely built, like Napoleon, whom he resembled in figure, and less nervously irritable. No amount of labor appalled him; and when in the midst of affairs of the gravest importance, he was alert and buoyant without being unduly excited.

The appropriations obtained for Washington by Lancaster, assisted by Stevens and Lane, were $30,000 for a military road from the great falls of the Missouri to intersect the road leading from Walla Walla to Puget Sound. This was a scheme origi-

[31] *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, May 13, 1854. For a chapter on the San Juan difficulty, see *Hist. Brit. Columbia*, this series.

[32] Lane added to his bill amendatory of the land law, which passed in July, a section giving Washington a surveyor-general. He consented that Washington should have the arsenal, should congress grant one jointly to both territories, and in various ways helped on the delegate, all of whose letters home complained that he could not get the attention of congress. Had he been a Thurston or a Lane, he would have compelled the attention of congress.

nating with Stevens, who thought by making the Missouri River a highway, and constructing a road from its head waters to the navigable waters of the Columbia, or to intersect with the old immigrant road, to shorten the distance travelled by wagons and lessen the hardships of immigration, as well as to avoid the danger from Indian attacks on a portion of the road by the South pass. For this reason, and to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, as well as to make a more thorough exploration of the Blackfoot country for railroad passes, he left lieutenants Grover and Mullan and Mr Doty in the mountain region west of the Missouri through the winter of 1853–4, during which the line of road across the Rocky Mountains, from Fort Benton to Cœur d'Alene Lake, was marked out, and afterward used as the route for the expenditure of the congressional appropriation named above, and which, from the fact that Mullan was appointed to construct it, took the name of the Mullan road.

An appropriation of $25,000 was made for the construction of a military road from Fort Dalles to Fort Vancouver, and of $30,000 for a road from Vancouver to Fort Steilacoom; for light-houses at Cape Shoalwater, Blunt's Island, Cape Flattery, and New Dungeness, $89,000; and for buoys at the entrance of Dungeness and the anchorages on Puget Sound, $5,000. Some increase was made in the salaries of territorial officers, and a liberal appropriation for the Indian service, including $100,000 to enable Stevens to treat with the Blackfoot and other tribes in the north and east portions of the territory.

Washington territory, or that portion of it to which its early history chiefly relates, was surrounded by and at the mercy of the most numerous, if not the most warlike, native tribes of the original territory of Oregon. The census in Stevens' report, 1853–4, gave the whole number of Indians in western Washington as between seven and eight thousand, and

east of the Cascade Mountains between six and seven thousand.[33] Besides the tribes actually resident about the Sound, the settlements were liable to incursions from the Haidahs of Queen Charlotte Island, and even from the tribes of the coast as far north as Fort Simpson, these tribes being good seamen, and possessing large and strong war canoes, in which they made long voyages to commit a murder or a theft.[34] The Indians on the sea-coast of Washington and along the strait of Fuca were sometimes guilty of murder, and those about the settlements could not always withstand the temptation to commit a robbery, for which they were promptly punished when detected, but no serious outbreaks had yet occurred since the organization of the territory.

In July 1852 the United States coast surveying steamer *Active*, James R. Alden commanding, with a surveying party under lieutenants Davidson and Lawson, entered Neah Bay, and encamped on the shore near the trading post of Samuel Hancock, having gained the full consent of the Makahs living there in order not to give offence. The steamer then proceeded on a preliminary survey up the strait to Dungeness and Port Townsend, Davidson establishing astronomical stations at the latter place and Port Angeles, after which he returned to Neah Bay, and the *Active* again left for Shoalwater Bay to make a survey there before the close of the season, leaving the party of nine persons at Neah Bay without the means of quitting that station until she should return. The camp was well armed with rifles, cavalry pistols, shot-guns, and revolvers, and although not

[33] *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1854, 249.

[34] On the 26th of September, 1852, the American schooner *Susan Sturges*, sailing along the coast of Queen Charlotte Island with a light breeze, was surrounded by thirty canoes, the Indians professing a desire to sell some fish. When they were near enough, they simultaneously sprang on board, taking possession of the vessel, stripping the crew naked, and taking them on shore prisoners, after which they burned the vessel. The captives were rescued by the H. B. Co.'s steamer *Beaver*, from Fort Simpson, with the exception of one man, whom the Indians refused to release. His fate it is needless to conjecture. *Olympia Columbian*, Jan. 1, 1863.

apprehending any danger, were prepared for an attack. All went well for a few days after the departure of the steamer, when a fleet of canoes containing between 150 and 200 Nitinats from Vancouver Island anchored in the bay, most of them remaining in their boats. Thinking this a precautionary measure to avoid quarrels between the resident tribes and the strangers, the surveying party remained in negligent satisfaction, pleased with this apparent discretion of the visitors.

But Hancock, who was buying fish oil of them, had discovered, by overhearing on the second day a conversation not intended for his ears, a plot to massacre himself and the surveying party, and possess themselves of the goods and arms of both. He hastened to impart this information to Davidson and Lawson, who immediately loaded all their arms, threw up a breastwork, and detailed a night-watch. Hancock, who had two men at his post, made preparations for an attack, and himself mounted guard. During the night some Indians came ashore and proceeded in the direction of the surveyors' camp, but being challenged by the guard, retreated to their canoes, which took their departure at daybreak. The plot originated with the Vancouver Island Indians, the Makahs being reluctant accomplices, fearing the vengeance of the white people. Happily nothing came of it, and nothing was said about it to the Makahs.[35]

Not long afterward the schooner *Cynosure,* Fowler master, from San Francisco, visited Neah Bay, having on board two Makahs, and a white man sick with what proved to be small-pox. The disease had been communicated to Indians, who soon fell ill and spread the contagion among their tribe, who perished by scores from its ravages. Not being able to control it, they conceived the idea of running away from the scourge, and fled to Vancouver Island, where they communi-

[35] *Lawson's Autobiography,* MS., 51–3; *Hancock's Thirteen Years,* MS., 273–8.

cated it to the Nitinats. The beach at Neah Bay was strewn with the unburied bodies of the miserable Makahs, who were no longer able or willing to attend the sick or bury the dead. At the end of six weeks the disease abated, but the tribe had lost a large percentage of its members, and was plunged in grief. After a few months of brooding over their losses, they came to the conclusion, as they had never experienced such a visitation before Hancock came to live among them, that he must have originated the plague, and he was threatened with death if he remained. His trading post was therefore vacated in the spring of 1853.[36]

In September 1853 a large party of the Makahs visited New Dungeness in their canoes, encamping on a sand-spit at the entrance to the harbor, having among them an Indian who had killed Albert Pettingill near Port Townsend in the previous spring. On being informed of this by a Clallam, McAlmond, Bradshaw, Abernethy, Cline, Brownfield, and Moore, being all the settlers who were in the neighborhood at the time, met, and having sent for reënforcements, finally delegated Brownfield to seek an interview with the Indians and demand the surrender of the murderer. But upon visiting their camp, the Makahs refused to deliver up the guilty one, challenging the white men to battle. Being reënforced by J. C. Brown, H. W. Watkins, and William Failing, the settlers attempted to enter the Indian camp, when they were fired upon. Firing followed from both sides, and in the affair two Indians were killed, two wounded, and one white man slightly hurt by a ball in the neck. Darkness put an end to the engagement, which was conducted in canoes, and the Indians dispersed, the murderer going to Port Townsend.[37]

On hearing of the attempted capture and the escape

[36] *Id.*, 278–86, 333. Swan, in his *Northwest Coast*, 55–6, refers to the prevalence of a light form of small-pox at Shoalwater Bay, which did not carry off white men, but was fatal to Indians. Hancock also relates that one of the Makahs who first had the disease recovered, but his people, holding him responsible for its introduction, killed him. *Thirteen Years*, MS., 285–6.

[37] *Olympia Columbian*, Oct. 8 and 15, 1853.

of the murderer, Captain Alden pursued him from port to port in the *Active*, and succeeded in overtaking him at Port Ludlow, where the chiefs of his tribe coming on board were detained until the criminal was given up. He was tried and found guilty at the October term of the 3d district court in 1854, together with an accomplice.[38]

Early in March 1854 William Young, in the employment of C. C. Terry at Alki, while looking for a land claim with a canoe and a crew of three Snohomish, was killed and robbed, two of the Indians being found with his clothing and other property in their possession. Suspecting themselves about to be arrested, they fled to Holme Harbor, Whidbey Island, whither they were pursued by the sheriff, T. S. Russell, of King county, with a posse of four men, who made the arrests, but were fired upon by the friends of the prisoners and four of their number wounded, one of whom, Charles Cherry, died soon after returning to Seattle.[39] Nine Indians, including one of the murderers, were killed, and the other one secured, who confessed not only the killing of Young, but also of one of his confederates in a quarrel over the spoil. This Indian was imprisoned for several months, but finally discharged.

About the same time the Clallams at Dungeness having killed Captain Jewell and his steward, Lieutenant Floyd Jones, 4th infantry, with a squad of men repaired to the disturbed district, where two Indians were killed and several slightly wounded in an encounter between the Clallams and the military and settlers. On hearing of these troubles, Governor Stevens made a visit to the lower Sound; but in the mean time the murderers, three in number, were ar-

[38] W. H. Wallace and Elwood Evans defended Pettingill's murderers; Joseph S. Smith and B. F. Kendall defended Jewell's murderers, and the Indian who killed Church. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Oct. 21, 1854.

[39] A petition was sent to congress asking relief from the loss sustained by T. S. Russell, F. M. Syner, and Robert R. Phillips by reason of their wounds and consequent inability to labor. *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1854, 205–6.

rested, and three others underwent flogging for theft.[40]

In consequence of the affair at Holme Harbor, Major Larned, who took command of Fort Steilacoom in July previous, proceeded to Whidbey Island with a detachment of nine soldiers, to endeavor to restore peace to the settlement at that point. While returning in a government surf-boat, navigated by John Hamilton of Steilacoom, all were lost by the sudden upsetting of the craft in a squall off Port Madison, except two privates, who clung to the boat and drifted ashore near Seattle.[41]

No Indian agents as yet having been commissioned for Washington, Governor Stevens, as superintendent of Indian affairs, appointed M. T. Simmons special agent for the Puget Sound district. Simmons entered upon his duties by publishing a request to all good citizens to aid in the suppression of liquor-selling to Indians, by informing him of every such infraction of the law which became known to them; by advising persons employing Indians to have a written contract witnessed by a white man; and by refraining from punishing suspected Indian criminals except upon certain proofs of their crimes. With this caution observed, he hoped to be able to preserve the peace. Soon after the appointment of Simmons west of the Cascade Mountains, Stevens appointed A. J. Bolan, member of the legislature from Clarke county, special agent for the district extending east of the Cascades to the Bitter Root Mountains, and W. H. Tappan, councilman from Clarke county, special agent for the Columbia River district.

In April 1854 the Snohomish voluntarily hanged two of their own people at Seattle for the murder

[40] Joseph S. Smith and B. F. Kendall defended these Indians, and also the murderer of Judah Church, who was killed in March 1853. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Oct. 21, 1854. They were all convicted, but escaped.

[41] The drowned were Major Larned, who left a family at Fort Steilacoom, John Hamilton, Corporal Jirah T. Barlow, John McIntyre, Henry Hall, Lawrence Fitzpatrick, Charles Ross, John Clark, and Henry Lees. *Id.*, April 8, 1854.

of a white man at Lake Union, in July previous, and the most friendly relations seemed established in that quarter About the same time James Burt murdered an Indian of Fort Simpson, near Olympia, was tried and acquitted, but fled the territory to avoid the vengeance of the tribe. In the estimation of the public, the white man should have been punished,[42] and apprehensions of the consequences of this act were expressed in the Olympia newspaper.

In the latter part of May ten large war canoes, containing several hundred northern Indians, appeared at Vancouver Island, and a party of eight coming on shore, shot Charles Bailey, an Englishman, whom they mistook for an American. Governor Douglas ordered out a force from the fort at Victoria, pursuing them to their canoes, two of which proceeded to Bellingham Bay, landing at the claim of a settler named Clayton, who, perceiving from their demeanor that hostilities were intended, fled to the woods, pursued by the Indians, and escaped to the house of Captain Pattle, where some of the Lummi tribe were found and sent to alarm the settlements. Clayton, Pattle, and five others, in order to avoid being taken should the enemy have found the trail of the fugitives, embarked in a canoe, and anchored off the house of Pattle, in readiness to escape by water should the Indians attack by land. Here they remained from Saturday afternoon to 10 o'clock Sunday night, when all went ashore except two—David Melville and George Brown—who were left to keep guard. During the night Richard Williams, one of the shore party, discharged his gun to clean it, the arm having been wet the day before. His fire was returned by a volley out of the darkness and from the water. At the sound of the firing, some friendly Indians came to the rescue, and the enemy was driven off. The two men in the boat were never seen again, but as their canoe

[42] *Id.*, May 20, 1854; rept of Capt. Stoneman, in *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, 88, x., 175–6, 35th cong. 1st sess.

was found on the beach the next morning, covered with blood, it was supposed that they were surprised while asleep and beheaded, as was customary with these northern Indians. The murderers then robbed several houses on Bellingham Bay and Whidbey Island, and disappered. Secretary and acting governor Mason and Agent Simmons, on learning that armed northern Indians had appeared in the waters of Washington, immediately repaired to Fort Steilacoom, and with a small detachment of soldiers proceeded down the Sound to ascertain the condition of affairs in that quarter. Nothing, however, was effected beyond making a display of the intention of the United States to punish crimes committed against its citizens, when able. Upon receiving advices from the Secretary, Governor Stevens called the attention of the war department to the inadequacy of the force stationed at Puget Sound, and the necessity for some means of transporting troops other than by canoes.

The absence of steam-vessels on the Sound made the communication of news slow and uncertain, as it also made the chance of succor in case of need nearly hopeless. The *Fairy*, which ran for a short time, had been withdrawn, and for the period of nine months nothing faster than a sailing vessel or canoe could be had to transport passengers or troops from point to point, while land travel north of Seattle was impracticable. At length, in September 1854, the steamer *Major Tompkins*, Captain James M. Hunt, owned by John H. Scranton, was brought from San Francisco and placed upon the Sound to ply regularly between Olympia, where a wharf had been erected by Edward Giddings, Jr, on the flat north of the town,[43] and Victoria, calling at the intermediate ports. Very soon afterward the custom-house was removed from Olympia to Port Townsend, and the revenue-cutter *Jefferson Davis*, Captain William C. Pease, arriving

[43] *Sylvester's Olympia*, MS., 22; *Parker's Wash. Ter.*, MS., 5-6; *Eldridge's Sketches*, MS., 11; *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1854, 209-10.

for service on the Sound, sensibly relieved the feeling of isolation of the inhabitants of the northern counties.

In October the murderers of Captain Jewell and Church escaped from Fort Steilacoom, and Acting Governor Mason offered a large reward for their re-apprehension. These Indians were retaken in December, when the *Major Tompkins*, with the revenue-cutter carrying troops in tow, proceeded to a camp of the Clallams on Hood Canal, to demand the surrender of the convicts. Already Simmons had secured Church's murderer, but the tribe refused to give up the others. When the soldiers under Lieutenant Nugent landed, the savages fled, and the only result of this expedition was the destruction of their camp and winter supply of salmon. The cutter also fired some shots into the woods before leaving, by which five Clallams were reported to have been killed. On the return down the canal, Simmons succeeded in capturing a Clallam chief known as the Duke of York,[44] and detained him as a hostage for the surrender of the escaped convicts, who were finally delivered, and taken to Steilacoom. The Indians were terrified by the rapidity with which the *Major Tompkins* followed them, and the certainty with which they were overtaken in flight, and it was believed the moral effect of the fear inspired would be effectual to prevent crimes. To the chagrin of the white population and the relief of the Indians, the *Major Tompkins* was lost the night of the 10th of February, 1855, by being blown on the rocks at the entrance to Esquimalt Harbor, Vancouver Island, her passengers all escaping to land. Her place was filled soon after by the *Water Lily*, owned by C. C. Terry.

[44] This Indian and his two wives, Queen Victoria and Jenny Lind, have become historical characters in Washington, being often referred to by writers visiting Port Townsend, where they resided. Swan, in his *Wash. Sketch*, MS., 8, makes mention of them, saying that the Duke of York lived at one end of the beach, and at the other a remnant of the Chimakum tribe. Nothing less like the personages they were named after could be imagined than these squalid beach dwellers.

Governor Stevens returned to Olympia with his family[45] on the 1st of December, in time to be present at the opening of the legislature[46] on the 4th of that month.

In his message the governor referred to the Indian disturbances on the immigrant road to Oregon and Washington,[47] as well as the troubles on the lower part of the Sound, and the effect they were likely to have upon the immigration of the following years,[48]

[45] Accompanying the governor on his first arrival was his nephew, George Watson Stevens of Lawrence, Mass., 22 years of age. He was a young man of talent and education, from whom much was expected; but was accidentally drowned in the Skookum Chuck, Feb. 16, 1885. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Feb. 24, 1855.

[46] The members of the council elected to fill the places left vacant by the expiration of the short term and other causes were Jefferson Huff and Ira Patterson from Clarke and Skamania, C. C. Terry and W. A. Strickler from Pierce and King, and A. M. Poe from Island, Clallam, Jefferson, and Whatcom counties. Catlin, of the former council, was chosen president; Butler P. Anderson, chief clerk; A. J. Moses, assistant clerk; J. L. Mitchell, sergeant-at-arms; William Cullison, door-keeper.

The lower house was composed of William McCool, of Skamania county; C. C. Stiles, Chas S. Irby, William Hendrickson, Henry R. Crosbie, of Clarke; John Briscoe, of Pacific and Wahkiakum; George Watkins, of Chehalis and Sawamish; Charles H. Spinning, Charles F. White, of Lewis; Stephen Guthrie, William Cock, Benjamin L. Henness, William P. Wells, of Thurston; William H. Wallace, Frank Clarke, Samuel McCaw, of Pierce; John Carson, of Pierce and King; A. A. Denny, of King; Timothy Heald, of Jefferson and Clallam; R. L. Doyle, of Island and Whatcom; A. S. Abernethy, of Cowlitz. Crosbie was chosen speaker; B. F. Kendall was elected chief clerk; R. M. Walker, assistant clerk; Milton Mounts, sergeant-at-arms; William Baily, door-keeper. *Wash. Jour. House*, 1854–5, 8–9, 16.

[47] The massacre of the Ward train, in *Hist. Or.*, ii., chap. xiv., this series, and the killing of George Lake, Walter G. Perry, and E. B. Cantrell, immigrants to Washington, is referred to here. *Ebey's Jour.*, MS., 12–15, 17, 19, 23, 25.

[48] The immigration to Washington by the road opened in 1853 to Walla Walla was not large. The road had been further improved, but was not yet good. Jacob Ebey and W. S. Ebey, with six others of the family, Harvey H. Jones, A. S. Yantis, Moses Kirtland, M. Cox, T. J. Headley, Henry Whitsill, George E. King, the families of Lake and Perry killed by the Indians, C. P. Anderson, Charles Van Wormer, William Goodell, A. D. Neely, J. R. Meeker, M. W. Morrow, James Kirtley, W. N. Ayers, in all about 20 families and 200 head of stock, passed over this route. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Sept. 16 and Oct. 15, 1854. In *Ebey's Journal*, MS., i. 101, I find mention of A. J. Bradley, Dick Bradley, John Waste, Judson, H. H. Jones, S. P. Burr, and hints of the settlements already made and to be made in White and Puyallup valleys. Porter's claim was the first after leaving the mountains in White River Valley. 'King, Kirtland, Jones, and others,' says Ebey, 'will probably locate in this vicinity,' and by reference to Morgan's map of Puget Sound I find these names, and that of Cox on White River. Three miles from Porter's was Connell's prairie, and three miles farther was Fennellis' prairie; six miles to the Puyallup bottoms, where some houses were being put up; nine miles after crossing the Puyallup to J. Montgomery's claim east of Steilacoom, and near that place the claim of Peter

and again recommended the enrolment of the militia, before which an application to the secretary of war for arms and ammunition must fail, and expressed the hope that the people would give him their support in arranging "on a permanent basis the future of the Indians in the territory." Feeling the necessity of this work, the governor very soon set about it, and concluded on the 26th of December a treaty with the several tribes at the head of the Sound. Three small reservations were made, as follows: an island opposite Skookum Bay, two sections of land on the Sound west of the meridian line, and an equal amount on the Puyallup River near its mouth. Under this treaty the Indians had the right to fish as usual, to pasture their horses on any unclaimed land, and to gather their food of berries and roots wherever they did not trespass upon enclosed ground, or to reside near the settlements provided they did nothing to make their presence objectionable. Between six and seven hundred signed the treaty, which, besides their annuities, gave them teachers, a farmer, mechanics, and a physician, and manifested their satisfaction.[49] This treaty was immediately ratified by the senate.

On the 22d of January, 1854, a treaty was concluded with about 2,500 natives on the eastern shore of the Sound. The treaty was held at Point Elliott, near the mouth of Snohomish River. Speeches were made by Seattle, Patkanim, and other chiefs of influence, all expressive of friendship for the white people and pleasure at the treaty, and a reservation was agreed upon on the Lumimi River. Then followed a treaty

Smith. According to the same authority, Judson Van Wormer and Goodell went to Mound Prairie, south of the Nisqually River, to find claims. S. P. Burr died on the road, but his family arrived. Mrs Meeker died on the Platte. Meeker and Mrs Burr were married after arriving in the territory. Ezra Meeker, later a well-known hop-grower in the Puyallup Valley, and author of a pamphlet on Washington, was already settled on a claim east of Steilacoom. Daniel Smalley and George W. Davidson settled near New Dungeness in the autumn of 1854, but they were not of the overland immigration. Many arrived by sea, or from the Columbia. *Wash. Ter. Sketches*, MS., 68.

[49] *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1854–5, 15; *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Dec. 30, 1854.

with the tribes farther north, at which a thousand were present, who consented readily to the terms, the chiefs using the occasion to display their oratory, but in a friendly fashion. A reservation was selected about the head of Hood Canal. Soon afterward the Makahs of Cape Flattery and other tribes at the entrance to the straits were treated with; and lastly a council was held with those on the Chehalis River and the coast, the whole business being transacted in less than three months, and in the winter season, such was the energy with which the governor addressed himself to the duties of Indian superintendent.[50]

But after a week of negotiation, in the latter case the council broke up without coming to any agreement on account of each of the fragments of tribes, five in number, desiring a separate reservation, to which Stevens refused his consent.[51]

Having completed the labor of extinguishing Indian titles west of the Cascade Mountains, with the exception of the Cowlitz, Chinooks, Chehalis, and Queniults, who together numbered about eight hundred, Stevens next prepared to enter upon the same duties in eastern Washington. While on his surveying expedition, he had been at much pains to become acquainted

[50] Swan, in his *Northwest Coast*, 327–48, gives some idea of how Stevens accomplished so much work. It was greatly advanced by his habit of having agents on the ground some time beforehand. He has been accused, particularly by Tolmie, in his *Puget Sound*, MS., 37, of forcing treaties upon the Indians without giving them time to consider sufficiently what was proposed. But Swan makes a different statement. Special Agent Tappan was sent in advance to gather up the Indians of his district and take them to the place of meeting on the Chehalis River, where H. D. Cook and Sidney Ford, Jr, would meet him with the coast tribes. Swan, J. G. Cooper of the railroad survey, George Gibbs, and others were invited to be present. The treaty-ground was on the claim of James Pilkington, 10 miles above Gray Harbor, where a comfortable camp was arranged, and where ample time was taken to make the Indians acquainted with the propositions offered them. The principal interpreter for the white men was B. F. Shaw, colonel of the newly organized militia, who gave the speech of the governor in jargon to an Indian interpreter from each tribe, who repeated it to his people—a slow but sure method of conveying his meaning.

[51] Swan thought Stevens should have yielded. Perhaps it would have been more politic; but Palmer of Oregon, after many years of acquaintance with Indian affairs, says it is a mistake to have many reservations. It certainly is much more expensive to the government. Swan believed the Indians should have been humored in their dislike of each other and their attachment to localities.

with all the tribes upon his route within or bordering upon his district, and to prepare their minds for treaty-making. He had particularly commissioned James Doty, one of his assistants, who remained at Fort Benton in charge of the meteorological post at that place for a year, to inquire into all matters pertaining to the Indian tribes in that quarter, and who was made a special agent for that purpose.[52] Lieutenant Mullan, who was employed in the Flathead country for the same length of time, was instructed to give much attention to Indian affairs, and apparently gained a strong influence over them; and Lieutenant Saxton also remained some time with the Nez Perces in order to give and obtain information.

In October Mullan and Doty arrived, the first at Vancouver and the second at Olympia, and when Stevens returned a few weeks later from Washington city, they were ready to report in person. In January 1855 Doty was despatched with a small party east of the Cascade Mountains to make arrangements with the Yakimas, Walla Wallas, Nez Perces, and Palouses, for a grand council, which, by agreement with Superintendent Palmer of Oregon, was appointed for the 20th of May, Kamiakin, chief of the Yakimas, himself directing that the council should be held in the Walla Walla Valley, near the site of the present city of that name, because it was an ancient council-ground.

At the time and place agreed upon the council was held, and treaties signed by the chiefs of the Yakimas, Walla Wallas, Nez Perces, and Cayuses, the narrative of which is contained in another volume.[53] Several weeks were consumed at the treaty-grounds, and it was the middle of June before Stevens was ready

[52] *Pac. R. R. Rept*, xii. 113.

[53] *Hist. Or.*, ii., chap. xiv., this series. Briefly, the tribes assembled gave the superintendents unexpected trouble in making treaties, Kamiakin having conspired with other chiefs to destroy the commissioners and seize the government property which was stored at Fort Walla Walla. Lawyer, head-chief of the Nez Perces, was able to prevent the conspiracy being carried out, but not to prevent what followed.

to proceed to the Blackfoot country, where arrangements had been made for a treaty council in October. While en route every opportunity was used to cultivate confidential relations with the Indians, and treaties were entered into with the upper Pend d'Oreilles, Kootenais, and Flatheads. A delegation of the Nez Perces, under the special agency of William Craig of Lapwai, attended him to the Blackfoot council, where a treaty of peace was entered into between the Blackfoot nation and this tribe, and where a successful conference was held with this powerful and predatory people.[54] The news of the Blackfoot treaty was despatched to Olympia by the governor's special expressman, W. H. Pearson, who returning October 29th met Stevens' party two days' travel west of Fort Benton, on their way home with the intelligence that, so far from keeping their treaty obligations, the Yakimas, Walla Wallas, Cayuses, Palouses, and a part of the Nez Perces were at war with the white people, and that it would be impossible for him to reach

[54] Stevens was assisted in his labors by Special Agent Doty; by commissioned agent R. H. Lansdale, whose district this was; by Gustavus Sohon, 'a private in the 4th infantry, who was with Mr Mullan the year previous in the Bitter Root Valley, and had shown a great taste as an artist and ability to learn the Indian language, as well as facility in intercourse with the Indians;' by Albert H. Robie, 'a most intelligent young man, who, from a cook-boy in 1853, had in a year and half become an intelligent herder and woodsman, and was also desirous of being engaged on the service;' *Pac. R. R. Rept*, xii. 196; and Special Agent Thomas Adams, one of his aids in 1853. His messenger was W. H. Pearson, whom Stevens describes as 'hardy, intelligent, bold, and resolute,' and as being 'acquainted with all the relations between Indians and white men, from the borders of Texas to the forty-ninth parallel.' Pearson carried the news of the Walla Walla council to Olympia, and returning overtook Stevens in the Flathead country in time to start back again July 18th with the results of a council with that nation. On the 27th of August he again overtook Stevens' party at Fort Benton, the distance to Olympia and back—1,750 miles—being accomplished in 28 days, some of which were not used in travel. He rode the 260 miles from Fort Owen to Fort Benton in less than three days. One thing which Stevens never forgot to do was to give credit where it belonged, even to his humblest servants; but this feat of Pearson's he mentions as showing the practicability of travel in eastern Washington. His thirteen-year-old son Hazard, who accompanied him on this journey to the Blackfoot country, was sent as a messenger to the Gros Ventres to bring them to the council-ground at the mouth of Judith River, and rode 150 miles from 10 o'clock of one day to half-past 2 o'clock of the next, without fatigue. Stevens was detained beyond the time contemplated by having to wait for keel-boats from below on the Missouri River with the treaty goods, the water being low.

Olympia through the Indian country, advices from army officers recommending him to go down the Missouri River, and return to Washington territory by the way of New York. Instead of taking this humiliating advice, Stevens at once determined to push forward at all hazards. Sending Doty back to Fort Benton for a large supply of ammunition, with additional arms and horses, he encamped his men to await Doty's return, and on the 31st, with only A. H. Robie and a Delaware Indian interpreter, started to ride express to Bitter Root Valley, to communicate with Agent R. H. Lansdale, in charge of the Flatheads. At Fort Owen[55] he overtook the Nez Perce delegation, whom he found informed of the war which had broken out in the Yakima country, and also that a portion of their own tribe were disaffected and some of them hostile, while all the other tribes who had been parties to the treaty of Walla Walla were undoubtedly so. However, after a conference, the whole party of fourteen, including the war-chiefs Looking Glass, Spotted Eagle, and Three Feathers, promised friendship, and agreed to accompany Stevens as a part of his escort, offering if he should go through the Nez Perce country to send a large party of young men with him to The Dalles. He halted but one day, and moved down to Hell Gate pass to wait for Doty, who overtook him on the 11th of November, and where he was detained until the 15th completing preparations for the contemplated march. He crossed the Bitter Root Mountains on the 20th, in three feet of snow, the horses of the train being one night without grass. When twenty-five miles from the Cœur d'Alêne Mission, he again travelled in advance of the train, with only Pearson, Craig, and four of the Nez Perces.

Information had been brought to Stevens that it

[55] Fort Owen was a stockade, the residence of John Owen and his brother, stock-raisers in the Bitter Root Valley. They had abandoned their place previous to the passage of the railroad expedition from fear of the Blackfoot tribe, but had reëstablished it.

was the intention of the hostile tribes to cut off his return, and he had no means of knowing to what extent the Cœur d'Alênes and other tribes on his route had been influenced or brought into the combination for war. But judging it best to seem unconscious of danger, he did so, "throwing ourselves into the midst of the Indians with our rifles in one hand, and our arms outstretched on the other side, we tendered them both the sword and the olive-branch." To the Nez Perces he had given instructions to entertain the Cœur d'Alênes with stories of the Blackfoot council, and talk of the advantages of the treaty which would relieve them in the future of the depredations to which they from time immemorial had been subjected by this people.

The plan succeeded. The Cœur d'Alênes, taken by surprise, met the governor and his party with a cordial welcome; but when the first involuntary pleasure of meeting was over, they began to remember what the emissaries of Kamiakin, who were but five days gone, had told them of him, their manner changed, and they seemed undecided whether to commit themselves to peace or war.

Without giving them time to retract, Stevens hastened on, as soon as his train had overtaken him to the Spokane country, where he had resolved to hold a council. Arrived at the place of Antoine Planté,[56] Indian runners were despatched to the lower Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, and Colville Indians, and invitations sent to Angus McDonald at Fort Colville, and also to the Jesuit fathers Ravelli and Joset of the Colville and Cœur d'Alêne missions, to bring them together in conference.

Several days elapsed before all arrived, and when they were met, it seemed doubtful if peace could be obtained. "I had there," said Stevens in his official report, "one of the stormiest councils, for three days,

[56] Planté was a half-breed living in the Spokane country, 'near the prairie intermediate between them and the Cœur d'Alênes.'

that ever occurred in my whole Indian experience," because he would not promise the Indians that the United States troops should not cross to the north side of the Snake River. "Of course," says Father Joset, "the governor could not promise such a thing. He made several promises, but he evaded that question." [57]

But when the Indians had heard a complete refutation of the tales told them by the agents of Kamiakin, and been assured of protection so long as they remained friendly, they took heart and appeared satisfied; and Stevens conquered, as he had at the Walla Walla council, by force of personal will as well as argument, the chiefs ending by consulting him on all points as if he had been their father, and confiding to him all their vexations and anxieties.

But there was another danger to be encountered. The Spokanes insisted that the Nez Perces were hostile, though Stevens had hitherto had entire confidence in their good faith. Being put upon his guard when he was rejoined by the party from the Blackfoot council under Looking Glass, he set his interpreter to spy upon this chief, who was at length overheard explaining to a Spokane chief a plan to entrap the treaty-maker when he should arrive in the Nez Perce country, and advising the Spokanes to a similar course. Says Stevens: "I never communicated to Looking Glass my knowledge of his plans, but knowing them, I knew how to meet them in council. I also knew how to meet them in his own country, and it gave me no difficulty." [58]

[57] I was so fortunate as to secure, through the industry of Mrs Rowena Nichols of Whitman county, Washington, a copy of some of Joset's writings, in which is a pretty full account of this council of Stevens with the Spokanes and others. It is contained in a manuscript by Mrs Nichols, called *Indian Affairs in Oregon.*

[58] *Pac. R. R. Rept*, xii. 225. This incident shows that Looking Glass was no more sincere in signing the treaty of Walla Walla than was Kamiakin or Peupeumoxmox. Father Joset says that somebody having told the Indians that it was for their interest to make a treaty, 'as the whites would have their lands anyway,' they agreed to make a mock treaty in order to gain time and prepare for war. *Nichols' Ind. Aff.*, MS., 3.

The Spokanes offered to escort him through the country of the "hostile Nez Perces," but Stevens declined, to show that he had no favors to ask, as well as to lessen the danger of collusion between Looking Glass and the Spokanes. He despatched Craig with a part of the Nez Perce delegation to Lapwai in advance, to invite their people to and arrange for holding a council, as also to procure him an escort to The Dalles. To enlarge his party of white men, he organized a battalion of miners and others waiting to get through the hostile country, called the Stevens Guards and Spokane Invincibles, by which means he added twenty men to his escort who wished to go to The Dalles. When all were mustered in he had a company of fifty. For these he procured the best horses in the country, reducing every pack to eighty pounds, in order that he might fight or fly[59] as occasion required; and thus equipped, set out to encounter, for aught he knew, the combined war force of the confederated tribes. But a forced march for four days in rain and snow brought him to Lapwai, where Craig was awaiting him, with the Indians prepared for a council, which was immediately called.[60]

In the midst of it an Indian express arrived from Walla Walla with the news of four days' fighting and the death of Peupeumoxmox. It had been previously agreed that a large force of Nez Perces should accompany Stevens to The Dalles, but the knowledge of

[59] *Ind. War Expenses Speech*, 12.

[60] William Craig was born in Greenbriar co., Va, in 1810. He entered the service of the American Fur Company in 1830, and for ten years led the life of a trapper. When the fur companies broke up, about 1840, he came to Or., and settled not long after at Lapwai, near Spalding's mission, to which he rendered valuable assistance in controlling the Indians. He also was of much service to Gov. Stevens in making treaties with the Indians of eastern Washington. Stevens appointed him on his staff, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and he was afterward appointed Indian agent at Lapwai, for which position he was well fitted, and which he held for a long time. 'But for his liberality he would have been rich, but he has given away enough to make several fortunes.' *Walla Walla Union*, Oct. 23, 1869. 'He was the comrade in the mountains of Kit Carson, J. L. Meek, Robert Newell, Courtenay Walker, Thompson, Rabboin, and a host of other brave men whose names are linked with the history of the country.' *Walla Walla Statesman*, in *Portland Oregonian*, Oct. 30, 1869.

the occupation of the country by the Oregon troops rendered this unnecessary, and the next day, accompanied by sixty-nine well-armed Nez Perce volunteers, in addition to the Stevens Guards, he set out for The Dalles by the way of the seat of war.

Here are a few men who settled in Washington at an early period, but who had first resided in Oregon:

Solomon Strong, born in Erie co., N. Y., Nov. 11, 1817. At the age of fourteen years removed to Ohio, thence to Iowa, and thence, in 1847, to Or., with an ox-team, with his wife and one child, George W., born in 1845, in Iowa. Strong settled on a claim seven miles from Portland, residing there until Sept. 17, 1850, when he took a donation claim in Cowlitz co., on which he has resided ever since. Mrs. Strong was the first white woman on the north side of Lewis river. He was elected justice of the peace in 1852 in what was then Clarke co., and appointed co. commissioner by Gov. Stevens, to which office he was afterwards elected for eleven and a half years. On the organization of Cowlitz co., was elected to the same office and soon resigned. He married, Jan. 5, 1845, Miss Mary A. Bozarth, of Mo.; has ten children.

Squire Bozarth, born in Hardin co., Ky, Jan. 11, 1792, married there, in 1816, Millie H. Willis, a native of Va, born 1802. He removed to Mo. and Iowa, and in 1845 came to Oregon overland with his wife and eight children, namely, Owen W., Sarah A., Lorana, Christopher C., Julia A., Squire Jr, Millie W., born in Mo., and Emma C., born in Ia. Three children, Elizabeth Bozarth Lantze, Mrs Mary A. Strong, and John S. Bozarth, came two years later. Mr Bozarth first settled in Washington co., Or., but removed to the Columbia river opp. Vancouver, and again, in 1850, to Lewis river, where he took a donation claim on the North Fork, where he died March 16, 1853.

John S. Bozarth settled on Lewis river in 1852. In 1852 he had married Arebreth Luelling, a native of Ill., who came to Or. in 1847. He died in March 1882, leaving seven children, all born on Lewis river.

C. C. Bozarth, born in Marion co., Mo., in 1832, Jan. 1st, married, in 1863, Mrs Rhoda R. Van Bebber, born in Ill., a daughter of Jacob John, who came to Or. in 1852. He resided on Lewis river and had four children. He was engaged in farming until 1881, when he went to general merchandising at Woodland, Cowlitz Co. In 1856 was assessor of Clarke co., and again in 1864 and 1866, and of Cowlitz co. from 1875 to 1879. He was justice of the peace fourteen years; was an assemblyman from Clarke co. in 1861–2, and held the position of postmaster at Woodland.

F. N. Görig, born in Germany in 1824, came to U. S. in 1848, lived two years in Washington, D. C., went to Ill., and in 1853 came to Or., locating on the Columbia river, near St Helen. In 1865 removed to Cowlitz co., Wash. He married, in 1851, Christine Heitmann of Germany. They had seven sons and one daughter, their eldest being born upon the journey to Or., at Green river. He owns over one thousand acres, and is a wealthy citizen of Cowlitz Co.

Ruben Lockwood was born in Springfield, Vt, in 1822, but reared in Ohio. He came to W. T. in 1852 with his wife and step-daughter, Miss Anna C. Conway, and settled on the North Fork of Lewis river, in Clarke co. Being a teacher, he was employed in Oregon City, at The Dalles, and in Petaluma, Cal., still keeping his home in Wash. He was married in 1850 to Mrs Mary C. Conway, of Crawfordsville, Ind. Their children are S. F. Lockwood, born in Oregon City, and Lillie C. Lockwood. The son married Miss Pauline Brozer, a native of Clarke co.

William A. L. McCorkle, born in Rockbridge co., Va, in 1826, reared in Ohio, came to Cal. in 1849, and to Cowlitz Valley in 1850, settling nine miles from its mouth. Married Diana Saville, a native of that co., and has two sons, John W. and Eugene.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN WARS.

1855–1856.

CAUSES OF THE INDIAN OUTBREAK—DISCOVERY OF GOLD NEAR FORT COLVILLE—YAKIMAS HOSTILE—EXPEDITIONS OF MAJOR O. G. HALLER INTO THE SNAKE AND YAKIMA COUNTRIES—YAKIMA CAMPAIGN OF 1855—MOVEMENT OF TROOPS ON THE SOUND—ATTACK ON SEATTLE—WAR VESSELS ON THE SOUND—WALLA WALLA CAMPAIGN OF THE OREGON VOLUNTEERS—OPERATIONS OF THE SECOND OREGON REGIMENT—ATTACK ON THE CASCADES—COLONEL CORNELIUS RETURNS TO PORTLAND.

THE reader of Oregon history will remember that mention is made of the massacre of the Ward train by the Snake Indians near Fort Boisé in the autumn of 1854. Major Granville O. Haller, stationed at Fort Dalles, made a hasty expedition into the Snake country, intended to show the Indians that the government would not remain inactive while its citizens were subjected to these outrages. The march served no other purpose than to give this notice, for the guilty Indians had retired into their mountain fastnesses, and the season being late for recrossing the Blue Mountains, Haller returned to The Dalles. The following summer, however, he led another expedition into the Boisé Valley, and following up the trails, finally captured and executed the murderers.

Hardly had he returned to Fort Dalles when news reached him of trouble in the Yakima country. In the spring of 1855 gold had been discovered in the region of Fort Colville, which caused the usual rush of miners to the gold fields, making it difficult for Governor Stevens to restrain his escort from deserting.[1]

[1] *Pac. R. R. Rept*, 201.

He proceeded on his mission, informing the tribes of the Upper Columbia, Kettle Falls, Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, and Cœur d'Alenes, that on his return he would negotiate with them for the sale of their lands.

But the Indians were not satisfied with their treaty, nor with the influx of white men. About the first of August Pierre Jerome, chief of the Kettle Falls people, declared that no Americans should pass through his country. From Puget Sound several small parties set forth for Colville by the Nisqually pass and the trail leading through the Yakima country by the way of the catholic mission of Ahtanahm, and about the middle of September it was rumored that some of them had been killed by the Yakimas. A. J. Bolon, special agent for the Yakimas, was on his way to the Spokane country, where he expected to meet Stevens on his return from Fort Benton, and assist in the appointed councils and treaties with this and the neighboring tribes. He had passed The Dalles on this errand when he was met by Chief Garry of the Spokanes with these reports, and he at once turned back to investigate them.

The catholic mission, near which was the home of Kamiakin, was between sixty and seventy miles in a north-easterly direction from The Dalles, and to this place he determined to go in order to learn from Kamiakin himself the truth or falsity of the stories concerning the Yakimas.[2] Unattended he set out on this business, to show by his coming alone his confidence in the good faith of the tribe, and to disarm any fears they might have of the intentions of the white people.[3] His absence being protracted beyond

[2] The Ahtanahm mission was established by the oblate fathers who came to the country in 1847, and by Brouillette. It was in charge of Pandosy in 1855, but owing to the absence of this priest, was, at the time of Bolon's visit, temporarily in charge of Brouillette. This priest seems to have been unfortunate in the matter of being housed by American-killing Indians.

[3] Gibbs says that Kamiakin had avoided meeting Bolon since the treaty, but that Skloom, his brother, had told Bolon that a war council had been held in the Grand Rond Valley, and that he, Skloom, had spoken against war; and that Lawyer also informed Bolon of this council. Bolon must have hoped to influence Kamiakin. *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 426.

the time required, Nathan Olney, agent at The Dalles, sent out an Indian spy, who returned with the information that Bolon had been murdered while returning to The Dalles, by the order of Kamiakin, and by the hand of his nephew, a son of Owhi, his half-brother, and a chief of the Umatillas, who shot him in the back while pretending to escort him on his homeward journey, cut his throat, killed his horse, and burned both bodies, together with whatever property was attached to either.

All this Kamiakin confessed to the Des Chutes chief, who acted as spy, saying that he was determined on war, which he was prepared to carry on, if necessary, for five years;[4] that no Americans should come into his country; that all the tribes were invited to join him, and that all who refused would be held to be foes, who would be treated in the same manner as Americans—the adults killed, and the children enslaved. The report of the spy was confirmed by a letter from Brouillette, who wrote to Olney that war had been the chief topic among the Yakimas since their return from the council.[5] It was now quite certain that an Indian war, more or less general, was at hand.

Without any authoritative promulgation, the rumor of the threatened coalition spread, and about the 20th of September returning miners brought the report that certain citizens had been killed in passing through the Yakima country. As soon as it became certainly

[4] This boast was not an idle one. Gibbs says that the Yakimas had laid in large stores of powder, and that Qualchin, the son of Owhi, had purchased 300 pounds at The Dalles some time before the war commenced. He further says that Kamiakin did not intend to begin the war so soon, but meant to wait until the Columbia should be frozen, so that no succor could reach the people at The Dalles and elsewhere. *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 427–8.

[5] Letter of O. Humason in *Or. Statesman*, Oct. 6, 1855; *Armstrong's Or.*, 108; *Dowell's Scrap-Book*, 89, 96, 100; *Parrish's Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 80; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 95; *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS., 56, 60; Palmer's rept to com. of Ind. aff., in *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, 93, pp. 55–61, 34th cong. 1st sess., Ind. Aff., vol. 34; letter of Supt Palmer, in *Or. Statesman*, Oct. 13, 1855; *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, 1, p. 335, 512–15, vol. i., part i., 34th cong. 1st sess.; *Ibid.*, p. 73–89, vol. i., part ii.; *Stevens' Speech on War Claims*, 6, 16.

known,[6] Acting Governor Mason made a requisition upon forts Vancouver and Steilacoom for troops to protect travellers by that route, and also intimated to the commanding officers that, as Governor Stevens expected to be in the Spokane country in September, under the circumstances a detachment of soldiers might be of assistance to him.

Meanwhile Major Raines, who regarded Kamiakin and Peupeumoxmox as the chiefs most to be dreaded, ordered eighty-four men under Haller from Fort Dalles to pass into the Yakima country and coöperate with a force sent from Steilacoom. Haller set forth on the 3d of October. His route lay over a gradual elevation for ten miles north of the Columbia to the summit of the bald range of hills constituting the Klikitat Mountains. Beyond these was the Klikitat Valley, fifteen miles in width, north of which stretched the timbered range of the Simcoe Mountains, beyond which again was the Simcoe Valley, on the northern boundary of which, about sixty miles from The Dalles, was the home of Kamiakin and the Ahtanahm mission, the objective point of the expedition.

It was not until the third day, and when the troops were descending a long hill to a stream skirted with dense thickets of small trees, that any Indians were seen. At this point, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Indians attacked,[7] being concealed in the thick undergrowth mentioned. There was a sharp engagement lasting until nightfall, when the Yakimas withdrew, leaving Haller with eight killed and

[6] The first person known to be killed by the Yakimas was Henry Mattice of Olympia. One of the Eatons, the first settlers east of Tumwater, was also killed, and other citizens of Puget Sound, to the number of about 20, among whom were Fanjoy, Walker, and Jemison of Seattle.

[7] Cram, in his *Top. Mem.*, 90, says that Haller attacked the Indians without authority from his commanding officer, quoting from Raines' official address to the Yakimas to prove it, which runs as follows: 'I sent this handful of soldiers into your country to inquire into the facts of the murder of Indian agent Bolon; it was not expected that they should fight you.' Haller, in his report, says he was attacked, and Raines' reproof of the Yakimas shows that he was. No other version was ever given until Cram undertook to vindicate the course of Gen. Wool.

wounded men. That night the troops lay upon their arms. In the morning the attack was renewed, the Indians endeavoring to surround Haller as he moved to a bold eminence at the distance of a mile. Here the troops fought all day without water and with little food. It was not until after dark that a messenger was despatched to The Dalles to apprise Raines of the situation of the command and obtain reënforcements.

The cavalry horses and pack-animals, being by this time in a suffering state, were allowed to go free at night to find water and grass, except those necessary to transport the wounded and the ammunition. Toward evening of the third day the troops moved down to the river for water, and not meeting with any resistance, Haller determined to fall back toward The Dalles with his wounded. The howitzer was spiked and buried, and such of the baggage and provisions as could not be transported was burned. The command was organized in two divisions, the advance under Haller to take care of the wounded, and the rear under Captain Russell to act as guard. In the darkness the guide led the advance off the trail, on discovering which Haller ordered fires to be lighted in some fir trees to signal to the rear his position, at the same time revealing it to the Indians, who, as soon as daylight came, swarmed around him on every side, following and harassing the command for ten miles. On getting into the open country a stand was made, and Haller's division fought during the remainder of the day, resuming the march at night, Russell failing to discover his whereabouts. When twenty-five miles from The Dalles Haller was met by Lieutenant Day of the 3d artillery with forty-five men, who, finding the troops in retreat, proceeded to the border of the Yakima country merely to keep up a show of activity on the part of the army. Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter with fifty men had crossed the Cascades by the Nachess pass, with the design of reënforcing Haller, but finding a large number of Indians in the field, and hearing that

Haller was defeated, prudently fell back to the west side of the mountains.

Such were the main incidents of Haller's Yakima campaign, in which five men were killed, seventeen wounded, and a large amount of government property destroyed, abandoned, and captured.[8] The number of Indians killed was unknown, but thought to be about forty.

Preparations for war were now made in earnest, both by the military and the citizens, though not without the usual attendant bickerings. A proclamation was issued, calling for one company to be enrolled in Clarke county, at Vancouver, and one in Thurston county, at Olympia, to consist of eighty-seven men, rank and file, with orders to report to the commanding officers of Steilacoom and Vancouver, and as far as possible to provide their own arms and equipments. The estimated number of hostile Indians in the field was 1,500. Application for arms was made by Mason through Tilton, the lately arrived surveyor-general, to Sterrett and Pease, commanders respectively of the sloop of war *Decatur* and the revenue-cutter *Jefferson Davis*, then in the Sound, and the request granted.

There was organized at Olympia the Puget Sound Mounted Volunteers, Company B, with Gilmore Hays as captain, James S. Hurd 1st lieutenant, William Martin 2d lieutenant, Joseph Gibson, Henry D. Cock, Thomas Prather, and Joseph White sergeants; Joseph S. Taylor, Whitfield Kirtley, T. Wheelock, and John Scott corporals—who reported themselves to Captain Maloney, in command of Fort Steilacoom, on the 20th, and on the 21st marched under his command for White River to reënforce Slaughter, quartermaster at Steilacoom, who had gone through the Nachess pass into the

[8] A herd of cattle being driven out for the troops was captured. Two young men, Ives and Ferguson, escaped by flight and stratagem, suffering terribly from wounds and famine, one of them being two weeks in getting to The Dalles.

hostile country with forty men, and had fallen back to the upper prairies, but who awaited the organization of an army of invasion to return to the Yakima country.

After due proclamation, Mason issued a commission to Charles H. Eaton to organize a company of rangers, to consist of thirty privates and a complement of officers.[9] The company was immediately raised, and took the field on the 23d to act as a guard upon the settlements, and to watch the passes through the mountains. On the 22d a proclamation was issued calling for four companies, to be enrolled at Vancouver, Cathlamet, Olympia, and Seattle, and to hold themselves, after organizing and electing their officers, in reserve for any emergency which might arise. James Tilton was appointed adjutant-general of the volunteer forces of the territory, and Major Raines, who was about to take the field against the Yakimas, brigadier-general of the same during the continuance of the war. Company A of the Mounted Volunteers organized in Clarke county was commanded by William Strong, and though numbering first, was not fully organized until after Company B had been accepted and mustered into the service of the United States. Special Indian agent B. F. Shaw, who took the place of Bolon, was instructed by Mason to raise a company and go and meet and escort back Governor Stevens. Several companies were raised in Oregon, as I have elsewhere related, J. W. Nesmith being placed in command, with orders to proceed to the seat of war and coöperate with Raines.

On the 30th of October Raines marched for the Yakima country, having been reënforced by 128 regulars and 112 volunteers from Washington, including Strong's company of 63 and Robert Newell's company

[9] The rangers were officered by C. H. Eaton, captain; James McAllister, James Tullis, A. M. Poe, lieutenants; John Harold, Charles E. Weed, W. W. Miller, S. Phillips, sergeants; S. D. Rheinhart, Thomas Bracken, S. Hodgdon, James Hughes, corporals. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Oct. 26, 1855.

of 35 men, making a force of about 700. On the 4th of November Nesmith, with four companies of Oregon volunteers, overtook Raines' command, proceeding with it to the Simcoe Valley, where they arrived on the 7th. Little happened worth relating. There was a skirmish on the 8th, in which the Oregon volunteers joined with the regulars in fighting the Indians, who, now that equal numbers were opposed to them, were less bold. When it came to pursuit, they had fresh horses and could always escape.[10] They were followed and driven up the Yakima, to a gap through which flows that stream, and where the heights had been well fortified, upon which they took their stand; but on being charged upon by the regulars, under Haller and Captain Augur, fled down the opposite side of the mountain, leaving it in possession of the troops,[11] who returned to camp. The Indians showing themselves again on the 10th, Major Armstrong of the volunteers, with the company of Captain Hayden and part of another under Lieutenant Hanna, passed through the defile and attempted to surround them and cut off their retreat; but owing to a misunderstanding, the charge was made at the wrong point, and the Indians escaped through the gap, scattering among the rocks and trees. On the 10th all the forces now in the Yakima country moved on toward the Ahtanahm mission, skirmishing by the way and capturing some of the enemy's horses, but finding the country about the mission and the mission itself quite deserted. After a few more unimportant movements Nesmith proceeded to Walla Walla, to

[10] Lieut Philip Sheridan, escorting Lieut R. S. Williamson of the topographical engineers, who happened to be at Vancouver, was present with a detatchment of dragoons. *Rept of Major-General Raines to Adjt-General Thomas*, in military archives at Vancouver. I will here remark, that every facility has been afforded me by the military department of Oregon for seeing and copying documents and reports. Special courtesy has been shown by generals Clark, Jeff. C. Davis, and O. O. Howard, and their staff-officers, for which I here make my grateful acknowledgments.

[11] In crossing the Yakima River two soldiers were drowned; and in a skirmish which the volunteers under Captain Cornelius had with the Indians, George Holmes of Clackamas county and Stephen Waymire of Polk county were wounded. *Letter of Marion Co. Volunteer*, in *Or. Statesman*, Nov. 24, 1855.

hold that valley against hostile tribes, while Raines, leaving his force to build a block-house on the southern border of the Yakima country, reported in person to General Wool, who had just arrived at Vancouver with a number of officers, fifty dragoons, 4,000 stand of arms, and a large amount of ammunition. Wool ordered the troops in Oregon to be massed at The Dalles to await his plan of operations, which, so far as divulged, was to establish a post at the Walla Walla to keep in check the other tribes while prosecuting war against the Yakimas. An inspection of the troops and horses, however, revealed the fact that many of the soldiers were without sufficient clothing, and that few of their animals were fit for service. The quartermaster was then directed to procure means of transportation from the people of the Willamette, but owing to the heavy drain made upon them in furnishing the volunteer force, wagons and horses were not to be had, and they were ordered from Benicia, California, and boats and forage from San Francisco. Before these could arrive the Columbia was frozen over, and communication with the upper country completely severed; but not before Major Fitzgerald with fifty dragoons from Fort Lane had arrived at The Dalles,[12] and Keyes' artillery company had been sent to Fort Steilacoom to remain in garrison until the return of milder weather.

The ice remained in the lower Columbia but three weeks, and on the 11th of January, 1856, the mail-steamer brought despatches informing Wool of Indian disturbances in California and southern Oregon, which demanded his immediate return to San Francisco. While passing down the river he met Colonel George Wright, with eight companies of the 9th infantry regiment, to whom he assigned the command of the Columbia River district; and at sea he also met Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey, with two companies of the same

[12] At the moment of Haller's defeat Fitzgerald had been ordered to the Yakima country, but owing to troubles in southern Oregon, of which at the time Raines was not informed, was unable to obey the order at once.

regiment, whom he assigned to the command of the Puget Sound district.

Colonel Wright was directed to establish his headquarters at The Dalles, where all the troops intended to operate in the upper country would be concentrated; and as soon as the ice was out of the river, and the season would permit, to establish a post in the neighborhood of Fort Walla Walla, and another at the fishery on the Yakima River, near the crossing of the road from Walla Walla to Fort Steilacoom; and also an intermediate post between the latter and Fort Dalles, the object of the latter two posts being to prevent the Indians taking fish in the Yakima or any of its tributaries, or the tributaries of the Columbia. The occupation of the country between the Walla Walla and Snake rivers, and on the south side of the Columbia, it was believed, would soon bring the savages to terms.

During this visit, as indeed on some other occasions both before and after, Wool did not deport himself as became a man occupying an important position. He censured everybody, not omitting Raines and Haller, but was particularly severe upon territorial officers and volunteers. He ordered disbanded the company raised by order of Mason to go to the relief of Governor Stevens returning from the Blackfoot country,[13] although Raines put forth every argument to induce him to send it forward. This conduct of Wool was bitterly resented by Stevens, who quoted the expressions used by Wool in his report to the departments at Washington, and in a letter to the general himself.[14] The effect of Wool's course was to raise an impassable barrier between the regular and

[13] Letter of Nesmith to Curry, Nov. 30, 1855, in *Evans' Military Organization*, 84; Dalles corr., *Or. Statesman*, Nov. 10, 1855.

[14] *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 66, 45, 34th cong. 1st sess., Ind. aff. 34. Official vanity and jealousy are said by James G. Swan to have been at the bottom of Wool's hostility to Stevens. According to Swan, Wool and Stevens met at the Rasette House in San Francisco in 1854, when Wool related an incident of the battle of Buena Vista, taking all the glory upon himself. Stevens reminded him that Taylor was chief in command and Wool second. The rebuke displeased Wool, who revenged himself when he found an opportunity. Letter in *Olympia Transcript*, May 9, 1868.

volunteer officers, and to leave the conduct of the war practically in the hands of the latter.

Meanwhile affairs on the Sound were not altogether quiet. From the rendezvous at Nathan Eaton's house, on the 24th of October, 1855, went nineteen rangers under Captain Charles Eaton to find Leschi, a Yakima-Nisqually chief, who was reported disaffected; but the chief was not at home. Encamping at the house of Charles Baden, Eaton divided his company and examined the country, sending Quartermaster Miller[15] to Fort Steilacoom for supplies. While reconnoitring, Lieutenant McAllister and M. Connell,[16] of Connell's prairie, were killed, and the party took refuge in a log-house, where they defended themselves till succor came.

Elsewhere a more decisive blow was struck. As early as the 1st of October Porter had been driven from his claim at the head of White River Valley, and soon afterward all the farmers left their claims and fled to Seattle with their families, where a block-house was erected. Soon after the sloop of war *Decatur* anchored in front of Seattle, the commander offering his services to assist and defend the people in case of an occasion arriving; Acting-governor Mason, who had made a tour of White Valley without meeting any signs of a hostile demonstration, endeavoring to reassure the settlers, they thereupon returning to gather their crops, of which they stood much in need.

The Indians, who were cognizant of all these movements, preserved a deceitful quiet until Maloney and Hays had left the valley for the Yakima country, believing that they were doomed to destruction, while the

[15] W. W. Miller was a native of Ky, but had spent his youth in Mo. and Ill., and came to Wash. in 1852, where he resided in Olympia to Jan. 24, 1876, when he died, at the age of 54. He was appointed surveyor of customs by the president, and quartermaster-general by Gov. Mason. In later years he was twice mayor of Olympia, and was known as a successful man in business. He married a daughter of Judge McFadden.

[16] Connell was a discharged soldier, but a man of good reputation, and had been employed as mail carrier between Olympia and Steilacoom. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Nov. 9, 1855.

inhabitants left behind were to become an easy prey. On the morning of the 28th, Sunday, they fell upon the farming settlements, killing three families of the immigration of 1854, H. H. Jones and wife, George E. King and wife, W. H. Brannan, wife and child, Simon Cooper, and a man whose name was unknown. An attack was made upon Cox's place, and Joseph Lake wounded, but not seriously. Cox, with his wife and Lake, fled and escaped, alarming the family of Moses Kirkland, who also escaped, these being all the settlers who had returned to their homes. The attack occurred at eight o'clock in the morning, and about the same hour in the evening the fugitives arrived at Seattle, twenty-five miles distant. On the following morning a friendly Indian brought to the same place three children of Mr Jones, who had been spared, and on the same day C. C. Hewitt, with a company of volunteers, started for the scene of the massacre to bury the dead, and if possible, rescue some living.

That the settlers of the Puyallup below the crossing did not share the fate of those on White River was owing to the warning of Kitsap the elder,[17] who, giving the alarm, enabled them to escape in the night, even while their enemies prowled about waiting for the dawn to begin their work of slaughter. From the Nachess River Captain Maloney sent despatches to Governor Mason by volunteers William Tidd and John Bradley, who were accompanied by A. B. Moses, M. P. Burns, George Bright, Joseph Miles, and A. B. Rabbeson. They were attacked at several points on the route, Moses[18] and Miles[19] losing their lives, and the others suffering great hardships.

[17] Kitsap county was named after this Indian.

[18] A. Benton Moses was born in Charleston, S. C. He enlisted as a volunteer in the Mexican war, serving under Scott and Taylor, being promoted to the rank of lieut. He served under Lt-col Weller at Monterey and Marin, and afterward as aide-de-camp to Gen. Childs. After the Mexican war he came to Cal., and went on an expedition against the southern Cal. Indians; and subsequently was deputy to Col Jack Hays, sheriff of S. F., until his brother was appointed collector of the district of Puget Sound, when he accompanied him to Washington.

[19] Joseph Miles held the rank of lieut-col of the Thurston co. militia, and

In the interim, Captain Maloney, still in ignorance of these events, set out with his command to return to Steilacoom, whence, if desired, he could proceed by the way of The Dalles to the Yakima Valley. On reaching Connell's prairie, November 2d, he found the house in ashes, and discovered, a mile away from it, the body of Lieutenant McAllister. On the morning of the 3d fifty regulars under Slaughter, with fifty volunteers under Hays, having ascertained the whereabouts of the main body, pursued them to the crossing of White River, where, being concealed, they had the first fire, killing a soldier at the start. The troops were unable to cross, but kept up a steady firing across the river for six hours, during which thirty or more Indians were killed and a number wounded. One soldier was slightly wounded, besides which no loss was sustained by the troops, regular or volunteer.

Maloney remained at Camp Connell, keeping the troops moving, for some days. On the 6th Slaughter with fifty of Hays' volunteers was attacked at the crossing of the Puyallup, and had three men mortally wounded,[29] and three less severely.

The officer left in command of Fort Steilacoom when Maloney took the field was Lieutenant John Nugen. Upon receiving intelligence of the massacre on White River, he made a call upon the citizens of Pierce county to raise a company of forty volunteers, who immediately responded, a company under Captain W. H. Wallace reporting for service the last of October.

By the middle of November the whole country between Olympia and the Cowlitz was deserted, the

justice of the peace of Olympia. At the time of his death he had a contract for erecting the capitol at that place. He was a good citizen and useful man. Evans, in *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Nov. 9, 1855.

[29] The shot that killed John Edgar passed through his lungs, and severely wounded Addison Perham of Pierce co. The third was a soldier named Kellett. Three others, Andrew Burge, Corporal Mogek, and one of the regulars, were also wounded severely. Rept Lieut John Nugen, in *Wash. Mess. Gov.*, 1857, 188.

inhabitants, except the volunteers, comprising half the able-bodied men in the territory, having shut themselves up in block-houses, and taken refuge in the towns defended by home-guards.[21]

Special Indian agent Simmons published a notice on the 12th of November, that all the friendly Indians within the limits of Puget Sound district should rendezvous at the head of North Bay, Steilacoom, Gig Harbor, Nisqually, Vashon Island, Seattle, Port Orchard, Penn Cove, and Oak Harbor; J. B. Webber being appointed to look after all the encampments above Vashon Island; D. S. Maynard to look after those at Seattle and Port Orchard; R. C. Fay and N. D. Hill to take in charge those on Whidbey Island, as special agents. H. H. Tobin and E. C. Fitzhugh were also appointed special agents. The white inhabitants were notified that it might become necessary to concentrate the several bands at a few points, and were requested to report any suspicious movements on the part of the Indians to the agents. By this means it was hoped to separate the friendly from the hostile Indians to a great extent, and to weaken the influence of the latter. At this critical juncture, also, Governor Douglas, of Vancouver Island, sent to Nis-

[21] There were 22 block-houses or stockades erected by the settlers during the war, as follows: at Davis', Skookum Chuck, Henness, near Mound prairie, on Tenalcut prairie, at Nathan Eaton's, two on Chambers' prairie, one at Bush's, Goodell's, Ruddell's, Rutledge's, two at Tumwater, one at Doffle-meyer's, one on Whidbey Isl., one at Port Gamble, one on the Cowlitz (Fort Arkansas), one on Mime prairie, one at Port Ludlow, one at Meigs' Mill, two at the Cascades, one at Boisford prairie. Rept of W. W. De Lacy, capt. eng. W. T. V., in *Wash. Mess. Gov.*, 1857, 55. Others were subsequently erected by the volunteers and troops, to the number of 35 by the former and 4 by the latter, or 62 in all. One at Cowlitz landing, French settlement near Cowlitz farm, Chehalis River, below the Skookum Chuck, Tenalcut plain (Fort Miller), Yelm prairie (Fort Stevens), Lowe's, on Chambers' prairie, two at Olympia, one at Packwood's ferry (Fort Raglan), two at Montgomery's crossing of the Puyallup (Fort White), two at Connell's prairie, two at crossing of White River, South prairie (Fort McAllister), on the Dwamish (Fort Lander), Lone Tree point, on the Snohomish (Fort Ebey), on the Snoqualimich below the falls (Fort Tilton), on the Snoqualimich above the falls (Fort Alden), Port Townsend, Wilson's Point, Bellingham Bay, Skookum Chuck, Vancouver, Fourth prairie (near Vancouver), Washougal, Lewis River, Walla Walla (Fort Mason), Michel's fork of Nisqually (Fort Preston), Klikitat prairie, near Cowlitz. The regular companies built Fort Slaughter, on Muckleshoot prairie; Fort Maloney, on Puyallup river; Fort Thomas, on Green river; and a block-house on Black River. *Id.*

qually the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *Otter*, an armed vessel, to remain for a time, and by her also fifty stand of arms and a large supply of ammunition to General Tilton, in compliance with a request forwarded by Acting-governor Mason, November 1st.

The volunteer forces called out or accepted having all reported for service, Captain Maloney arranged a campaign which was to force the friendly Indians upon their reserves, and to make known the lurking-places of their hostile brethren. Lieutenant Slaughter was directed to proceed with his company to White and Green rivers; Captain Hewitt, who was at Seattle with his volunteers, was ordered to march up White and Green rivers and place himself in communication with Slaughter; while Captain Wallace occupied the Puyallup Valley within communicable distance, and Captain Hays took up a position on the Nisqually River, at Muck prairie, and awaited further orders. Lieutenant Harrison, of the revenue-cutter *Jefferson Davis*, accompanied the expedition as first lieutenant to Slaughter's command. Upon the march, which began on the 24th of November, Slaughter was attacked at night at Bidding's prairie, one mile from the Puyallup, and sustained a loss of forty horses during a heavy fog which concealed the movements of the Indians. On the morning of the 26th E. G. Price of Wallace's company, while attending to camp duty, was shot and killed by a lurking foe. The chiefs who commanded in the attack on the night of the 25th were Kitsap and Kanascut of the Klikitats, Quiemuth and Klowowit of the Nisquallies, and Nelson of the Green River and Niscope Indians. During two nights that the troops were encamped on this prairie the Indians continually harassed them by their yells, and by crawling up out of the woods which surrounded the little plain, and under cover of the fog coming close enough to fire into camp in spite of the sentries, who discharged their pieces into the surrounding gloom without effect. Being reënforced on the 26th with

twenty-five men of the 4th artillery, just arrived at Fort Steilacoom, Slaughter divided his force, Wallace's company encamping at Morrison's place, on the Stuck, where they remained making sorties in the neighborhood, while the main command were occupied in other parts of the valley, no engagement taking place, as the Indians kept out of way in the day-time, which the heavy forest of the Puyallup bottoms rendered it easy to do.

Thus passed another week of extremely disagreeable service, the weather being both cold and rainy. On the 3d of December Lieutenant Slaughter, with sixty men of his own command and five of Wallace's, left Morrison's for White River, to communicate with Captain Hewitt, and encamped at the forks of White and Green rivers, on Brannan's prairie, taking possession of a small log house left standing, and sending word to Hewitt, who was encamped two or three miles below, to meet him there. While a conference was being held, about seven o'clock in the evening of the 4th, the troops permitting themselves a fire beside the door to dry their sodden clothing, the Indians, guided by the light, sent a bullet straight to the heart of Slaughter, sitting inside the doorway, who died without uttering a word. They then kept up a continuous firing for three hours, killing two non-commissioned officers, and wounding six others, one mortally.[22] Nothing that had occurred during the war cast a greater gloom over the community than the death of the gallant Slaughter.

Captain E. D. Keyes, whom Wool had left in command at Fort Steilacoom, now notified Mason that it was found necessary to withdraw the troops from the field, as the pack-horses were worn down, and many of the men sick. This announcement put an end for the

[22] The officers killed were Corporal Barry, 4th inf., Cor. Clarendon of Wallace's co.; mortally wounded, an artilleryman of Keyes' co.; and severely wounded, privates Beck, Nolan, McMahon, and Grace. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Dec. 14, 1855. Slaughter's remains were taken down White River to Seattle, and sent to Steilacoom, where was his family.

time to active operations against the Indians, and the troops went into garrison at such points as promised to afford the best protection to the settlers, while the volunteers remained at places where they might assist, waiting for the next turn in affairs.

The snow being now deep in the mountain passes, communication with the Indians east of the Cascades was believed to be cut off; and as the Indians west of the mountains had ceased to attack, there seemed nothing to do but to wait patiently until spring, when General Wool had promised to put troops enough into the field to bring the war to a speedy termination. Thus matters moved along until the companies mustered into the service of the United States on the Sound were disbanded, their three months' time having expired.

For several weeks the citizens of Seattle had been uneasy, from the belief that the friendly Indians gathered near that place were being tampered with by Leschi. About the 1st of January, 1856, it was discovered that he was actually present at the reserve, making boasts of capturing the agent; and as the authorities very much desired to secure his arrest, Keyes secured the loan of the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *Beaver*, and sent Maloney and his company to seize and bring him to Fort Steilacoom. But as the *Beaver* approached the shore to effect a landing, Leschi drew up his forces in battle array to meet the troops, who could only land in squads of three or four from a small boat. Finding that it would not be safe to expose his men in such a manner, and having no cannon to disperse the Indians, Maloney was compelled to return to Steilacoom without accomplishing the object of the expedition.

Keyes then determined to make another effort for the capture of Leschi, and embarking for Seattle in the surveying steamer *Active*, James Alden commanding, endeavored to borrow the howitzer and launch of the *Decatur*, which was refused by the new commander,

Gansevoort, upon the ground that they were essential to the protection of the town, and must not go out of the bay. Keyes then returned up the Sound to procure a howitzer from the fort, when Leschi, divining that his capture had been determined upon, withdrew himself to the shades of the Puyallup, where shells could not reach him.

Captain Gansevoort took command of the *Decatur* on the 10th of December, 1855, three days after she had received an injury by striking on a reef, then unknown, near Bainbridge Island, and it became necessary to remove her battery on shore while repairing her keel, a labor which occupied nearly three weeks, or until January 19th, when her guns were replaced. Very soon after a young Dwamish, called Jim, notified Gansevoort that Indians from the east side of the mountains, under Owhi, had united with those on the west side under Coquilton, with the design of dividing their forces into two columns, and making a simultaneous attack on Steilacoom and Seattle, after destroying which they expected to make easy work of the other settlements.

The plan might have succeeded as first conceived, Hewitt's company being disbanded about this time, and the *Decatur* being drawn up on the beach; but some Indian scout having carried information of the condition of the man-of-war to the chiefs, it was decided that the capture of the ship, which was supposed to be full of powder, would be the quickest means of destroying the white race, and into this scheme the so-called friendly Indians had entered with readiness.

Gansevoort, feeling confident that he could rely upon Jim's statement, prepared to meet the impending blow. The whole force of the *Decatur* was less than 150 men and officers. Of these a small company was left on board the ship, while 96 men, eighteen mariners, and five officers did guard duty on shore.

Seattle at this time occupied a small peninsula

formed by the bay in front, and a wide and deep swamp at the foot of the heavily wooded hills behind. The connection of the peninsula with the country back was by a narrow neck of land at the north end of the town, and the Indian trail to lakes Washington and Union came in almost directly opposite Yesler's mill and wharf, where a low piece of ground had been filled in with sawdust. The only other avenue from the back country was by a narrow sand-spit on the south side of the Marsh, which was separated from the town only by a small stream. Thus the longer line of defence was actually afforded by the swamp, and the points requiring a guard were those in front of the sand-spit and the lake trail; and it was thus that Gansevoort disposed of his force, three divisions being placed to guard the southern entrance, which was most exposed, and one directly across the northern trail.

For two nights guard had been maintained, when on the 24th the *Active* reappeared at Seattle, having on board Captain Keyes, Special Agent Simmons, and Governor Stevens, just arrived from east of the mountains after his escape from the hostile combination in that country. It does not appear in the narratives whether or not they had a howitzer on board. Leschi, at all events, had already left the reservation. Next day the *Active* proceeded down the Sound to visit the other reservations, and learn the condition and temper of the Indians under the care of agents, and Captain Gansevoort continued his system of guard-posting.

On the beach above Yesler's mill, and not far from where the third division, under Lieutenant Phelps, was stationed, was the camp of a chief of the Dwamish tribe, known to the white settlers as Curley, though his proper name was Suequardle, who professed the utmost friendship for his civilized neighbors, and was usually regarded as honest in his professions, the officers of the *Decatur* reposing much confidence in him. On the afternoon of the 25th

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another chief from the lake district east of Seattle, called Tecumseh, came into town with all his people, claiming protection against the hostile Indians, who, he said, threatened him with destruction should he not join them in the war upon the settlers. He was kindly received, and assigned an encampment at the south end of town, not far from where the first, second, and fourth divisions were stationed, under lieutenants Drake, Hughes, and Morris, respectively.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the *Decatur* crew repaired to their stations, and about eight o'clock Phelps observed, sauntering past, two unknown Indians, of whom he demanded their names and purpose, to which they carelessly answered that they were Lake Indians, and had been visiting at Curley's encampment. They were ordered to keep within their own lines after dark, and dismissed. But Phelps, not being satisfied with their appearance, had his suspicions still further aroused by the sound of owl-hootings in three different directions, which had the regularity of signals, and which he decided to be such. This impression he reported to headquarters at Yesler's house, and Curley was despatched to reconnoitre. At ten o'clock he brought the assurance that there were no Indians in the neighborhood, and no attack need be apprehended during that night.

Two hours after this report was given, a conference was held at Curley's lodge, between Leschi, Owhi, Tecumseh, and Yark-Keman, or Jim, in which the plan was arranged for an immediate attack on the town, the 'friendly' Indians to prevent the escape of the people to the ships in the bay,[23] while the warriors, assembled to the number of more than a thousand in the woods which covered the hills back of town, made the assault. By this method they expected to be able to destroy every creature on shore between two o'clock and daybreak, after which they could attack the vessels.

[23] The bark *Brontes* was lying opposite the south end of the town.

Fortunately for the inhabitants of Seattle and the *Decatur's* crew, Jim was present at this council as a spy, and not as a conspirator. He saw that he needed time to put Gansevoort on his guard, and while pretending to assent to the general plan, convinced the other chiefs that a better time for attack would be when the *Decatur's* men, instead of being on guard, had retired to rest after a night's watch. Their plans being at length definitely settled, Jim found an opportunity to convey a warning to the officers of the *Decatur*. The time fixed upon for the attack was ten o'clock, when the families, who slept at the block-house, had returned to their own houses and were defenceless, "with the gun standing behind the door," [24] as the conspirators, who had studied the habits of the pioneers, said to each other.

During the hours between the conference at Curley's lodge and daylight, the Indians had crept up to the very borders of the town, and grouped their advance in squads concealed near each house. At 7 o'clock the *Decatur's* men returned to the ship to breakfast and rest. At the same time it was observed by Phelps that the non-combatants of Curley's camp were hurrying into canoes, taking with them their property. On being interrogated as to the cause of their flight, the mother of Jim, apparently in a great fright, answered in a shrill scream, "Hiu Klikitat copa Tom Pepper's house! hi-hi-hiu Klikitat!"—that is to say, "There are hosts of Klikitats at Tom Pepper's house," which was situated just at the foot of the hills where the sand-spit joined the mainland, and which was within range of Morris' howitzer.

Instead of being allowed to breakfast, the men were immediately sent ashore again, and given leave to get what rest they could in the loft of Yesler's mess-house, where refreshments were sent to them, while Captain Gansevoort ordered a shell dropped into Tom Pepper's

[24] *Hanford's Ind. War*, MS., 9–16; *Yesler's Wash. Ter.*, MS., 9–11; *Phelps' Rem. Seattle*, 6–14.

house, to make the Indians show themselves if there. The effect was all that could have been anticipated. The boom of the gun had not died away when the blood-curdling war-whoop burst from a thousand stentorian throats, accompanied by a crash of musketry from the entire Indian line. Instantly the four divisions dashed to their stations, and the battle was begun by Phelps' division charging up the hill east of Yesler's mill, while those at the south end of town were carrying on a long-range duel across the creek or slough in that quarter. Those of the citizens who were prepared also took part in the defence of the place. Astonished by the readiness of the white men and the energy of the charge, the Indians were driven to the brow of the hill, and the men had time to retreat to their station before the enemy recovered from their surprise.

Had not the howitzer been fired just when it was, in another moment the attack would have been made without warning, and all the families nearest the approaches butchered before their defenders could have reached them; but the gun provoking the savage war-cry betrayed their close proximity to the homes of the citizens, who, terrified by the sudden and frightful clamor, fled wildly to the block-house, whence they could see the flames of burning buildings on the outskirts. A lad named Milton Holgate, brother of the first settler of King county, was shot while standing at the door of the block-house early in the action, and Christian White at a later hour in another part of the town. Above the other noises of the battle could be heard the cries of the Indian women, urging on the warriors to greater efforts; but although they continued to yell and to fire with great persistency, the range was too long from the points to which the *Decatur's* guns soon drove them to permit of their doing any execution; or if a few came near enough to hit one of the *Decatur's* men, they were much more likely to be hit by the white marksmen.

About noon there was a lull, while the Indians rested and feasted on the beef of the settlers. During this interval the women and children were taken on board the vessels in the harbor, after which an attempt was made to gather from the suddenly deserted dwellings the most valuable of the property contained in them before the Indians should have the opportunity, under the cover of night, of robbing and burning them. This attempt was resisted by the Indians, the board houses being pierced by numerous bullets while visited for this purpose; and the attack upon the town was renewed, with an attempt on the part of Coquilton to bear down upon the third division in such numbers as to annihilate it, and having done this, to get in the rear of the others. At a preconcerted signal the charge was made, the savages plunging through the bushes until within a few paces before they fired, the volley delivered by them doing no harm, while the little company of fourteen marines met them so steadily that they turned to shelter themselves behind logs and trees, in their characteristic mode of fighting. Had they not flinched from the muzzles of those fourteen guns—had they thrown themselves on those few men with ardor, they would have blotted them out of existence in five minutes by sheer weight of numbers. But such was not to be, and Seattle was saved by the recoil.

As if to make up for having lost their opportunity, the Indians showered bullets upon or over the heads of the man-of-war's men, to whose assistance during the afternoon came four young men from Meigs' mill, the ship's surgeon, Taylor, and two others, adding a third to this command, besides which a twelve-pounder field-gun was brought into position on the ground, a discharge from which dislodged the most troublesome of the enemy in that quarter.

In the midst of the afternoon's work, Curley, who had been disappointed so far of his opportunity to make himself a place in history, and becoming excited

by the din of battle, suddenly appeared upon the scene, arrayed in fighting costume, painted, armed with a musket and a bow in either hand, which he held extended, and yelling like a demon, pranced oddly about on the sawdust, more ludicrous than fear-inspiring, until, having exhausted some of his bravado, he as suddenly disappeared, thus giving testimony that his friendship for the white race was no greater than his courage.

This defiance of his quondam friends came from anticipating an occasion to distinguish himself at a later hour of the day. Toward evening the assailing Indians were discovered placing bundles of inflammable materials under and about the deserted houses, preparatory to a grand conflagration in the evening, by the light of which the Indians on the reservation and those in the two camps on the beach at Seattle were to assist in attacking and destroying the block-house with its inmates. This information, being gathered by scouts, was brought to Gansevoort in time, who resorted to shelling the town as a means of dispersing the incendiaries, which proved successful, and by ten o'clock at night firing had ceased on both sides.

Shells had much more influence with the savages than cannon-balls; for they could understand how so large a ball might fell a tree in their midst, but they could not comprehend how a ball which had alighted on the ground, and lain still until their curiosity prompted an examination, should 'shoot again' of itself with such destructive force.[25] What they could not understand must be supernatural, hence the evil spirits which they had invoked against the white people had turned against themselves, and it was useless to resist them. In short, they felt the heavy hand of fate against them, and bowed submissive to its decree. When the morning of the 27th dawned

[25] No report of the number of Indians killed ever appeared, nor could it be known. It is probable, however, that many were killed and carried off by their friends. Numerous guesses have been made, varying from 10 to 50.

the hostile force had disappeared, taking what cattle they could find; "the sole results," says Phelps, whom I have chiefly followed in the narration of the attack on Seattle, "of an expedition which it had taken months to perfect, and looking to the utter annihilation of the white settlers in that section of the country." I have it from the same authority that news of the attack was received at Bellingham Bay, a hundred miles distant, in seven hours from its commencement, showing the interest taken in the matter by the tribes all along the Sound. Their combination was to depend upon the success of the movement by Leschi and Owhi, and it failed; therefore they concealed their complicity in it, and remained neutral.

Leschi, however, affected not to be depressed by the reverse he had sustained, but sent a boastful message to Captain Gansevoort that in another month, when he should have replenished his commissary department, he would return and destroy Seattle. This seeming not at all improbable, it was decided to erect fortifications sufficiently ample to prevent any sudden attack; whereupon H. L. Yesler contributed a cargo of sawed lumber with which to erect barricades between the town and the wooded hills back of it. This work was commenced on the 1st of February, and soon completed. It consisted of two wooden walls five feet in height and a foot and a half apart, filled with earth and sawdust solidly packed to make it bullet-proof.[26] A second block-house was also erected on the summit of a ridge which commanded a view of the town and vicinity, and which was armed with a rusty cannon taken formerly from some ship, and a six-pounder field-piece taken from the *Active*, which returned to Seattle on hearing of the attack. An esplanade was constructed at the south end of the town, in order to enable the guns stationed there to sweep the shore and prevent approach by the enemy from the water-front; clearing and road-building being carried

[26] *Yesler's Wash. Ter.*, MS., 9.

on to make the place defensible, which greatly improved its appearance as a town.

On the 24th of February, 1856, the United States steamer *Massachusetts* arrived in the Sound, commander Samuel Swartwout assuming the direction of naval matters, and releasing the *Active* from defensive service at Seattle, where for three weeks her crew under Johnson had assisted in guarding the barricades. About a month later another United States steamer, the *John Hancock*, David McDougall commander, entered the Sound, making the third man-of-war in these waters during the spring of 1856. The *Decatur* remained until June. In the mean time Patkanim had stipulated with the territorial authorities to aid them in the prosecution of the war against the hostile tribes. For every chief killed, whose head he could show in proof, he was to be paid eighty dollars, and for every warrior, twenty. The heads were delivered on board the *Decatur*, whence they were forwarded to Olympia, where a record was kept.[27]

In April a large body of Stikines repaired to the waters of the gulf of Georgia, within easy distance of the American settlements, and made their sorties with their canoes in any direction at will. On the 8th the *John Hancock*, being at Port Townsend, expelled sixty from that place, who became thereby much offended, making threats which alarmed the inhabitants, and which were the occasion of a public meeting on the following day to request the governor and Commander Swartwout to send a war-steamer to cruise between Bellingham Bay and the other settlements on the lower Sound and Fuca Sea.[28] During

[27] Phelps describes Patkanim as he returned from Olympia with his company after being paid off, in April, 'arrayed in citizen's garb, including congress gaiters, white kid gloves, and a white shirt with standing collar reaching half-way up his ears, and the whole finished off with a flaming red necktie.' Patkanim had 80 warriors of the Snoqualimich and Skokomish tribes, and was assisted by a chief called John Taylor.

[28] *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, April 25, 1856. I find in the journal kept by W. S. Ebey, who lived on Whidbey Island, frequent reference to the depredations of the northern Indians. They visited the island on the morning of Jan. 19th, committing a number of thefts, taking the property of settlers,

the whole summer a feeling of insecurity and alarm prevailed, only alleviated by the cruising of the men-of-war. That they still infested these waters at midsummer is shown by the account of Phelps of the departure of the *Decatur* from the Sound in June, which he says was "escorted by our Indian friends, representatives from the Tongas, Hydah, Stickene, and Shineshean tribes," until abreast of Victoria. They were glad to see the vessel depart.

In October a small party of Stikines attacked a small schooner belonging to one Valentine, killing one of his crew in an attempt to board the vessel, and severely wounding another. They were pursued by the *Massachusetts*, but escaped. At the same time other predatory detachments of a large party landed at different points, robbing the houses temporarily vacated by the owners, and not long afterward visited the Indian reservation near Steilacoom and carried off the potatoes raised by the reserve Indians. At the second visit of the robbers to the reservation, the Nisquallies killed three of the invaders, in consequence of which much alarm existed.

Swartwout then determined to drive them from the Sound, and overtaking them at Port Gamble on the 20th, found them encamped there in force. Wishing to avoid attacking them without sufficient apparent provocation, he sent a detachment under Lieutenant Young in a boat to request them to leave the Sound, offering to tow their canoes to Victoria, and inviting a few of the principal chiefs to visit the ship. To these proposals they returned insolent answers, gesticulating angrily at the officers and men, challenging them to come ashore and fight them, which Young was forbidden to do.

and also articles belonging to the revenue-cutter *Rival*. Ebey mentions that in Feb. the people on the mainland were apprehensive of an attack, and were collecting at Bellingham Bay, where a company was organizing for defence. The Chimakums near Port Townsend fled to the island for protection from the northern Indians, of whom they were much afraid. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., iii. 226–9, 253–4, 255; *Ballou's Adventures*, MS., 16.

A second and larger expedition was fitted out to make another attempt to prevail upon the Indians to depart, by a display of strength united with mildness and reason, but with no better effect, the deputation being treated with increased contempt. The whole of the first day was spent in useless conciliation, when, finding his peaceable overtures of no avail, Swartwout drew the *Massachusetts* as close as possible to their encampment, and directly abreast, and stationed the *Traveller*, a small passenger-steamer running on the Sound at this time,[29] commanded for this occasion by Master's mate Cummings, with the launch of the *Massachusetts* commanded by Lieutenant Forrest, both having field-pieces on board, above the Indian encampment, where their guns would have a raking fire upon it. Early in the following morning Lieutenant Semmes was ordered to take a flag of truce and reiterate his demand of the day before, pointing out to the Indians the preparations made to attack them, and the folly of further resistance. They were still determined to defy the power which they underrated because it appeared suppliant, and preparations were made for charging them and using the howitzer, which was carried on shore by the men in the launch wading waist-deep in water. Even after the landing of the men and gun they refused to consider any propositions looking to their departure, but retired to the cover of logs and trees with their arms, singing their war-songs as they went.

When there could no longer be any doubt of their warlike purpose, an order was given to fire the *Traveller's* field-pieces, which were discharged at the same instant that a volley blazed out of the muzzles of sixty guns in the hands of the Indians. The ship's battery

[29] J. G. Parker owned the *Traveller*. It was a small iron steamer, which in 1855 was shipped from S. F. on the brig *J. B. Brown*, and run for two years carrying the mail. It was afterward sold to Capt. Horton, who chartered it to the Indian department, and was lost at Foulweather Bluff. Parker continued in the steamboat business, and ran the *Messenger* for some time between Olympia and Seattle. In his *Puget Sound*, MS., 6–14, is a history of early steamboating, complete and valuable.

was then directed against them, and under cover of the guns, the marines and sailors on shore, led by Forrest and Semmes, charged the Indian encampment situated at the base of a high and steep hill surrounded by a dense undergrowth and by a living and dead forest almost impenetrable. The huts and property of the Indians were destroyed, although a desperate resistance was made, as futile as it was determined. After three hours the detachment returned on board ship, firing being kept up all day whenever an Indian was seen. During the afternoon a captive woman of the Stikines was sent on shore to offer them pardon, on condition that they would surrender and go to Victoria on the *Massachusetts*, their canoes being destroyed; but they answered that they would fight as long as one of them was left alive. However, on the morning of the 22d the chiefs made humble overtures of surrender, saying that out of 117 fighting men 27 had been killed and 21 wounded, the rest losing all their property and being out of provisions. They were then received on board the *Massachusetts*, fed, and carried to Victoria, whence their passage home was assured.

Swartwout in his report to the navy department expressed the conviction that after this severe chastisement the northern Indians would not again visit the Sound. In this belief he was mistaken. On the night of the 11th of August, 1857, they landed on Whidbey Island, went to the house of I. N. Ebey, shot him, cut off his head, robbed the premises, and escaped before the alarm could be given. This was done, it was said, in revenge for the losses inflicted by the *Massachusetts*, they selecting Ebey because of his rank and value to the community.[30]

[30] Ebey was in his house on the island with his wife, his three children, and George W. Corliss and wife. At one o'clock he was awakened by the barking of dogs, and going to the door, opened it. The other inmates of the house heard two shots fired, and soon after Mrs Ebey saw her husband at the window of her room with his hand pressed to his head. She called to him to come in through the window, but he appeared not to hear or understand. Two other shots were then fired, when he fell. The Indians being for the

Numerous depredations were committed by them, which nothing could prevent except armed steamers to cruise in the Fuca strait and sea.[31] Expeditions to the Sound were made in January, and threats that they would have five heads before leaving it, and among others that of the United States inspector at San Juan Island, Oscar Olney. They visited the Pattle coal mine at Bellingham Bay, where they killed two men and took away their heads. They visited Joel Clayton, the discoverer of the Mount Diablo coal mines of California, living at Bellingham Bay in 1857, who narrowly escaped, and abandoned his claim on account of them.[32] Several times they reconnoitred the block-house at that place, but withdrew without attacking. These acts were retaliatory of the injury suffered in 1856.[33]

moment busy with their victim, Mrs Corliss sprang out of the window, which opened on a piazza, followed by Mrs Ebey and the children, and a moment after by Corliss, who had remained to hold fast the door between them and the hall of the house which the Indians were entering. He then retreated through the window, and fleeing to the woods, all escaped the bullets sent after them in the darkness. Mrs Corliss, who was a daughter of Judson, who settled on Commencement Bay in 1853, ran to the house of R. C. Hill, over half a mile away, and gave the alarm. Believing that a descent of the northern Indians upon the settlements of the lower sound, such as they had long dreaded, had been begun, the women and children were hurriedly gathered at the house of Harmon, and preparations made for defence. When daylight came the murderers were gone, and with them the head of Ebey, from which they took the scalp, afterward recovered by the H. B. Co., and placed in possession of his niece, Mrs Almira N. Enos of S. F. *Victoria Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1858; *Puget Sound Herald*, Dec. 9, 1859; *Ebey's Journal*, MS., vi. 282; *H. Ex. Doc.*, 39, 11–12, 35th cong. 1st sess.; *Overland Monthly*, xi. 205.

[31] As early as January following the chastisement given by the *Massachusetts*, these Indians visited the Sound. At Whidbey Island they created so much alarm that a company of 35 men was organized in April, with R. V. Peabody captain and George W. Beam and C. C. Vail lieutenants, to defend the settlements. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., v. 29. In May several families abandoned their houses through fear of them. In June 1858 they attacked a party of miners six miles from Whatcom, killing all but two, who escaped. Several hundred dollars' worth of goods were taken. Joseph Foster of Seattle was among the killed. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, June 18, 1858.

[32] *Roder's Bellingham Bay*, MS., 22–4.

[33] The various mounted volunteer companies engaged in war or defence during Mason's administration were the following: Companies A, Capt. William Strong, and B, Capt. Gilmore Hays, were mustered into the regular service and furnished their own horses; companies E, Capt. Isaac Hays, F, Capt. B. S. Henness, K, Capt. John R. Jackson; Cowlitz Rangers, Capt. H. W. Peers, Lewis River Rangers, Capt. William Bratton, in the service of the territory, furnished their own horses; Stevens Guards, Capt. Higgins, were furnished horses by gov.; Spokane Invincibles, Capt. Yantis, horses partly furnished

Immediately on learning what had occurred in the Yakima country, in October 1855, Indian agent Olney, at The Dalles, hastened to Walla Walla in order, if possible, to prevent a combination of the Oregon Indians with the Yakimas, rumors being in circulation that the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Des Chutes were unfriendly. He found Peupeumoxmox encamped on the north side of the Columbia, a circumstance which he construed as unfavorable, although by the terms of the treaty of Walla Walla the chief possessed the right for five years to occupy a trading post at the mouth of the Yakima River, or any tract in possession for the period of one year from the ratification of the treaty, which had not yet taken place.[34]

Olney declared in his official communications to R. R. Thompson at this time, that all the movements of Peupeumoxmox indicated a determination to join in a war with the Yakimas. Thompson was not surprised, because in September he had known that Peupeumoxmox denied having sold the Walla Walla Valley, and was aware of other signs of trouble with this chief.[35]

At this critical juncture the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, McKinlay, Anderson, and Sinclair,

by gov. and partly by volunteers; Puget Sound Rangers, Capt. Charles Eaton, furnished their own horses; Nez Percé Volunteers, Capt. Spotted Eagle, furnished their own horses and equipments. Inf. companies: C, George B. Goudy, D, Capt. W. H. Wallace (part of them mounted), G, Capt. W. A. S. McCorckle, M, Capt. C. C. Hewitt, I, Capt. I. N. Ebey, J, Capt. A. A. Plummer, Nisqually Ferry guards, Serg. William Packwood. *Adj.-Gen. Rept*, in *Wash. Mess. Gov.*, 1857. See also *Roder's Bellingham Bay*, MS.; *Ebey's Journal*, MS.; *Morris' Wash. Ter.*, MS.; *Ballou's Adv.*, MS.; *Hanford's Ind. War*, MS.; *Yesler's Wash. Ter.*, MS.; *Parker's Puget Sound*, MS., passim.

[34] Palmer, in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 93, 22, 34th cong. 1st sess.; *Ind. Aff. Rept*, vol. 34.

[35] *Portland Times*, Oct. 21, 1855. There were in all about 60 white men, women, and children in the country on the Walla Walla and Umatilla rivers. Lloyd Brooks, who came to Vancouver in 1849 as chief clerk to quartermaster Captain Rufus Ingalls, was one. In 1853 he went to the Walla Walla Valley to raise cattle. *U. S. Ev. H. B. Co. Claims*, 127. He returned to Vancouver, married a daughter of Gen. E. Hamilton, ter. sec. under Gaines, and resided in Portland after 1862. Other Americans were Bromford, Noble, Victor Trevitt, W. H. Barnhart, Wolf, and Whitney. There were, besides these, the H. B. Co.'s few people at the fort, and the French and half-breed settlers about the catholic mission of Father Cherouse, near Waiilatpu.

the latter in charge of the fort, in conference with Olney, decided to destroy the ammunition stored at Walla Walla to prevent its falling into the hands of the Indians; accordingly a large amount of powder and ball was thrown into the river, for which Olney gave an official receipt, relieving Sinclair of all responsibility. He then ordered all the white inhabitants out of the country, including Sinclair, who was compelled to abandon the property of the company contained in the fort,[36] valued at $37,000, to the mercy of the Indians, together with a considerable amount of government stores left there by the Indian commissioners in June, and other goods belonging to American traders and settlers.

Colonel Nesmith, of the Oregon Mounted Volunteers, on returning to The Dalles, reported against a winter campaign in the Yakima Valley, saying that the snow covered the trails, that his animals were broken down and many of his men frost-bitten and unfit for duty, so that 125 of them had been discharged and allowed to return to their homes. In the mean time the left column of the regiment had congregated at The Dalles, under Lieutenant-Colonel James K. Kelly, and Governor Curry ordered forward Major M. A. Chinn to Walla Walla, where he expected to meet Nesmith from the Yakima country.

On learning of the general uprising, while en route, Chinn concluded it impossible to enter the country, or form a junction with Nesmith as contemplated;

[36] Evidence of William Charles, in *H. B. Co. Ev. H. B. Co. Claims*, 173. This was the end of the company's occupation at Walla Walla, later known as Wallula. The end of their occupation of forts Hall and Boisé occurred about the same time—Fort Boisé a little earlier, and Fort Hall a little later. The Indians about the former post were imbittered, seeing the company's agent on good terms with Major Haller and the American soldiers, and because he refused to sell them ammunition. Fort Hall was abandoned because it could not, on account of the Indian hostilities, be communicated with in the usual way, which was by Walla Walla and Boisé from Vancouver. 'Our two expressmen, Boisclere and Desjardins, had been killed between Fort Hall and Walla Walla. I had orders from Chief Factor McTavish to have the company's effects at Fort Hall, men and property, withdrawn to the Flathead post by a party sent from there for them, which was done, the active theatre of hostilities not being so much in the direct course of that party.' Angus McDonald, in *H. B. Co. Ev. H. B. Co. Claims*, 162.

hence he determined to fortify the Umatilla agency, whose buildings had been burned, and there await reenforcements. Arriving there on the 18th of November, a stockade was erected and named Fort Henrietta, after Major Haller's wife. In due time Kelly arrived and assumed command, late reënforcements giving him in all 475 men.

With 339 men Kelly set forth for Walla Walla on the night of December 2d. On the way Peupeumoxmox was met at the head of a band of warriors displaying a white flag. After a conference the Indians were held as prisoners of war; the army marched forward toward Waiilatpu, and in an attack which followed the prisoners were put to death. Thus perished the the wealthy and powerful chief of the Walla Wallas.[37]

A desultory fight was kept up during the 7th and 8th, and on the 9th the Indians were found to have rather the best of it.[38] On the 10th, however, Kelly was reënforced from Fort Henrietta, and next day the Indians retired, the white men pursuing until nightfall. A new fortification was erected by Kelly, two miles above Waiilatpu, and called Fort Bennett.

It was now about the middle of December, and Kelly, remembering the anxiety of Governor Curry to have him take his seat in the council, began to prepare for returning to civil duties. Before he could

[37] Though coming to them under color of peace, it was charged upon the chief that he intended to entrap them. However this may have been, the volunteers, not content with putting so powerful an enemy out of the way, amused themselves that evening in camp by cutting off bits of his scalp as trophies; and when the scalp was entirely gone, the assistant surgeon of the regiment cut off his ears, and it was said that some of his fingers were taken off. Parrish probably exaggerates somewhat when he says: 'They skinned him from head to foot, and made razor-straps of his skin.' *Or. Anec.*, MS., 87.

[38] Killed: Capt. Charles Bennett of Co. F, the same who was connected with James Marshall in the discovery of gold in Cal.; 2d Lieut J. M. Burrows, Co. H, Simon S. Van Hagerman, Co. I. Mortally wounded, who lived but a few hours: E. B. Kelsey, Co. A; Henry Crow and Casper Snook, Co. H; Joseph Sturdevant, Co. B; Jesse Flemming, Co. A. Dangerously wounded: Capt. Layton, and privates T. J. Payne, Nathan Fry, and F. Crabtree, Co. H; J. B. Gervias, Co. K. Severely wounded: Capt. A. V. Wilson, Co. A; Capt. L. Munson, Co. I; Ser.-Maj. Isaac Miller, Co. H; Private G. W. Smith, Co. B. Slightly wounded: Privates A. M. Addington, Co. H; Franklin Duval, Co. A. *Evans, Or. Mil. Organization*, 90. On the 9th and 10th, wounded, A. Shepard, Ira Allen, and John Smith. Estimated Ind. killed and wounded, 100.

leave the command he received intelligence of the resignation of Nesmith, and immediately ordered an election for colonel, which resulted in the elevation to the command of Thomas R. Cornelius, and to the office vacated by himself of Davis Layton. The place of Captain Bennett was filled by A. M. Fellows, whose rank in his company was taken by A. Shepard, whose office fell to B. A. Barker. With this partial reorganization ended the brief first chapter in the volunteer campaign in the Walla Walla Valley.

On the evening of the 20th Governor Stevens entered the camp, having made his way safely through the hostile country, as related in the preceding chapter. His gratitude to the Oregon regiment was earnest and cordial, without that jealousy which might have been felt by him on having his territory invaded by an armed force from another.[39] He remained ten days in the Walla Walla Valley, and finding Agent Shaw on the ground, who was also colonel of the Washington militia, a company of French Canadians was organized to act as home-guards, with Sidney S. Ford captain, and Green McCafferty 1st lieutenant. Shaw was directed to have thrown up defensive works around the place already selected by Kelly as the winter camp of the friendly Indians and French settlers, and to protect in the same manner the settlers at the Spokane and Colville, while coöperating with Colonel Cornelius in any movement defensive or offensive which he might make against the Indians in arms. He agreed with the Oregon officers that the Walla Walla should be held by the volunteers until the regular troops were ready to take the field, and that the war should be prosecuted with vigor.

Before leaving Walla Walla, Governor Stevens appointed William Craig his aid during the Indian war, and directed him to muster out of the service, on returning to their country, the sixty-nine Nez Percé

[39] See Stevens' *Speech on the War Debt*, May 13, 1858.

volunteers enrolled at Lapwai, with thanks for their good conduct, and to send their muster-rolls to the adjutant-general's office at Olympia. Craig was directed to take measures for the protection of the Nez Percés against any incursions of the hostile Indians, all of which was a politic as well as war measure, for so long as the Nez Percés were kept employed, and flattered, with a prospect of pay in the future, there was comparatively little danger of an outbreak among them. Pleased with these attentions, they offered to furnish all the fresh horses required to mount the Oregon volunteers for the further prosecution of the campaign.

Kelly resigned and returned to Oregon, though afterward again joining his command. Stevens hastened to Olympia, where he arrived the 19th of January, finding affairs in a deplorable condition, all business suspended, and the people living in blockhouses.[40] He was received with a salute of thirty-eight guns.

The two companies under Major Armstrong, whom Colonel Nesmith had directed to scour the John Day and Des Chutes country, while holding themselves in readiness to reënforce Kelly if needed, employed themselves as instructed, their services amounting to little more than discovering property stolen from immigrants, and capturing 'friendly' Indians who were said to be acting as go-betweens.

During the remainder of December the companies stationed in the vicinity of The Dalles made frequent sorties in the direction of the Des Chutes and John Day countries, and were thus occupied when Kelly resigned his command, who on returning to Oregon City was received with acclamations by the people, who escorted him in triumph to partake of a public banquet in his honor, regarding him as a hero

[40] Rept of I. I. Stevens to the sec. war, in *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 66, 6–8, 34th cong. 1st sess.; *Ind. Aff. Rept*, vol. 34; *Or. Argus*, Jan. 12, 1856; *Grover's Pub. Life*, MS., 58.

who had severed a dangerous coalition between the hostile tribes of southern Oregon then in the field and those of Puget Sound and northern Washington.

As many of the 1st regiment of Oregon Mounted Volunteers who had served in the Yakima and Walla Walla campaigns were anxious to return to their homes, Governor Curry issued a proclamation on the 6th of January, 1856, for a battalion of five companies to be raised in Linn, Marion, Yamhill, Polk, and Clackmas counties, and a recruit of forty men to fill up Captain Conoyer's company of scouts, all to remain in service for three months unless sooner discharged. Within a month the battalion was raised, and as soon as equipped set out for Walla Walla, where it arrived about the first of March.

Colonel Cornelius, now in command, set out on the 9th of March with about 600 men to find the enemy. A few Indians were discovered on Snake River, and along the Columbia to the Yakima and Palouse, which latter stream was ascended eight miles, the army subsisting on horse-flesh in the absence of other provisions. Thence Cornelius crossed to Priest's Rapids, and followed down the east bank of the Columbia to the mouth of the Yakima, where he arrived the 30th, still meeting few Indians. Making divers disposition of his forces, with three companies on the 31st Cornelius crossed the Columbia, intending to march through the country of Kamiakin and humble the pride of this haughty chief, when he received news of a most startling nature. The Yakimas had attacked the settlements at the Cascades of the Columbia.

Early in March Colonel Wright, now in command at Vancouver, commenced moving his force to The Dalles, and when General Wool arrived in Oregon about the middle of the month, he found but three companies of infantry at Vancouver, two of which he ordered to Fort Steilacoom, a palpable blunder, when

it is recollected that there was a portage of several miles at The Cascades over which all the government stores, ammunition, and other property were compelled to pass, and where, owing to lack of transportation above, it was compelled to remain for some length of time, this circumstance offering a strong motive for the hostile Klikitats and Yakimas, whose territory adjoined, to make a descent upon it. So little attention was given to this evident fact that the company stationed at The Cascades was ordered away on the 24th of March, and the only force left was a detachment of eight men, under Sergeant Matthew Kelly, of the 4th infantry, which occupied the block-house erected about midway between the upper and lower settlements, by Captain Wallen, after the outbreak in October.[41] A wagon-road connected the upper and lower ends of the portage, and a wooden railway was partly constructed over the same ground, an improvement which the Indian war had rendered necessary and possible. On Rock Creek, at the upper end of the portage, was a saw-mill, and a little below, a village of several families, with the store, or trading-house, of Bradford & Co. fronting on the river, near which a bridge was being built connecting an island with the mainland, and also another bridge on the railroad. At the landing near the mouth of Rock Creek lay the little steamer *Mary*, the consort of the *Wasco*, and the first steamboat that ran on the Columbia between The Cascades and The Dalles. At the lower end of the portage lived the family of W. K. Kilborn, and near the block-house the family of George Griswold.

All that section of country known in popular phraseology as The Cascades, and extending for five miles along the north bank of the Columbia at the rapids, is a shelf of uneven ground of no great width between the river and the overhanging cliffs of the mountains, split in twain for the passage of the

[41] *Portland West Shore*, January 1878, 72.

mighty River of the West. Huge masses of rock lie scattered over it, interspersed with clumps of luxuriant vegetation and small sandy prairies. For the greater part of the year it is a stormy place, subject to wind, mist, snow, and rain, but sunny and delightful in the summer months, and always impressively grand and wild.

At half-past eight o'clock on the morning of the 26th of March, General Wool having returned to California and Colonel Wright having marched his whole force out from The Dalles, leaving his rear unguarded, the Yakimas and Klikitats, having waited for this opportunity to sweep down upon this lonely spot, suddenly appeared at the upper settlement in force. The hour was early and the *Mary* had not yet left her landing, her crew being on their way to the boat. At the mill and the bridges men were at work, and a teamster was hauling timber from the mill.

Upon this scene of peaceful industry, in a moment of apparent security, burst the crack of many rifles, a puff of blue smoke from every clump of bushes alone revealing the hiding-places of the enemy, who had stationed themselves before daylight in a line from Rock Creek to the head of the rapids, where the workmen were engaged on the bridges. At the first fire several were wounded, one mortally. Then began the demoniacal scene of an Indian massacre, the whoops and yells of the attacking party, the shrieks of their victims as their hurried flight was interrupted by the rifle-ball, or their agonies were cut short by the tomahawk. At the mill, B. W. Brown, his wife, a girl of eighteen years, and her young brother were slain, scalped, and their bodies thrown into the stream. So well concerted and rapid was the work of destruction that it was never known in what order the victims fell. Most of the men at work on the bridges, and several families in the vicinity, escaped to Bradford's store, which being con-

structed of logs afforded greater security than board houses.

It chanced that only an hour before the attack nine government rifles and a quantity of ammunition had been left at Bradford's to be sent back to Vancouver. With these arms so opportunely furnished, the garrison, about forty in number, eighteen of whom were capable of defence, made preparations for a siege. The Indians, having taken possession of a bluff, or bench of land, back of and higher than the railroad and buildings, had greatly the advantage, being themselves concealed, but able to watch every movement below.

In order to counteract this disadvantage, the stairs being on the outside of the building, an aperture was cut in the ceiling, through which men were passed up to the chamber above, where by careful watching they were able to pick off an Indian now and then. A few stationed themselves on the roof, which was reached in the same way, and by keeping on the river side were able to shelter themselves, and get an occasional shot.[42] Embrasures were cut in the walls, which were manned by watchful marksmen, and the doors strongly barricaded.

While these defences were being planned and executed, James Sinclair of the Hudson's Bay Company, who happened to be at The Cascades, the door being opened for an instant, was shot and instantly killed by the lurking enemy.[43] A welcome sound was the 'Toot, toot!' of the *Mary's* whistle, now heard above the din of war, showing that the steamer had not been captured, as it was feared—for upon this depended their only chance of obtaining succor from The Dalles.

[42] The first Indian killed was by Bush, who shot just as the savage was about to fire on Mrs Watkins, who was running to Bradford's. Letter of L. W. Coe, in *Historical Correspondence*.

[43] Sinclair became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1849. Congress in 1875, at the prayer of his widow, granted her a land claim of 640 acres in the Walla Walla Valley. *U. S. Statutes*, 1875–6, *Priv. Acts*, 3–4.

The escape of the *Mary* was indeed a remarkable episode in that morning's transactions. Her fires were out, only a part of her crew on board, and the remainder on their way to the landing, when the Indians fired the first volley. Those on shore were James Thompson, John Woodard, and James Herman. Holding a hurried consultation, Thompson and Woodard determined on an effort to save the boat, while Herman ran to the shelter of the woods and up the bank of the river. While hauling on the lines to get the boat out into the stream, the Indians pressed the two gallant men so closely that they were forced to quit their hold and seek the concealment of the neighboring thickets. The steamer was then attacked, the fireman, James Linsay, being shot through the shoulder; and the cook, a negro, being wounded, in his fright jumped overboard and was drowned. The engineer, Buckminster, having a revolver, shot an Indian, and the steward's boy, John Chance, finding an old dragoon pistol on board, also despatched an Indian, firing from the hurricane-deck.

In the midst of these stirring scenes the steamer's fires were started, and Hardin Chenoweth, going up into the pilot-house and lying flat upon the floor, backed the boat out into the river, though the wind was blowing hard down stream. It was at this moment of success that the *Mary's* whistles, sharp and defiant, notified the people in the store that she was off to The Dalles for help, and which sustained their spirits through the many trying hours which followed. The boat picked up the families of Vanderpool and Sheppard, who came out to her in skiffs, and also Herman of their own crew, after which she steamed rapidly up the river.

When the men on the bridges rushed into Bradford's store three men were left upon the island, who afterward attempted to reach that refuge without being discovered by the Indians. Those on the lookout in the store could see that it was impossible, and

shouted to them to lie down behind the rocks. Findlay, the first man admonished, obeyed. The Indians had now reached the island; and as Bailey, another workman who had not heard or not obeyed the caution, came running, he was mistaken for one of the enemy pursuing Findlay, and fired on, receiving a wound in the leg and arm. Both, however, sprang into the water; and although Bailey came near being carried over the falls, they reached the landing in front of the store and were hastily admitted. The third man, James Watkins, in attempting to follow, was discovered and shot through the arm. He dropped behind a rock, his friends shouting to him to lie still and they would rescue him; but they were not able to do so, and his wounds being too long neglected, he died.

In the mean time the mill, lumber-yard, and several houses had been burned, and the assailants endeavored to fire the store by projecting upon it brands of pitch-wood and hot irons. They also threw stones and missiles of various kinds to dislodge the men on the roof, but the distance from which these missiles were sent rendered them comparatively harmless, the occasional fire which took in the shingles being promptly extinguished by brine from a pork-barrel carefully poured on with a tin cup, no water being obtainable.

In a few hours the want of water became a fresh source of torment. Of the forty persons shut up in the small compass of the lower story of the building, four were wounded, one dead, and the majority of the whole were women and children. The only liquids in the place were two dozen bottles of ale and a few bottles of whiskey, which were exhausted in the course of the day, and all were waiting impatiently for the cover of darkness to bring some water from the river. But the Indians had reserved a new warehouse and some government property to be burned during the night to furnish light for their operations, and to prevent the escape of the besieged. In this extremity a Spokane, brought up by Mr Sinclair,

volunteered to procure the needed water. Stripping himself naked, he threw himself on the slide used for loading boats, and slipping down to the river, returned with a bucketful for the wounded. The second day and night were passed like the first, no more water being procured until the morning of the 28th, when, the fires of the enemy having died out, the Spokane again ventured to the river, and this time filled two barrels, going and coming with incredible swiftness. The steamer not yet having returned, and fears being entertained of her capture, the body of Sinclair was shoved down the slide into the river by the same faithful servant.

While these scenes were being performed at the upper Cascades, the people below were also experiencing a share in the misfortunes of their neighbors. The first intimation of an attack at the block-house was hearing a few shots, and the shouts of men running from above warning others. Five of the little garrison of nine were in the fort at that moment. Hastening down-stairs they found one of their comrades at the door, shot through the hip. The embrasures were opened, and the cannon run out and fired at the Indians, who could be seen on a hill in front. Immediately afterward the citizens came fleeing to the fort for protection, drawing the fire of the Indians, which was returned by the soldiers until all left alive were sheltered. Firing from both sides continued for four hours, when, seeing that the Indians were about to burn a large building, Sergeant Kelly again dispersed them with the cannon. Toward night a soldier who had been wounded near the block-house in the morning made his way in and was rescued. During the night the Indians attempted to fire the block-house, without success, prowling about all night without doing much damage. During the forenoon of the 27th three soldiers made a sortie to a neighboring house, and returned safely with some provisions. In the

afternoon the cannon was again fired at a large party of Indians who appeared on the Oregon side of the river, which served the purpose of scattering them, when four of the soldiers and some of the citizens sallied out to bring in the dead and wounded, and to search the deserted houses for arms and ammunition.[44]

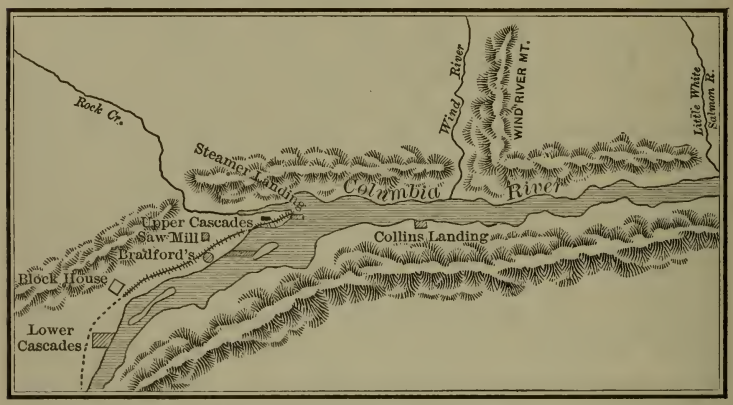
At the lower Cascades no lives were lost in the attack. On the morning of the 26th W. K. Kilborn, who owned and ran an open freight-boat on the Columbia, walked up to the lower end of the portage railroad to look for a crew of the Cascade Indians to take his boat up the rapids to that point, but was met by a half-Spanish Indian boy whom he had known on French Prairie in the Willamette Valley, and who endeavored to show him that it was unsafe for him to be in the neighborhood, because the Yakimas and Klikitats had been about the lodges of the local Indians the night before. Kilborn took the lad with him to the office of Agent G. B. Simpson, close by, where he still persisted in imploring them to fly, telling them they were surrounded by hostile Indians on every side. At that instant came the boom of the cannon at the block-house above, and the half-breed darted down the road to give the alarm to the families below, followed by Kilborn, who was soon overtaken by a mounted man crying, "Run for your lives, they are fighting at the block-house!"[45] On reaching his boat he found his family and that of Hamilton already on board, and instantly put off, a few men who had guns remaining to protect their property. As he was about to land for some purpose a short distance below, these men shouted to him, "Do not land; here they

[44] The names of the garrison at the block-house were M. Kelly, Frederick Beman, Owen McManus, Lawrence Rooney (killed in the first attack), Smiley, Houser, Williams, Roach, and Sheridan; the latter four being those who went out to bring in the dead and wounded on the second day. *Indian Hostilities in Oregon and Washington Territories*, 11–12, being a compilation of correspondence on the subject transmitted to congress by the president of the U. S. in July 1856.

[45] This was one of 3 carpenters at work who ran for the block-house, overtook the cars on the way, cut the mules loose, and mounting them, spread the alarm. Letter of L. W. Coe, in *Historical Correspondence*.

come!" and hearing the report of small arms, he kept on down the river, arriving at Vancouver before dark with the news of the outbreak.

In the mean time the men who had remained to protect their property were in a perilous situation. They at first entertained the idea of barricading the government wharf-boat, but having no ammunition, were obliged to abandon it. They remained on guard, however, until the Indians, having marauded their way down, began firing on them from the roof of a zinc house, which afforded a good position, when, finding it useless to remain longer, they pushed out into the river with a schooner and some bateaux lying at



Upper and Lower Cascades.

the landing, Thomas Pierce being wounded before attaining a safe distance, and proceeded down the river. Two men who at the first alarm fled to the mountains stole down at night and escaped in an old boat which they found at the landing to the south side of the river, where they lay hidden in the rocks until relief came.

When the news of the attack on The Cascades was received at Vancouver great consternation prevailed, it being reported that Vancouver was the objective

point of the Yakimas, and there were not men enough at that post to make a good defence after sending the succor demanded at The Cascades. As there had been no communication between the upper and lower towns, the extent of the injury done at the former place could only be conjectured. The commanding officer, Colonel Morris, removed the women and children of the garrison, the greater part of the ammunition, and some other property to the Hudson's Bay Company's fort for greater safety, while he refused arms to the captain of the volunteer home-guard,[46] in obedience to the orders of General Wool.

At an early hour of the 27th the steamboat *Belle* was despatched to The Cascades, conveying Lieutenant Philip Sheridan with a detachment of the single company left by Wool at Vancouver. Meeting on the way the fugitives in the schooner and bateaux, they volunteered to return and assist in the defence of the place, and were taken on board the steamer. At ten o'clock the *Belle* had reached the landing at the lower end of the portage, stopping first on the Oregon side, where Sheridan and a part of his command proceeded up the river on foot to a point opposite the upper town to reconnoitre, where he learned from the Cascade Indians the state of affairs at that place, and also that the block-house had been attacked. Sheridan returned and landed his men on the Washington side, despatching a canoe to Vancouver for more ammunition.

The Indians did not wait to be attacked. While the troops and howitzer were disembarking on a large sand island, Sheridan had two men shot down, and was compelled to retreat some distance from the cover of the Indians, the steamer dropping down in

[46] I take this statement from a correspondent of the *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat* of April 25, 1856, who says that Kelly of the volunteers went to the officer in command at that post, and requested to be furnished with arms, as all the arms in the county had gone to furnish a company in the field—Captain Maxon's. 'He was insulted—told to mind his own business.' A few days later a consignment of arms from the east arrived, for the use of the territory, and the settlers were furnished from that supply.

company. A council of war was then held, and it was decided to maintain their ground, which was done with much difficulty, through the remainder of the day, the troops not being able to advance to the relief of the block-house, although the diversion created by the arrival of troops caused a lull in the operations of the Indians against that post.

A company of thirty men was raised in Portland on the evening of the 26th, by A. P. Dennison and Benjamin Stark, aids to Governor Curry, which was augmented at Vancouver by an equal number of volunteers, and proceeded to the lower Cascades in the steamer *Fashion*, arriving somewhat later than the *Belle*, and being unable to render any assistance, for the same reason which prevented the regular troops from advancing—too numerous an enemy in front. They landed, however, and sent the steamer back, which returned next day with forty more volunteers, and a recruit of regulars, all eager for a fight.

The boat also brought a supply of ammunition from Vancouver, which being placed upon a bateau was taken up opposite the block-house where Sheridan intended to cover his men while they landed, with the howitzer. But just at this moment a new factor entered into the arrangement of the drama, which gave to all a surprise.

When the *Mary* arrived at The Dalles on the 26th, Colonel Wright had already moved from the post, and was encamped at Five-Mile Creek, so that information of the attack on the Cascades did not reach him before midnight. At daylight he began his march back to The Dalles, with 250 men, rank and file, and by night they were on board the steamers *Mary* and *Wasco*, but did not reach the Cascades before daylight of the 28th, on account of an injury to the steamer's flues, through having a new fireman since the wounding of Lindsay on the 26th.

Just as the garrison in the store were brought to

the verge of despair, believing the *Mary* had been captured, not knowing of Sheridan's arrival at the lower Cascades, having but four rounds of ammunition left, and having agreed among themselves, should the Indians succeed in firing the house, to get on board a government flat-boat lying in front of Bradford's and go over the falls rather than stay to be butchered—at this critical moment their eyes were gladdened by the welcome sight of the *Mary* and *Wasco*, steaming into the semicircular bay at the mouth of Rock Creek, loaded with troops. A shout went up from forty persons, half dead with fatigue and anxiety, as the door of their prison was thrown open to the fresh air and light of day.

No sooner had the boats touched the shore than the soldiers sprang up the bank and began beating the bushes for Indians, the howitzer belching forth shot over their heads. But although the Indians had fired a volley at the *Mary* as she stranded for a few moments on a rock at the mouth of the creek, they could not be found when hunted, and now not a Yakima or Klikitat was to be seen.

Colonel Wright then organized a force, consisting of the companies of captains Winder and Archer, 9th infantry, and a detachment of dragoons under Lieutenant Tear, 3d artillery, with a howitzer under Lieutenant Piper, the whole under Colonel Steptoe, which was ordered to advance to the block-house and thence to the lower landing. Just at the moment when Sheridan was approaching the shore lined with hostile Indians, with the suspected Cascade Indians on an island on the other side of his bateau, and when the attention of the savages was divided between their morning meal and the approach of the soldiers, a bugle was heard in the direction of the upper Cascades, and Sheridan beheld descending a hill Steptoe's column. The Indians being thus particularly notified of the army's advance, the opportunity for a surprise was destroyed, and in another instant the enemy had

vanished out of sight like ants in a sand mound. One Indian only was killed by Steptoe's command, and a soldier's life paid for that. This tragedy ended with the execution of nine Indians concerned in the massacre.

After a few brushes with the enemy, Cornelius, leaving his command in the Klikitat Valley, went to Portland to confer with Governor Curry, when the northern regiment was disbanded, two companies being organized out of it, one to serve in the Walla Walla country, and one in the Tyghe Valley, which latter force was increased to two companies in May. About the same time Colonel Wright marched through the Klikitat and Yakima country, but without effecting anything decisive.[47]

[47] Major, now Colonel, Granville Owen Haller has been too intimately connected with the history of Washington for many years to be here dismissed without further notice. He was born in York, Penn., Jan. 31, 1819, and educated in the private schools of the town. In 1839 he was an applicant for a scholarship at West Point, but on examination before a board of military officers at Washington, received a commission as 2d lieutenant, 4th U. S. infantry, to date from Nov. 17, 1839. He served in the Indian territory and Florida in 1840–41, and in the Mexican war in 1846. He was ordered to the Pacific coast in 1852, arriving by sea in 1853, and being stationed at The Dalles until 1856. When the southern states seceded he was ordered east and placed in active service with the army of the Potomac. Upon Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, he was placed on the staff of Gen. Couch, and assigned to York and Adams counties to keep the general informed of the movements of the enemy. Soon after Lee's defeat at Gettysburg, and while making out reports of the services performed by volunteers, and the expenses incurred, an order was sent Gen. Couch to relieve Major Haller, who on reporting for orders found himself dismissed. This wrong, which was the work of an unknown enemy, was a painful blow to Haller. After many efforts to obtain a hearing he returned to Washington, settling at Coupeville on Whidbey Island. Here, after sixteen years of waiting for justice, he received tidings of a joint resolution by congress ordering a court of inquiry in his case. The court found that the dismissal was based on charges of disloyalty by a single officer, and not made by the president, but by the secretary of war. The testimony in the case, both of military and civil witnesses, completely refuted the charges, and the dismissal was pronounced wrongful, Major Haller being restored to the service with the rank of colonel, but the restoration of rank carried with it no back pay. Gen. Couch's testimony was, "I do not think there were any fighting generals of the army of the Potomac, if they had been in York in the position of Major Haller, that could have done any better than he did. I thought so at the time, and I think so now." Col Haller is now a resident of Seattle, and having passed his 63d year, is retired.

Col Haller is the author of a valuable MS. entitled *Kamiakin in History*, also of *The San Juan Imbroglio*, of which he knew more than any one. His wife was Miss Henrietta M. Cox of Baltimore, by whom he has five children, two daughters, and three sons.

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN WARS.

1856-1858.

ACTION OF THE GOVERNOR—DISPOSITION OF FORCES—NEW BATTALIONS—PLAN OF CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF WHITE RIVER—ON THE SOUND—MARTIAL LAW—FIGHTING AT JOHN DAY RIVER AND GRAND ROND—EAST OF THE CASCADE RANGE—STEVENS IN THE HOSTILE COUNTRY—FAILURE OF HIS COUNCIL—LESCHI'S BETRAYAL, ARREST, TRIALS, AND EXECUTION—ASSASSINATION OF QUIEMUTH—TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES ON THE SOUND—RESULT—WAR DEBT—CLARKE AND WRIGHT'S CAMPAIGN—DEFEAT OF STEPTOE—BATTLES OF FOUR LAKES AND SPOKANE PLAINS IN THE YAKIMA COUNTRY—WALLA WALLA COUNTRY REOPENED.

WHEN Governor Stevens returned to his capital from the Blackfoot country, he was to some extent deceived as to the perils which threatened the Puget Sound region. He approved of the energetic course of Mason, and advocated the vigorous prosecution of the war. But from what he had seen east of the Cascades, and from what he knew of the indolent habits of the tribes on the Sound, he was disposed to think the war was to be carried on in the Yakima and Walla Walla valleys rather than at home.

In a special message delivered extemporaneously to the legislative assembly, January 21, 1856, three days after arriving in Olympia, he recited the history of the war as he understood it. The people of the territory, he said, had urged upon congress the importance to them of extinguishing the Indian title to the country. To this the Indians consented with apparent willingness. Being appointed a commissioner to treat with them, he had applied himself to the duty,

and successfully treated with the different tribes, explaining to them with the most minute care the terms to which they had agreed. But the Indians had acted treacherously, inasmuch as it was now well known that they had long been plotting against the white race, to destroy it. This being true, and they having entered upon a war without cause, however he might sympathize with the restlessness of an inferior race who perceived that destiny was against them, he nevertheless had high duties to perform toward his own, and the Indians must be met and resisted by arms, and that without delay, for seed-time was coming, when the farmers must be at the plough. The work remaining to be done, he thought, was comparatively small. Three hundred men from the Sound to push into the Indian country, build a depot, and operate vigorously in that quarter, with an equal force from the Columbia to prosecute the war east of the Cascades, in his opinion should be immediately raised. The force east of the mountains would prevent reënforcements from joining those on the west, and vice versa, while their presence in the country would prevent the restless but still faltering tribes farther north from breaking out into open hostilities. There should be no more treaties; extermination should be the reward of their perfidy.

On the 1st of February, in order to facilitate the organization of the new regiment, Stevens issued an order disbanding the existing organization, and revoking the orders raised for the defence of particular localities. The plan of block-houses was urged for the defence of settlements even of four or five families,[1] the number at first erected being doubled in order that the farmers might cultivate their land; and in

[1] At Nathan Eaton's the defences consisted of 16 log buildings in a square facing inwards, the object being not only to collect the families for protection, but to send out a scouting party of some size when marauders were in the vicinity. Stevens, in *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 66, 32, 34th cong. 1st sess.; *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 34. Fort Henness, on Mound prairie, was a large stockade with block-houses at the alternate corners, and buildings inside the enclosure. On Skookum Bay there was an establishment similar to that at Eaton's.

addition to the other companies organized was one of pioneers, whose duty it was to open roads and build block-houses.

The first regiment being disbanded, the reorganization progressed rapidly, and on the 25th the second regiment was organized into three battalions, designated as the northern, central, and southern; the northern battalion to rendezvous at the falls of the Snoqualimich and elect a major, the choice falling upon Captain J. J. H. Van Bokelin.[2] It numbered about ninety men, supported by Patkanim and his company of Indian allies, and built forts Tilton and Alden below and above the falls.[3] The central battalion was commanded by Major Gilmore Hays, and had its headquarters on Connell's prairie, White River,[4] communicating with the rear by a ferry and block-house on the Puyallup, and block-houses at Montgomery's, and on Yelm prairie, besides one at the crossing of White River, communicating with the regular forces at Muckleshoot prairie and Porter's prairie, farther up the valley.

The southern battalion, organized by Lieutenant-colonel B. F. Shaw, was raised upon the Columbia River, and partly of Oregon material,[5] obtained by

[2] The northern battalion consisted of Company G (Van Bokelin's), commanded by Daniel Smalley, elected by the company; Company I, Capt. S. D. Howe, who was succeeded by Capt. G. W. Beam; and a detachment of Company H, Capt. Peabody. *Wash. Mess. Gov.*, 1857, 38–41.

[3] To I. N. Ebey belongs the credit of making the first movement to blockade the Snoqualimich pass and guard the settlements lying opposite on Whidbey Island. This company of rangers built Fort Ebey, 8 miles above the mouth of the Snohomish River. He was removed from his office of collector, the duties of which were discharged by his deputy and brother, W. S. Ebey, during the previous winter while he lived in camp, through what influence I am not informed. M. H. Frost of Seattle was appointed in his stead. This change in his affairs, with the necessity of attending to private business, probably determined him to remain at home. George W. Ebey, his cousin, was 2d lieut in Smalley's company.

[4] The central battalion was composed of Company B, Capt. A. B. Rabbeson; Company C, Capt. B. L. Henness' mounted rangers; a train guard under Capt. O. Shead; the pioneer company under Capt. Joseph A. White, 1st lieut Urban E. Hicks; and Company F, a detachment of scouts under Capt. Calvin W. Swindal. *Wash. Mess. Gov.*, 1857, 38.

[5] The southern battalion consisted of the Washington Mounted Rifles, Capt. H. J. G. Maxon, Company D, Capt. Achilles, who was succeeded by Lieut Powell, and two Oregon companies, one company, K, under Francis M.

advertising for volunteers in the Oregon newspapers. Other companies were accepted from time to time as the exigencies of the service required, until there were twenty-one in the field,[6] the whole aggregating less than a thousand men. The regiment was assigned to duty, and furnished with supplies with military skill by the commander-in-chief, whose staff-officers, wisely chosen,[7] kept the machinery of war in motion, the detention of which so often paralyzed the arms of Governor Curry's volunteers. Between Curry and Stevens there was perfect harmony, the latter often being assisted by the governor of Oregon in the purchase of supplies, a service which was always gratefully acknowledged.

The plan of the campaign as announced by Stevens was to guard the line of the Snohomish and Snoqualimich pass by the northern battalion, to drive the enemy into the Yakima country with the central battalion by the Nachess pass, and to operate east of

P. Goff, of Marion co., and another, Company J, under Bluford Miller of Polk co. *Or. Statesman*, March 11 and May 20, 1856.

[6] For convenience of reference, they are named here: Co. A, organized and commanded by Lieut-col Edward Lander; the Walla Walla Co., organized out of friendly Chehalis and Cowlitz Indians by Sidney S. Ford, capt.; Clarke Co. Rangers, organized by Capt. William Kelly; Co. E, Capt. C. W. Riley, succeeded by Lieut J. Q. Cole; Co. H, Capt. R. V. Peabody; Co. L, Capt. E. D. Warbass; Co. N, Capt. Richards, succeeded by Capt. Williams; Co. M, consisting of 10 white men and 43 Nez Percés, Henri M. Chase, capt.; a co. of Squaxon scouts under Lieut. Gosnell; and a company of Cowlitz Indians under Pierre Charles.

[7] Lieut-col Lander was retained on the governor's staff, and Jared S. Hurd, E. C. Fitzhugh, and H. R. Crosbie were also appointed aids, with the rank of lieut-col, in addition to the appointments made in Dec., of Craig and Doty. Edward Gibson was appointed extra aid. B. F. Shaw was elected lieut-col of the 2d regiment in April. W. W. Miller still held the office of quartermaster and commissary-general at Olympia. Warren Grove was appointed quartermaster and commissary at Steilacoom, F. Mathias at Seattle, A. H. Robie at The Dalles, Charles E. Weed at Olympia, R. M. Hathaway at Vancouver, and R. S. Robinson for the northern battalion, at Port Townsend, and C. C. Pagett in Lewis county. Commanding officers chose their own adjutants. Tilton remained adjutant-general, C. H. Armstrong regimental quartermaster and commissary with the right wing of the 2d regiment in the field; and Lieut-col Hurd supt of all business on the Columbia. W. W. De Lacy was appointed adjutant of the southern battalion, Humphrey Hill of the northern, and B. F. Ruth of the central battalion. G. K. Willard was surgeon and purveyor of medicine and medical stores at headquarters; M. P. Burns surgeon of central battalion, D. R. Bigelow of northern battalion. Other surgeons were Justin Millard, Albert Eggers, and U. G. Warbass.

the Cascade Range with the southern battalion. On the occasion of the governor's reconnoissance of the Sound, which took place in January, the Snoqualimich chief Patkanim tendered his services as an ally, and upon consultation with Agent Simmons was accepted. He at once took the field with fifty-five well-armed warriors, accompanied by Simmons, L. M. Collins, and T. H. Fuller. On the 8th of February they reached Wappato prairie, five miles below the falls of the Snoqualimich, and learning that there was an encampment of the hostile Indians at the falls, Patkanim prepared to attack them, which he did, capturing the whole party. An investigation showed them to be Snoqualimichs, with the exception of three Klikitat emissaries engaged in an endeavor to enlist them on the side of the hostile combination. Patkanim, however, now that he had entered upon duty as an ally of the white people, carried his prisoners to camp at Wappato prairie and tried them each and every one, the trial resulting in the discharge of the Snoqualimichs, and one of the Klikitats, whose evidence convicted the other two and caused them to be hanged. Their heads were then cut off and sent to Olympia, where a price was to be paid.

From the Klikitat who was allowed to live it was ascertained that there were four different camps of the enemy on the east side of White River, at no great distance apart, above the point where the military road crossed it, and that Leschi was at one of them, while the crossing of the river was guarded above and below. This information was immediately sent to Olympia.

Patkanim at once proceeded to White River to attack Leschi, whom it was much desired by the government to arrest. But when he arrived there he found that wily chief alert and on his guard. Being strongly posted in the fork of a small tributary of White River, a sharp engagement followed, resulting in considerable loss. Of the number killed by Pat-

kanim, all but two were on the farther side of the stream, and he was able to obtain but two heads, which were also forwarded to Olympia. He returned after this battle to Holme Harbor, Whidbey Island, to prepare for further operations, it now being considered that he had fully committed himself to the cause of the white people. He remained faithful, and was of some further assistance, but objected to be commanded by white officers, preferring his own mode of fighting.

About the 13th of February Captain Maloney left Fort Steilacoom with lieutenants Davis and Fleming and 125 men, for the Puyallup, where he constructed a ferry and block-house, after which he moved on to White River, Colonel Casey, who had arrived on the steamship *Republic* in command of two companies of the regular 9th infantry, following a few days later with about an equal number of men.

On the 22d Captain Ford of the volunteers left Steilacoom for White River with his company of Chehalis scouts, in advance of Hays' company, and White's pioneers, who followed after, establishing depots at Yelm prairie and Montgomery's, and moving on to the Puyallup, where they built a block-house and ferry, after which, on the 29th, they proceeded to the Muckleshoot prairie, Henness following in a few days with his company, a junction being formed with Casey's and Maloney's commands at that place, Governor Stevens himself taking the field on the 24th, when the volunteers moved to the Puyallup.

Up to this date the war had been confined to the country north of Steilacoom, although a wide-spread alarm prevailed throughout the whole country. But the watchful savages were quick to perceive that by the assemblage of the regular and volunteer forces in the White River country they had left their rear comparatively unguarded, and on the 24th attacked and killed, near Steilacoom, William Northcraft, in the service of the territory as a teamster, driving off his

oxen and the stock of almost every settler in the vicinity. On the 2d of March they waylaid William White, a substantial farmer living near Nathan Eaton's place, which was subsequently fortified, killing him and shooting at his family, who were saved by the running-away of the horses attached to a wagon in which all were returning from church. A family was also attacked while at work in a field, and some wounds received. These outrages were perpetrated by a band of forty savages under the leadership of chiefs Stahi and Quiemuth, who had flanked the troops in small detachments, and while Casey's attention was diverted by the voluntary surrender of fifty of their people, most of whom were women and children, whom it was not convenient to support while at war, but which were taken in charge by the Indian department. This new phase of affairs caused the governor's return to Olympia, whence he ordered a part of the southern battalion to the Sound. On the 4th of March, a detachment of regulars under Lieutenant Kautz, opening a road from the Puyallup to Muckleshoot prairie, when at no great distance from White River, discovered Indians and attacked them, Kautz sheltering his men behind piles of driftwood until Keyes reënforced him, when the battle was carried across the river and to the Muckleshoot prairie, where a charge being made, the Indians scattered. There were over a hundred regulars in the engagement, one of whom was killed and nine wounded, including Lieutenant Kautz. The loss of the Indians was unknown.

In the interim the volunteers of the central battalion had reached Connell's prairie, where an encampment was formed. On the morning of the 8th Major Hays ordered Captain White's company of pioneers, fifty strong, to the crossing of White River, to erect a block-house and construct a ferry, supported only by Captain Swindal with a guard of ten men. They had not proceeded more than a mile and

a half from camp before the advance under Lieutenant Hicks was attacked by 150 warriors, who made a furious assault just as the detachment entered the woods that covered the river-bottoms, and were descending a hill. Almost simultaneously the main company received a heavy fire, and finding the odds against him, White despatched a messenger to camp, when he was reënforced by Henness with twenty men, and soon after by Martin with fifteen. The battle continuing, and the Indians making a flank movement which could be seen from camp, Van Ogle was despatched with fifteen men to check it. So rapid were their manœuvres that it required another detachment of twelve men under Rabbeson to arrest them.

The Indians had a great advantage in position, and after two hours of firing, a charge was ordered to be made by a portion of the volunteers, while White's company and Henness' detachment held their positions. The charge was successful, driving one body of the Indians through a deep marsh, or stream, in their flight, and enabling Swindal to take a position in the rear of the main body on a high ridge. It being too dangerous to charge them from their front, where White and Henness were stationed, they being well fortified behind fallen timber on the crest of a hill, Rabbeson and Swindal were ordered to execute a flank movement, and attack the enemy in the rear. A charge being made simultaneously in front and rear, the Indians were completely routed, with a loss of between twenty-five and thirty killed and many wounded. The loss of the volunteers was four wounded.

This battle greatly encouraged the territorial troops. The Indians were in force, outnumbering them two to one; they had chosen their position, and made the attack, and were defeated with every circumstance in their favor.[8]

[8] Rept of Major Hays, in *Wash. Mess. Gov.*, 1857, 290–2.

This affair was the most decisive of the spring campaign of 1856 on the Sound. After it the Indians did not attempt to make a stand, but fought in small parties at unexpected times and in unexpected places. It would indeed have been difficult for them to have fought a general engagement, so closely were they pursued, and so thickly was the whole country on the east side dotted over with block-houses and camps. The block-house at the crossing of White River was completed, the Indians wounding one of the construction party by firing from a high bluff on the opposite bank. A station was made at Connell's prairie, called Fort Hays, by the volunteers, and another, called Fort Slaughter, on the Muckleshoot prairie, by the regulars. A block-house was established at Lone Tree point, three miles from the Dwamish, where Riley's company was stationed to guard the trail to Seattle. Later Lieutenant-colonel Lander with company A erected a block-house on the Dwamish, fifteen miles from Seattle. Captain Maloney erected one on Porter's prairie, and Captain Dent another at the mouth of Cedar River. The northern battalion, after completing their works on the Snoqualimich and leaving garrisons, marched across the country to join the central battalion by order of the commander-in-chief; and Colonel Shaw of the southern battalion added his force to the others about the last of the month.

At this juncture Governor Stevens proclaimed martial law; his forces were readjusted, and a desultory warfare kept up throughout the entire region. On John Day River, where the enemy had congregated in numbers, Major Layton of the Oregon volunteers captured thirty-four warriors in June, and in July there was some fighting, but nothing decisive. Colonel Shaw also did some fighting in the Grand Rond country, but there, as elsewhere, the Indians kept the army on the move without definite results.

In these white raids many Indian horses were taken, and all government supplies stopped. Obviously no

more effective method of subduing the Indians could be adopted than to unhorse them and take away their supplies. The march of the several detachments of regulars and volunteers through the Indian country forced the neutral and needy Indians to accept the overtures of the United States government through the Indian and military departments, and they now surrendered to the agents and army officers, to the number of 923, comprising the Wasco, Tyghe, Des Chutes, and a portion of the John Day tribes, all of whom were partially subsisted by the government. About 400 of the Yakimas and Klikitats who surrendered to Colonel Wright during the summer were also assisted by the government agents.

Soon after a battle on the Grand Rond, Major Layton mustered out his battalion, the time of the Oregon troops having expired, leaving only Shaw's battalion in the Walla Walla Valley, to hold it until Colonel Wright should be prepared to occupy it with the regular troops, who had not fought nor attempted to fight an engagement during the summer. A scouting party of Jordan's Indian allies, in recovering 200 captured horses, killed two hostile Indians, the sole achievement of a regiment of troops in the field for four months. About the 1st of August Wright returned to Vancouver, leaving Major Garnett in command of Fort Simcoe, and the Indians at liberty to give the volunteers employment, which they were ready enough to do.[9]

[9]The 2d regiment of Washington volunteers was officered, so far as the official correspondence shows, as follows: Co. A, Capt. Edward Lander; 1st lieut A. A. Denny, vice H. H. Peixotto resigned; 2d lieut D. A. Neely; H. A. Smith surgeon; strength 53 rank and file. Non-com. officers, John Henning, C. D. Biven, J. Ross, Jacob Wibbens, James Fielding, Walter Graham, David Manner, Asa Fowler. Co. B, Capt. Gilmore Hays, promoted to major by election; 1st lieut A. B. Rabbeson, elected capt. vice Hays; 1st lieut Van Ogle, vice Rabbeson, and John Brady, vice Van Ogle, commanded lastly by Captain Burntrager; 2d lieut William Martin; 2d lieut William Temple, vice Martin resigned. Non-com. officers, Frank Ruth, D. Martin, M. Goodell, N. B. Coffey, J. L. Myres, T. Hughes, H. Horton; strength 52 men rank and file. Co. C, Capt. B. L. Hennessy; 1st lieut G. C. Blankenship; 2d lieut F. A. Goodwin; non-commissioned officers, Joseph Cushman, William J. Yeager, Henry Laws, James Phillips, William E. Klady, Thomas Hicks, S. A. Phillips, H. Johnson; strength 67 rank and file. Co. D, Capt. Achilles; 1st

Governor Stevens was unable to push forward any troops east of the Cascade Range for two months after the Oregon troops were withdrawn upon the understanding that Colonel Wright was to occupy the Walla Walla Valley. In the mean time the hostile tribes enjoyed the fullest liberty up to the appearing of the southern battalion, and those previously friendly, being in ignorance of the intention of the authorities toward them, made this an excuse for withdrawing their allegiance.

Lieutenant-colonel Craig, who with his auxiliaries had been using his best endeavors to hold the Nez Percés and Spokanes constant to their professions, met the volunteers in the Walla Walla Valley, and escorted Captain Robie with the supply train under

lieut Powell; strength 44 rank and file. Co. E, Capt. Charles W. Riley; strength 21 men rank and file; commanded lastly by Lieut Cole. Co. F, Capt. Calvin W. Swindal; 1st lieut J. Q. Cole; strength 40 rank and file. Co. G, J. J. H. Van Bokelin; promoted to maj. by election; 1st lieut Daniel Smalley, elected capt. vice Van Bokelin; 2d lieut G. W. Ebey; strength 55 rank and file. Co. H, Capt. R. V. Peabody; strength 42 rank and file. Co. I, Capt. S. D. Howe; 1st lieut G. W. Beam, elected capt. vice Howe; Thomas Sinnot, vice Beam; 2d lieut Benj. Welcher, vice John Y. Sewell resigned; strength 35 rank and file. Co. J, Capt. Bluford Miller; 1st lieut Anthony W. Pressley; 2d lieut Andrew Sheppard; strength 40 rank and file. Co. K, Capt. Francis M. P. Goff; 1st lieut Israel Hedges; 2d lieut Thomas Waite; strength 101 rank and file. Goff also mentions Lieut Hunter. Co. L, Capt. E. D. Warbass; 1st lieut J. W. Anderson; 2d lieut J. B. Bouchard; strength 91 rank and file. Co. M, Capt. Henri M. Chase; 1st lieut V. L. La Fontaine; 2d lieut Louis Rabion; strength 53 rank and file; 10 white men, 43 Nez Percés. Co. N, Capt. Richards; 1st lieut John Estes; 2d lieut Williams in command; strength 74 rank and file. Washington Mounted Rifles, Capt. H. J. G. Maxon; 1st lieut Ed Barrington; 2d lieut Curtiss; strength 95 rank and file. Clarke County Rangers, Capt. William Kelly; 1st lieut J. D. Biles; 2d lieut P. Ahern; strength 81 rank and file. Pioneer Co., Capt. Joseph A. White; 1st lieut U. Hicks; 2d lieut T. McLean Chambers; non-com. officers, Daniel J. Hubbard, Columbus White, Marcus McMillan, Henry G. Parsons, Isaac Lemmons, James Burns, William Ruddell, William Mengle; strength 40 rank and file. Fourteen of this company, under Hicks, did duty as mounted men. Walla Walla Co., Capt. S. S. Ford; strength 29 rank and file. Train Guard, Capt. Shead; strength 47 rank and file. Nisqually Ferry Guard, strength 9 men. Lewis Co. Rangers, Capt. John R. Jackson; 1st lieut Jackson Barton, succeeded by Anderson; 2d lieut —— Roundtree, succeeded by Balisti; strength 67 rank and file. Cowlitz Rangers, Capt. H. W. Peers; strength unknown. Indian auxiliaries, Snohomish chiefs Patkanim and John Taylor capt.; strength 82. Squaxon Indians, Lieut Gosnell capt.; strength 15. Chehalis Indians, Capt. S. S. Ford, Jr; strength 17. Cowlitz Indians, Pierre Charles capt.; strength 9. *Wash. Mess. Gov.*, 1857, 28–30, and general military correspondence. Changes being frequent, I am at a loss where to place lieuts Temple, Mounts, and G. W. Martin. The staff-officers have been mentioned in a previous note.

his charge to the Nez Percé country. On the 24th of July Robie returned and communicated to Colonel Shaw, just in from the Grand Rond expedition, the disagreeable intelligence that the Nez Percés had shown a hostile disposition, declaring the treaty broken, and refusing to receive the goods sent them.[10] This would have been unwelcome news at any time, but was most trying at this juncture, when half the force in field was quitting it to be mustered out of service. This exigency occasioned the call for two more companies of volunteers. Subsequent to making the call, Stevens decided to go in person to Walla Walla, and if possible to hold a council. A messenger was at once despatched to Shaw, with instructions to send runners to the different tribes, friendly and hostile, inviting them to meet him on the 25th; but accompanying the invitation was the notice that he required the unconditional surrender of the warring bands.

Stevens urged Colonel Wright to be present at the council, and to send three companies of regulars, including all his mounted men, to the Walla Walla Valley for that occasion. Wright declined the invitation to participate in the council, but signified his intention of sending Steptoe to Walla Walla to establish a post in that country.

On the 19th of August, Stevens set out from The Dalles with a train of 30 wagons, 80 oxen, and 200 loose animals, attended only by his messenger, Pearson, and the employés of the expedition. A day or two behind him followed the baggage and supply train of Steptoe's command. He arrived without accident at Camp Mason on the 23d, sending word in all directions to inform the Indians of his wish to meet them for a final adjustment of their difficulties at the council-ground five miles from Waiilatpu. At

[10] See letters of W. H. Pearson and other correspondents, in *Or. Statesman*, Aug. 5, 1856; *Or. Argus*, Aug. 2, 1856; *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Aug. 5, 1856. Pearson, who was in the Nez Percé country, named the hostile chiefs as follows: Looking Glass, Three Feathers, Red Bear, Eagle-from-the-light, Red Wolf, and Man-with-a-rope-in-his-mouth.

the end of a week a deputation of the lower Nez Percés had come in with their agent, Craig. At the end of another week all this tribe were in, but on the same day Father Ravelli, from the Cœur d'Alêne mission, arrived alone, with the information that he had seen and conversed with Kamiakin, Owhi, and Qualchin, who refused to attend the council, and also that the Spokanes and other tribes declined to meet the superintendent, having been instigated to this course by Kamiakin, who had made his headquarters on the border of their country all summer, exercising a strong influence by the tales he circulated of the wrong-doing of the white people, and especially of Governor Stevens, and enmity among the northern tribes.

On the 10th the hostile Cayuses, Des Chutes, and Tyghes arrived and encamped in the neighborhood of the Nez Percés, but without paying the customary visit to Governor Stevens, and exhibiting their hostility by firing the grass of the country they travelled over. They had recently captured a pack-train of forty-one horses and thirty packs of provisions from The Dalles for Shaw's command, and were in an elated mood over their achievement.

The council opened on the 11th of September, and closed on the 17th, Stevens moving his position in the mean time to Steptoe's camp for fear of an outbreak. Nothing was accomplished. The only terms to which the war chiefs would assent were to be left in possession of their respective domains. On his way back to The Dalles with his train of Indian goods, escorted by Shaw's command under Goff, on the 19th and 20th several attacks were made and two soldiers killed. Assisted by Steptoe, Stevens finally reached his destination in safety. After this mortifying repulse Governor Stevens returned to the Sound. Wright repaired to Walla Walla with an additional company of troops, and sent word to all the chiefs to bring them together for a council. Few came, the Nez Percés

being represented by Red Wolf and Eagle-from-the-light, the Cayuses by Howlish Wampo, Tintinmetse, and Stickas, with some other sub-chiefs of both nations. None of the Yakimas, Des Chutes, Walla Wallas, or Spokanes were present; and all that could be elicited from those who attended the council was that they desired peace, and did not wish the treaty of Walla Walla confirmed.

Wright remained at Walla Walla until November, the post of Fort Walla Walla[11] being established on Mill Creek, six miles from its junction with the Walla Walla River, where the necessary buildings were completed before the 20th. In November Fort Dalles was garrisoned by an additional company under brevet Major Wise. The Cascade settlement was protected by a company of the 4th infantry under Captain Wallen, who relieved Captain Winder of the 9th infantry. The frontier being thus secured against invasion, the winter passed without many warlike demonstrations.

About the 20th of July the volunteer companies left on the Sound when Shaw's battalion departed for Walla Walla were disbanded, the hostile Indians being driven east of the mountains, and the country being in a good state of defence. On the 4th of August Governor Stevens called a council of Indians at Fox Island, to inquire into the causes of discontent, and finding that the Nisquallies and Puyallups were dissatisfied with the extent of their reservation, not without a show of reason, he agreed to recommend an enlargement, and a re-survey was ordered on the 28th, which took in thirteen donation claims, for which congress appropriated nearly $5,000 to pay for improvements.

Having satisfied the Indians of his disposition to deal justly with them, he next made a requisition upon

[11] Old Fort Walla Walla of the H. B. Co. being abandoned, the name was transferred to this post, about 28 miles in the interior.

Colonel Wright for the delivery to him of Leschi, Quiemuth, Nelson, Stahi, and the younger Kitsap, to be tried for murder, these Indians being among those who had held a council with Wright in the Yakima country, and been permitted to go at large on their parole and obligation to keep the peace. But Wright was reluctant to give up the Indians required, saying that although he had made no promises not to hold them accountable for their former acts, he should consider it unwise to seize them for trial, as it would have a disturbing effect upon the Indians whom he was endeavoring to quiet. Stevens argued that peace on milder terms would be a criminal abandonment of duty, and would depreciate the standing of the authorities with the Indians, especially as he had frequently assured them that the guilty should be punished; he repeated his requisition; whereupon, toward the last of the month, Major Garnett was ordered to turn over to the governor for trial the Indians named. The army officers were not in sympathy with what they deemed the arbitrary course of the governor, and Garnett found it easy to evade the performance of so uncongenial a duty, the Indians being scattered, and many of them having returned to the Sound, where they gave themselves up to the military authorities at Fort Steilacoom.

A reward, however, was offered for the seizure and delivery of Leschi, which finally led to his arrest about the middle of November. It was accomplished by the treachery of two of his own people, Sluggia and Elikukah. They went to the place where Leschi was in hiding, poor and outlawed, having been driven away by the Yakimas who had submitted to Wright, who would allow him to remain in their country only on condition that he became their slave; and having decoyed him to a spot where their horses were concealed, suddenly seized and bound him, to be delivered up to Sydney S. Ford, who surrendered him to Stevens at Olympia.

The particular crime with which Leschi was charged was the killing of A. B. Moses, the place being in Pierce county. Court had just adjourned when he was brought in, but as Judge Chenoweth, who resided on Whidbey Island, had not yet left Steilacoom, he was requested by the governor to hold a special term for the trial of Leschi, and the trial came off on the 17th of November, the jury failing to agree. A second trial, begun on the 18th of March, 1857, resulted in conviction, and the savage was sentenced to be hanged on the 10th of June. This action of the Governor was condemned by the regular army officers, there being in this case the same opposition of sentiment between the civil and military authorities which had existed in all the Indian wars in Oregon and Washington—the army versus the people.

Proceedings were instituted to carry the case up to the supreme court in December, which postponed the execution of the sentence. The opinion of McFadden, acting chief justice, sustained the previous action of the district court and the verdict of the jury. Leschi's sentence was again pronounced, the day of his execution being fixed upon the 22d of January, 1858. In the mean time Stevens had resigned, and a new governor, McMullin, had arrived, to whom a strong appeal was made by the counsel and friends of Leschi, but to no effect, 700 settlers protesting against pardon. When the day of execution arrived, a large concourse of people assembled at Steilacoom to witness the death of so celebrated a savage. But the friends of the doomed man had prepared a surprise for them. The sheriff of Pierce county and his deputy were arrested, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock, by Lieutenant McKibben of Fort Steilacoom, appointed United States marshal for the purpose, and Frederick Kautz, upon a warrant issued by J. M. Bachelder, United States commissioner and sutler at that post, upon a charge of selling liquor to the Indians. An attempt was

made by Secretary Mason to obtain the death-warrant in possession of the sheriff, which attempt was frustrated until after the hour fixed for the execution had passed, during which time the sheriff remained in custody with no attempt to procure his freedom.

So evident a plot, executed entirely between the prisoner's counsel and the military authorities at Fort Steilacoom, aroused the liveliest indignation on the part of the majority of the people. A public meeting was held at Steilacoom, and also one at Olympia, on the evening of the 22d, at which all the persons in any way concerned in the frustration of the sentence of the courts were condemned, and the legislature requested to take cognizance of it. This the legislature did, by passing an act on the following day requiring the judges of the supreme court to hold a special session on or before the 1st of February at the seat of government, repealing all laws in conflict with this act, and also passing another act allowing the judges, Chenoweth and McFadden, Lander being absent from the territory, one hundred dollars each for their expenses in holding an extra session of the supreme court, by which the case was remanded to the court of the 2d judicial district, whither it came on a writ of error, and an order issued for a special session of the district court, before which, Chenoweth presiding, Leschi was again brought, when his counsel entered a demurrer to its jurisdiction, which was overruled, and Leschi was for the third time sentenced to be hanged; and on the 19th of February the unhappy savage, ill and emaciated from long confinement, and weary of a life which for nearly three years had been one of strife and misery, was strangled according to law.

There is another case on the record showing the temper of the time. Shortly after Leschi's betrayal and arrest, Quiemuth, who had been in hiding, presented himself to George Brail on Yelm prairie, with the request that he should accompany him to Olympia, and give him up to Governor Stevens to be tried.

Brail did as requested, three or four others accompanying him. Arriving at Olympia at half-past two in the morning, they aroused the governor, who, placing them all in his office, furnished fire and refreshments, locked the front door, and proceeded to make arrangements for conveying the party to Steilacoom before daylight.

Although caution was used, the fact of Quiemuth's presence in the town became known, and several persons quietly gained access to the governor's office through a back door, among whom was James Bunton, a son-in-law of James McAllister, who was killed while conversing with some of Leschi's people. The guard saw no suspicious movement, when suddenly a shot was fired, there was a quick arousal of all in the room, and Quiemuth with others sprang to the door, where he was met by the assassin and mortally stabbed. So dimly lighted was the room, and so unexpected and sudden was the deed, that the perpetrator was not recognized, although there was a warrant issued a few hours later for Bunton, who, on examination, was discharged for want of evidence.[12]

Few of the Indian leaders in the war on the Sound survived it. Several were hanged at Fort Steilacoom; three were assassinated by white men out of revenge; Kitsap was killed in June 1857, on the Muckleshoot prairie, by one of his own people, and in December following Sluggia, who betrayed Leschi, was killed by Leschi's friends.[13] Nelson and Stahi alone survived when Leschi died. His death may be said to have been the closing act of the war on Puget Sound; but it was not until the ratification of the Walla Walla treaties in 1859 that the people returned to their farms in the Puyallup and upper White River valleys.[14] So antagonistic was the feeling against Stevens con-

[12] *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Nov. 28, 1856; *Elridge's Sketch*, MS., 9.

[13] *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, July 3 and Dec. 11, 1857.

[14] Patkanim died soon after the war was over. The *Pioneer and Democrat*, Jan. 21, 1859, remarked: 'It is just as well that he is out of the way, as in spite of everything, we never believed in his friendship.' Seattle died in 1866,

duct of the war at the federal capital, that it was many years before the war debt was allowed.

The labors of the commission appointed to examine claims occupied almost a year, to pay for which congress appropriated twelve thousand dollars. The total amount of war expenses for Oregon and Washington aggregated nearly six millions of dollars.[15] When the papers were all filed they made an enormous mass of half a cord in bulk, which Smith took to Washington in 1857.[16] The secretary of war, in his report, pronounced the findings equitable, recommending that provision should be made for the payment of the full amount.[17]

never having been suspected. Kussass, chief of the Cowlitz tribe, died in 1876, aged 114 years. He was friendly, and a catholic. *Olympia Morning Echo*, Jan. 6, 1876.

[15] *Deady's Hist. Or.*, MS., 35; *Grover's Pub. Life*, MS., 59; *Or. Statesman*, Oct. 20, 1857, and March 30 and April 6, 1858; *H. Ex. Doc.*, 45, pp. 1–16, 35th cong. 1st sess. The exact footing was $4,449,949.33 for Oregon; and $1,481,475.45 for Washington=$5,931,424.78. Of this amount, the pay due to the Oregon volunteers was $1,409,604.53; and to the Washington volunteers $519,593.06.

[16] Said Horace Greeley; 'The enterprising terrritories of Oregon and Washington have handed into congress their little bill for scalping Indians and violating squaws two years ago, etc., etc. After these [the French Spoliation claims] shall have been paid half a century or so, we trust the claims of the Oregon and Washington Indian-fighters will come up for consideration.' *New York Tribune*, in *Or. Statesman*, Feb. 16, 1858.

[17] On the Oregon war debt, see the report of the third auditor, 1860, found in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 11, 36th cong. 1st sess.; speech of Grover, in *Cong. Globe*, 1858–9, pt ii., app. 217, 35th cong. 2d sess.; letter of third auditor, in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 51, vol. viii. 77, 35th cong. 2d sess.; *Statement of the Or. and Wash. delegation in regard to the war claims of Oregon and Washington*, a pamphlet of 67 pages; Dowell's Scrap-Book of authorities on the subject; *Or. Jour. Sen.*, 1860, app. 35–6; *Dowell's Or. Ind. Wars*, 138–42; *Jessup's Rept on the cost of transportation of troops and supplies to California, Oregon, and New Mexico*, 2; rept of commissioner on Indian war expenses in Oregon and Washington, in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 45, 35th cong. 1st sess., vol. ix.; memorial of the legislative assembly of 1855–6, in *H. Misc. Doc.*, 77, 34th cong. 1st sess., and *H. Misc. Doc.*, 78, 34th cong. 1st sess., containing a copy of the act of the same legislature providing for the payment of volunteers; report of the house committee on military affairs, June 24, 1856, in *H. Rept*, 195, 34th cong. 1st sess.; reports of committee, vol. i., *H. Rept*, 189, 34th cong. 3d sess., in *H. Reports of Committee*, vol. 3; petition of citizens of Oregon and Washington for a more speedy and just settlement of the war claims, with the reply of the third auditor, *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 46, 37th cong. 2d sess., vol. v.; *Report of the Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate*, March 29, 1860; *Rept Com.*, 161, 36th cong. 1st sess., vol. i.; communication from Senators George H. Williams and W. H. Corbett, on the Oregon Indian war claims of 1855–6, audited by Philo Callender, which encloses letters of the third auditor, and B. F. Dowell on the expenses of the war, Washington, March 2, 1868, in *H. Misc. Doc.*, 88, p. 3–10, ii., 40th cong. 2d sess.; report of sen. com. on

The number of white persons known to have been killed by Indians[18] in Oregon previous to the establishment of the latter on reservations, including the few fairly killed in battle, so far as I have been able to gather from reliable authorities, was nearly 700, besides about 140 wounded who recovered, and without counting those killed and wounded in Washington.[19]

Two events of no small significance occurred in the spring of 1857—the union of the two Indian superintendencies of Washington under one superintendent, J. W. Nesmith of Oregon, and the recall of General Wool from the command of the department of the Pacific. The first was in consequence of the heavy expenditures in both superintendencies, and the second was in response to the petition of the legislature of Oregon at the session of 1856–7. The successor of Wool was Newman S. Clarke, who paid a visit to the Columbia River district in June.[20]

interest to be allowed on the award of the Indian war claims, in *Sen. Com. Rept*, 8, 37th cong. 2d sess.; letter of secretary of the treasury, containing information relative to claims incurred in suppressing Indian hostilities in Oregon and Washington, and which were acted and reported upon by the commission authorized by the act of August 18, 1856, in *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 1 and 2, 42d cong. 2d sess.; report of the committee on military affairs, June 22, 1874, in *H. Repts of Com.*, 873, 43d cong. 1st sess.; letter from the third auditor to the chairman of the committee on military affairs on the subject of claims growing out of Indian hostilities, in Oregon and Washington, in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 51, 35th cong. 2d sess.; vol. vii., and *Id. Doc.*, vol. iv., 36th cong. 1st sess.; communication of C. S. Drew, on the origin and early prosecution of the Indian war in Oregon, in *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, 59, 36th cong. 1st sess., relating chiefly to Rogue River Valley; *Stevens' Speech on War Expenses before the Committee of Military Affairs of the House*, March 15, 1860; *Stevens' Speech on War Claims in the House of Representatives*, May 31, 1858; *Speeches of Joseph Lane in the House of Representatives*, April 2, 1856, and May 13, 1858; *Speech of I. I. Stevens in the House of Representatives*, Feb. 31, 1859; *Alta California*, July 4, 1857; *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 26, 1858; *Dowell and Gibbs' Brief in Donnell vs Cardwell, Sup. Court Decisions*, 1877; *Early Affairs Siskiyou County*, MS., 13; *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 388–91.

[18] See a list by S. C. Drew, in the *N. Y. Tribune*, July 9, 1857. Lindsay Applegate furnishes a longer one, but neither list is at all complete. See also letter of Lieut John Mullan to Commissioner Mix, in *Mullan's Top. Mem.*, 32; *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 32, 35th cong. 2d sess.

[19] I arrived at this estimate by putting down in a book the names and the number of persons murdered or slain in battle. The result surprised me, although there were undoubtedly others whose fate was never certainly ascertained. This only covers the period which ended with the close of the war of 1855–6; there were many others killed after these years.

[20] The distribution of United States troops in the district for 1857 was two

Nesmith did not relieve Stevens of his duties as superintendent of Washington until the 2d of June,[21] soon after which General Clarke paid a visit to the Columbia River district to look into the condition of this portion of his department.

Nesmith recommended to the commissioner at Washington City that the treaties of 1855 be ratified, as the best means of bringing about a settlement of the existing difficulties, and for these reasons: that the land laws permitted the occupation of the lands of Oregon and Washington, regardless of the rights of the Indians, making the intercourse laws a nullity, and rendering it impossible to prevent collisions between them and the settlers. Friendly relations could not be cultivated while their title to the soil was recognized by the government, which at the same time

companies of the 4th infantry at Fort Hoskins, under Capt. C. C. Augur; detachments of the 4th inf. and 3d art. at Fort Yamhill, under Lieut Phil. H. Sheridan; three companies of the 9th inf. at Fort Dalles, Col Wright in command; one co. of the 4th infantry at Fort Vancouver, Colonel Thomas Morris in command; one co. of the 3d art. at the Cascades, under Maj. F. O. Wyse; three companies of the 9th inf., under Maj. R. S. Garnett, at Fort Simcoe; one co. each of the 1st dragoons, 3d art., 4th and 9th inf., Col E. J. Steptoe in command, at Fort Walla Walla; one co. of the 9th inf., under Capt. G. E. Pickett, at Fort Bellingham, on Bellingham Bay, established to guard the Sound from the incursions of northern Indians; one co. of the 9th inf., under Capt. D. Woodruff, in camp near Fort Bellingham, as escort to the northern boundary com.; one co. of the 4th inf., under Maj. G. O. Haller, at Fort Townsend, two and a half miles from Port Townsend; one company of the 9th inf., under Lieut D. B. McKibben, at Fort Slaughter, on Muckleshoot prairie, near the junction of White and Green rivers; two companies 4th inf., Capt. M. Maloney in command, at Fort Steilacoom; and en route for Fort Walla Walla, arriving in the autumn, one company of the 1st dragoons, under Capt. A. J. Smith, making, with one company at Fort Umpqua, a force of between 1,500 and 2,000 regular troops, to hold in subjection 39,000 Indians.

[21] Nesmith found the agents already in charge of the Indians in the Puget Sound district to be E. C. Fitzhugh at Bellingham Bay, G. A. Paige at Kitsap reservation, M. T. Simmons general agent for Puget Sound, R. C. Fay at Penn's Cove, Whidbey Island, Thomas J. Hanna at Port Townsend (vice E. S. Fowler), W. B. Gosnell in charge of the Nisqually and Puyallup Indians on the Puyallup reservation, S. S. Ford in charge of the Cowlitz, Chehalis, Shoalwater Bay, Willopah, Quilehutes, and other coast tribes in this quarter, A. S. Cain in charge of the Indians on the north side of the Columbia from Vancouver to opposite The Dalles, assisted by A. Townsend, local agent at White Salmon, A. H. Robie in charge of the Yakima district, William Craig in charge of the friendly Cayuses, R. H. Lansdale in charge of the Flathead district. The Nez Percés had declined an agent, fearing he might be killed, which would involve the tribe in war, and the other tribes were unfriendly and without agents. A. P. Dennison had charge of the district of eastern Oregon. *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1857, 325–83.

failed to purchase it, but gave white people a right to settle in the country.

About the middle of April 1858 Colonel Steptoe notified General Clarke that an expedition to the north seemed advisable, if not absolutely necessary, as a petition had been received from forty persons living at Colville for troops to be sent to that place, the Indians in the vicinity being hostile. Two white men en route for Colville mines had been killed by the Palouses, who had also made a foray into the Walla Walla country and driven off the cattle belonging to the army. On the 6th of May Steptoe left Walla Walla with 130 dragoons, proceeding toward the Nez Percé country in a leisurely manner. At Snake River he was ferried across by Timothy, who also accompanied him as guide. At the Alpowah he found thirty or forty of the Palouses, who were said to have killed the two travellers, who fled on his approach. On the 16th he received information that the Spokanes were preparing to fight him, but not believing the report, pursued his march northward[22] until he found himself surrounded by a force of about 600 Indians in their war-paint—Palouses, Spokanes, Cœur d'Alênes, and a few Nez Percés. They had posted themselves near a ravine through which the road passed, and where the troops could be assailed on three sides. The command was halted and a parley held with the Spokanes, in which they announced their intention of fighting, saying that they had heard the troops had come to make war on them, but they would not be permitted to cross the Spokane River.

Informing his officers that they should be compelled to fight, Steptoe turned aside to avoid the dangerous pass of the ravine, and coming in about a mile to a small lake, encamped there, but without daring to dismount, the Indians having accompanied them

[22] *Letter of Steptoe to Gov. McMullin*, July 16, 1858, MS.; letter of Lieut Gregg, in *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1858, 272.

all the way at a distance of not more than a hundred yards, using the most insulting words and gestures. No shots were fired, either by the troops or Indians, Steptoe being resolved that the Spokanes should fire the first gun; and indeed, the dragoons had only their small-arms, and were not prepared for fighting Indians.[23]

Toward night a number of chiefs rode up to the camp to inquire the occasion of the troops coming into the Spokane country, and why they had cannon with them. Steptoe replied that he was on his way to Colville to learn the causes of the troubles between the miners and Indians in that region. This the Indians professed to him to accept as the true reason, though they asserted to Father Joset that they did not believe it, because the colonel had not taken the direct road to Colville, but had come out of his way to pass through their country—a fact of which Steptoe was himself unconscious, having trusted to Timothy to lead him to Colville.[24] But though the chiefs professed to be satisfied, they refused to furnish canoes to ferry over the troops, and maintained an unyielding opposition to their advance into the Spokane country. Finding that he should have to contend against great odds, without being prepared, Steptoe determined upon retreating, and early on the morning of the 17th began his return to the Palouse.

In the mean time the Cœur d'Alênes, who were gathering roots in a camas prairie a few miles distant, had been informed of the position of affairs, and were urged to join the Spokanes, who could not consent to let the troops escape out of their hands so easily. As they were about marching, Steptoe received a visit from Father Joset, who was anxious to explain to him the causes which led to the excitement, and also a slander which the Palouses had invented against himself, that he had furnished the Indians with

[23] *Steptoe's Letter to Gov. McMullin*, MS.

[24] Statement of Father Joset, in *Mrs Nichols' Ind. Affairs*, MS., 7; report of Colonel Steptoe, in *Clarke and Wright's Campaign*, 17.

ammunition. It was then agreed that an interview should be had with the principal chiefs; but only the Cœur d'Alêne chief Vincent was found ready to meet Steptoe. In the midst of the interview, which was held as they rode along, the chief was called away and firing was commenced by the Palouses, who were dogging the heels of the command. What at first seemed an attack by this small party of Indians only soon became a general battle, in which all were engaged. Colonel Steptoe labored under the disadvantage of having to defend a pack-train while moving over a rolling country particularly favorable to Indian warfare. The column moved, at first, in close order, with the supply train in the middle, guarded by a dragoon company, with a company in the front and rear. At the crossing of a small stream, the Indians closing in to get at the head of the column, Lieutenant Gregg, with one company, was ordered to move forward and occupy a hill which the Indians were trying to gain for that purpose. He had no sooner reached this position than the Indians sought to take possession of one which commanded it, and it became necessary to divide his company to drive them from the new position.

By this time the action had become general, and the companies were separated, fighting by making short charges, and at a great disadvantage on account of the inferiority of their arms to those used by the Indians. As one of the dragoon companies was endeavoring to reach the hill held by Gregg's company, the Indians made a charge to get between them and the hill to surround and cut them off. Seeing the movement and its intention, Lieutenant Gaston, who was not more than a thousand yards off, made a dash with his company, which was met by Gregg's company from the hill, in a triangle, and the Indians suffered the greatest loss of the battle just at the spot where the two companies met, having twelve killed in the charge.[25]

[25] The Indian loss in the battle of Steptoe Butte—called Tehotomimme

Among the killed were Jacques Zachary, a brother-in-law of the Cœur d'Alêne chief Vincent, and James, another headman. Victor, an influential chief, also of the Cœur d'Alênes, fell mortally wounded. The rage of the Cœur d'Alênes at this loss was terrible, and soon they had avenged themselves. As the troops slowly moved forward, fighting, to reach water, the Indians kept up a constant raking fire, until about 11 o'clock, when Captain Oliver H. P. Taylor and Lieutenant William Gaston were killed.[26] To these officers had been assigned the difficult duty of flanking the column. Their loss threw the men into confusion, harassed as they were by the steady fire of the enemy, but a few of them gallantly defended the bodies of their officers and brought them off the field under a rain of bullets.[27]

It now became apparent that water could not be reached by daylight, and though it was not much past noon, Steptoe was forced to remain in the best position he could obtain on the summit of a hill, on a small inclined plain, where the troops dismounted and picketed their animals. The men were then ordered to lie down flat upon the ground, and do their best to prevent the Indians taking the hill by charges, in which defence they were successful. Toward even-

by the Indians—a place about seven miles from the present town of Colfax, was estimated by the Indians at 9 killed and forty or fifty wounded; but Steptoe in his report mentions that Lieut Gregg had seen 12 dead Indians together at one spot, and that many others were seen to fall. *Clarke and Wright's Campaign*, 18.

[26] *Mrs Nichol's Indian Affairs*, MS., 9. Taylor was a graduate of West Point of 1846, and only a few weeks previous to his death had brought out his wife and children to the Pacific coast. Gaston was a graduate of 1856, and an officer of great promise. *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1858, 274.

[27] First Sergeant Wm C. Willams, privates R. P. Kerse and Francis Poisell, were honorably mentioned for this. Williams and another sergeant, Edward Ball, were wounded and missing afterward. They succeeded in eluding the Indians, and reached the Snake River crossing alive. Williams was then killed by the Indians, who permitted Ball to escape and return to Fort Walla Walla. *Kip's Army Life*, 11. This book of Lieut Lawrence Kip, 3d artillery, is like his *Indian Council at Walla Walla in 1855*, a small volume containing his personal observations on the operations of the army in the Indian country of Washington. It embraces a number of subjects—the origin of the war, the march from The Dalles, and the various incidents of the campaign of Col Wright following the disaster of Steptoe's expedition—very pleasantly written.

ing the ammunition, of which they had an insufficient supply, began to give out, and the men were suffering so severely from thirst and fatigue that it was with difficulty the three remaining officers could inspire them to defend themselves.[28] Six of their comrades were dead or dying, and eleven others wounded. Many of the men were late recruits, insufficiently drilled, whose courage these reverses had much diminished, if not altogether destroyed.

Nothing remained now but flight. The dead officers were hastily interred; and taking the best horses and a small supply of provisions, the troops crept silently away at ten o'clock that night and hurried toward Snake River, where they arrived on the morning of the 19th. Thence Steptoe returned to Fort Walla Walla.

One of the reasons, if not the principal one, assigned by the Cœur d'Alênes for their excitability and passion was that ever since the outbreak in 1855 they had said that no white settlements should be made in their country, nor should there be any roads through it; and they were informed a road was about to be opened from the Missouri to the Columbia by the United States government in spite of their protest.[29] They were opposed, also, to troops being sent to Colville, as they said that would only open the way for more troops, and again for more, and finally for the occupation of the country.

General Clarke, learning from Father Joset that the Cœur d'Alênes were penitent, offered to treat

[28] 'To move from one point to another we had to crawl on our hands and knees, amid the howling of the Indians, the groans of the dying, and the whistling of balls and arrows.' Letter of Lieut Gregg, in *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1858, 274.

[29] This referred to the wagon-road afterward opened by John Mullan, 1st lieut 2d art., in charge of the construction of a military road from Fort Benton to Fort Walla Walla. See *Mullan's Military Road Report.* The only point on which Steptoe could congratulate himself in his report on his expedition was that it had undoubtedly saved the lives of Mullan's whole command, who, had they proceeded into the Spokane country as intended, without being warned of the hostility of the Indians, would have been slaughtered. As it was, they remained at The Dalles. Letter of Wright, in *Clarke and Wright's Campaign*, 22; *Report of the Secretary of War 1858*, 351; letter of Steptoe, *Id.*, 350.

with them on easy conditions, considering their conduct toward Colonel Steptoe; he sent their priest back to them with passports, which were to conduct their chiefs to Vancouver should they choose to come.

But the Cœur d'Alênes did not choose to come. True, they had professed penitence to their priest, begging him to intercede for them, but as soon as his back was turned on them, they, with the Spokanes and Kalispels, led by the notorious Telxawney, brewed mischief. The Cœur d'Alênes openly denied consenting to Father Joset's peace mission, and were incensed that he should meddle with things that did not concern him. After this, attacks on miners and others continued.

In June General Clarke held a consultation of officers at Vancouver, colonels Wright and Steptoe being present, when an expedition was determined upon which should not repeat the blunders of the previous one, and Colonel Wright was placed in command. Three companies of artillery were brought from San Francisco, one from Fort Umpqua, and Captain Judah was ordered from Fort Jones, in California, with one company of 4th infantry. The troops intended for the expedition were concentrated at Fort Walla Walla, where they were thoroughly drilled in the tactics which they were expected to practise on the field, the artillerymen being instructed in light infantry practice, with the exception of a single company, which practised at artillery drill mounted. No precaution was neglected which could possibly secure discipline in battle.

At the same time that the expedition against the Spokanes and Cœur d'Alênes was preparing, another against the Yakimas was ordered, under the command of Major Garnett, who was to move, on the 15th of August, with 300 troops, northward toward Colville, thus assisting to drive the hostile Indians toward one

common centre. Before leaving Fort Walla Walla, on the 6th of August, Wright called a council of the Nez Percés, with whom he made a 'treaty of friendship,' binding them to aid the United States in wars with any other tribes, and binding the United States to assist them in the same case, at the cost of the government; and to furnish them arms whenever their services were required. The treaty was signed by Wright on the part of the United States, and by twenty-one Nez Percés, among whom were Timothy, Richard, Three Feathers, and Speaking Eagle, but by none of the greater chiefs already known in this history. The treaty was witnessed by six army officers and approved by Clarke.[30] A company of thirty Nez Percé volunteers was organized under this arrangement, the Indians being dressed in United States uniform, to flatter their pride as allies, as well as to distinguish them from the hostile Indians. This company was placed under the command of Lieutenant John Mullan, to act as guides and scouts.

On the 7th of August Captain Keyes took his departure with a detachment of dragoons for Snake River, where, by the advice of Colonel Steptoe, a fortification was to be erected, at the point selected for a crossing. This was at the junction of the Tucannon with the Snake River. It was built in the deep gorge, overhung by cliffs on either side, 260 and 310 feet in height. The fortification was named Fort Taylor, in honor of Captain O. H. P. Taylor, killed in the battle of the 17th of May. The place would have afforded little security against a civilized foe, but was thought safe from Indian attack. A reservation of 640 acres was laid out, and every preparation made for a permanent post, including a ferry, for which a large flat-boat was provided.

[30] This treaty was the subject of criticism. Mullan attributed to it the good conduct of the Nez Percés, but particularly as preventing a general coalition of the Indian tribes, 'and a fire in our rear, which if once commenced must end in our total destruction.' *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1858, 281.

On the 18th Wright arrived at Fort Taylor, and in a few days the march began. The dragoons numbered 190, the artillery 400, and the infantry 90. The last were organized as a rifle brigade, and armed with Sharpe's long-range rifles and minié-ball, two improvements in the implements of war with which the Indians were unacquainted. On the 31st, when the army had arrived at the head waters of Cheranah River, a point almost due north of Fort Taylor, 76 miles from that post, and about twenty south of the Spokane River, the Indians showed themselves in some force on the hills, and exchanged a few shots with the Nez Percés, who were not so disguised by their uniforms as to escape detection had they desired it, which apparently they did not. They also fired the grass, with the intention of making an attack under cover of the smoke, but it failed to burn well. They discharged their guns at the rear-guard, and retreated to the hills again, where they remained. Judging from these indications that the main body of the Indians was not far distant, and wishing to give his troops some rest before battle, after so long a march, Wright ordered camp to be made at a place in the neighborhood of Four Lakes, with the intention of remaining a few days at that place.

But the Indians were too impatient to allow him this respite, and early in the morning of the 1st of September they began to collect on the summit of a hill about two miles distant. As they appeared in considerable force, Wright, with two squadrons of dragoons commanded by Major W. N. Grier, four companies of the 3d artillery, armed with rifle muskets, commanded by Major E. D. Keyes, and the rifle battalion of two companies of the 9th infantry commanded by Captain F. T. Dent, one mountain howitzer under command of Lieutenant J. L. White, and the thirty Nez Percés under the command of Lieutenant John Mullan, set out at half-past nine in the forenoon to make a reconnoissance, and drive the

enemy from their position, leaving in camp the equipage and supplies, guarded by one company of artillery, commanded by lieutenants H. G. Gibson and G. B. Dandy, a howitzer manned, and a guard of fifty-four men under Lieutenant H. B. Lyon, the whole commanded by Captain J. A. Hardie, the field-officer of the day.[31]

Grier was ordered to advance with his cavalry to the north and east around the base of the hill occupied by the Indians, in order to intercept their retreat when the foot-troops should have driven them from the summit. The artillery and rifle battalion, with the Nez Percés, were marched to the right of the hill, where the ascent was more easy, and to push the Indians in the direction of the dragoons. It was not a difficult matter to drive the Indians over the crest of the hill, but once on the other side, they took a stand, and evidently expecting a combat, showed no disposition to avoid it. In fact, they were keeping up a constant firing upon the two squadrons of dragoons, who were awaiting the foot-troops on the other side of the ridge.

On this side was spread out a vast plain, in a beautiful and exciting panorama. At the foot of the hill was a lake, and just beyond, three others surrounded by rugged rocks. Between them, and stretching to the north-west as far as the eye could reach, was level ground; in the distance, a dark range of pine-covered mountains. A more desirable battle-field could not have been selected. There was the open plain, and the convenient covert among the pines that bordered the lakes, and in the ravines of the hillside. Mounted on their fleetest horses, the Indians, decorated for war, their gaudy trapping glaring in the sun, and singing or shouting their battle-cries, swayed back and forth over a compass of two miles.

[31] The entire transportation of Wright's command consisted of about 400 mules, 325 belonging to the quartermaster's department, six to each company, and one to each officer. Only the dragoons were mounted. *Kip's Army Life*, 44.

Even their horses were painted in contrasting white, crimson, and other colors, while from their bridles depended bead fringes, and woven with their manes and tails were the plumes of eagles. Such was the spirited spectacle that greeted Colonel Wright and his command on that bright September morning.

Soon his plan of battle was decided upon. The troops were now in possession of the elevated ground, and the Indians held the plain, the ravines, and the pine groves. The dragoons were drawn up on the crest of the hill facing the plain; behind them were two companies of Keyes' artillery battalion acting as infantry, and with the infantry, deployed as skirmishers, to advance down the hill and drive the Indians from their coverts at the foot of the ridge into the plain. The rifle battalion under Dent, composed of two companies of the 9th infantry, with Winder and Fleming, was ordered to the right to deploy in the pine forest; and the howitzers, under White, supported by a company of artillery under Tyler, was advanced to a lower plateau, in order to be in a position for effective firing.

The advance began, the infantry moving steadily down the long slope, passing the dragoons, and firing a sharp volley into the Indian ranks at the bottom of the hill. The Indians now experienced a surprise. Instead of seeing the soldiers drop before their muskets while their own fire fell harmless, as at the battle of Steptoe Butte, the effect was reversed. The rifles of the infantry struck down the Indians before the troops came within range of their muskets.

This unexpected disadvantage, together with the orderly movement of so large a number of men, exceeding their own force by at least one or two hundred,[32] caused the Indians to retire, though slowly at

[32] Wright, in his report, says there were '400 or 500 mounted warriors,' and also 'large numbers of Indians' in the pine woods. *Mullan's Top. Mem.*, 19. Kip says the Indians 'outnumbered us,' p. 59 of *Army Life*, but it is not probable. Wright had over 700 fighting men. Subtracting those left to guard the camp, there would still be a number equal to, if not exceeding, the Indians.

first, and many of them to take refuge in the woods, where they were met by the rifle battalion and the howitzers, doing deadly execution.

Continuing to advance, the Indians falling back, the infantry reached the edge of the plain. The dragoons were in the rear, leading their horses. When they had reached the bottom of the hill they mounted, and charging between the divisions of skirmishers, rushed like a whirlwind upon the Indians, creating a panic, from which they did not recover, but fled in all directions. They were pursued by the dragoons for about a mile, when the latter were obliged to halt, their horses being exhausted. The foot-troops, too, being weary with their long march from Walla Walla, pursued but a short distance before they were recalled. The few Indians who still lingered on the neighboring hilltops soon fled when the howitzers were discharged in their direction. By two o'clock the whole army had returned to camp, not a man or a horse having been killed, and only one horse wounded. The Indians lost eighteen or twenty killed and many wounded.[33]

For three days Wright rested unmolested in camp. On the 5th of September, resuming his march, in about five miles he came upon the Indians collecting in large bodies, apparently with the intention of opposing his progress. They rode along in a line parallel to the troops, augmenting in numbers, and becoming more demonstrative, until on reaching a plain bordered by a wood they were seen to be stationed there awaiting the moment when the attack might be made.

As the column approached, the grass was fired, which being dry at this season of the year, burned with great fierceness, the wind blowing it toward the troops; and at the same time, under cover of the smoke, the Indians spread themselves out in a crescent, half enclosing them. Orders were immediately

[33] *Report of Secretary of War* for 1858, 386–90; report of Wright, in *Mullan's Top. Mem.*, 19–20; *Or. Statesman*, Sept. 21, 1858.

given to the pack-train to close up, and a strong guard was placed about it. The companies were then deployed on the right and left, and the men, flushed with their recent victory, dashed through the smoke and flames toward the Indians, driving them to the cover of the timber, where they were assailed by shells from the howitzers. As they fled from the havoc of the shells, the foot-soldiers again charged them. This was repeated from cover to cover, for about four miles, and then from rock to rock, as the face of the country changed, until they were driven into a plain, when a cavalry charge was sounded, and the scenes of the battle of Four Lakes were repeated.

But the Indians were obstinate, and gathered in parties in the forest through which the route now led, and on a hill to the right. Again the riflemen and howitzers forced them to give way. This was continued during a progress of fourteen miles. That afternoon the army encamped on the Spokane River, thoroughly worn out, having marched twenty-five miles without water, fighting half of the way. About the same number of Indians appeared to be engaged in this battle that had been in the first. Only one soldier was slightly wounded. The Cœur d'Alênes lost two chiefs, the Spokanes two, and Kamiakin also, who had striven to inspire the Indians with courage, received a blow upon the head from a falling tree-top blown off by a bursting shell. The whole loss of the Indians was unknown, their dead being carried off the field. At the distance of a few miles, they burned one of their villages to prevent the soldiers spoiling it.

The army rested a day at the camp on Spokane River, without being disturbed by the Indians, who appeared in small parties on the opposite bank, and intimated a disposition to hold communication, but did not venture across. But on the following day, while the troops were on the march along the left bank, they reappeared on the right, conversing with

the Nez Percés and interpreters, from which communication it was learned that they desired to come with Garry and have a talk with Colonel Wright, who appointed a meeting at the ford two miles above the falls.

Wright encamped at the place appointed for a meeting, and Garry came over soon after. He stated to the colonel the difficulties of his position between the war and peace parties. The war party, greatly in the majority, and numbering his friends and the principal men of his nation, was incensed with him for being a peace man, and he had either to take up arms against the white men or be killed by his own people. There was no reason to doubt this assertion of Garry's, his previous character being well known. But Wright replied in the tone of a conqueror, telling him he had beaten them in two battles without losing a man or animal, and that he was prepared to beat them as often as they chose to come to battle; he did not come into the country to ask for peace, but to fight. If they were tired of war, and wanted peace, he would give them his terms, which were that they must come with everything that they had, and lay all at his feet—arms, women, children—and trust to his mercy. When they had thus fully surrendered, he would talk about peace. If they did not do this, he would continue to make war upon them that year and the next, and until they were exterminated. With this message to his people, Garry was dismissed.

On the same day Polatkin, a noted Spokane chief, presented himself with nine warriors at the camp of Colonel Wright, having left their arms on the opposite side of the river, to avoid surrendering them. Wright sent two of the warriors over after the guns, when one of them mounted his horse and rode away. The other returned, bringing the guns. To Polatkin Wright repeated what had been said to Garry; and as this chief was known to have been in the attack on Steptoe, as well as a leader in the recent battles, he was detained, with another Indian, while he sent

the remaining warriors to bring in all the people, with whatever belonged to them. The Indian with Polatkin being recognized as one who had been at Fort Walla Walla in the spring, and who was suspected of being concerned in the murder of the two miners in the Palouse country about that time, he was put under close scrutiny, with the intention of trying him for the crime.

Resuming his march on the 8th of September, after travelling nine miles, a great dust where the road entered the mountains betrayed the vicinity of the Indians, and the train was closed up, under guard, while Major Grier was ordered to push forward with three companies of dragoons, followed by the foot-troops. After a brisk trot of a couple of miles, the dragoons overtook the Indians in the mountains with all their stock, which they were driving to a place of safety, instead of surrendering, as required. A skirmish ensued, ending in the capture of 800 horses. With this booty the dragoons were returning, when they were met by the foot-troops, who assisted in driving the animals to camp sixteen miles above Spokane Falls. The Indian suspected of murder was tried at this encampment, and being found guilty, was hanged the same day about sunset.

After a consultation on the morning of the 9th, Wright determined to have the captured horses killed, only reserving a few of the best for immediate use, it being impracticable to take them on the long march yet before them, and they being too wild for the service of white riders. Accordingly two or three hundred were shot that day, and the remainder on the 10th.[34] The effect of dismounting the Indians was quickly apparent, in the offer of a Spokane chief, Big Star, to surrender. Being without horses, he was permitted to come with his village as the army passed, and make his surrender to Wright in due form.

[34] *Brown's Autobiography*, MS., 40; *Clarke and Wright's Campaign*, 393-4; *Kip's Army Life*, 78.

On the 10th the Cœur d'Alênes made proposals of submission, and as the troops were now within a few days' march of the mission, Wright directed them to meet him at that place, and again took up his march. Crossing the Spokane, each dragoon with a foot-soldier behind him, the road lay over the Spokane plains, along the river, and for fifteen miles through a pine forest, to the Cœur d'Alêne Lake, where camp was made on the 11th. All the provisions found cached were destroyed, in order that the Indians should not be able, if they were willing, to carry on hostilities again during the year. Beyond Cœur d'Alêne Lake the road ran through a forest so dense that the troops were compelled to march in single file, and the single wagon, belonging to Lieutenant Mullan, that had been permitted to accompany the expedition, had to be abandoned, as well as the limber belonging to the howitzers, which were thereafter packed upon mules. The rough nature of the country from the Cœur d'Alêne Lake to the mission made the march exceedingly fatiguing to the foot-soldiers, who, after the first day, began to show the effects of so much toil, together with hot and sultry weather, by occasionally falling out of ranks, often compelling officers to dismount and give them their horses.

On the 13th the army encamped within a quarter of a mile of the mission.[35] The following day Vincent, who had not been in the recent battles, returned from a circuit he had been making among his people to induce them to surrender themselves to Wright; but the Indians, terrified by what they had heard of the severity of that officer, declined to see him. However, on the next day a few came in, bringing some articles taken in the battle of the 17th of May. Observing that no harm befell these few,

[35] The Cœur d'Alêne mission was situated in a pretty valley in the mountains, with a branch of the Cœur d'Alêne River watering it, the mission church standing in the centre of a group of houses, a mill, the residences of the priests, barns for storing the produce of the Indian farms, and a few dwellings of the most civilized of the Indian converts. *Mullan's Top. Mem.*, 37.

others followed their example. They were still more encouraged by the release of Polatkin, who was sent to bring in his people to a council. By the 17th a considerable number of Cœur d'Alênes and Spokanes were collected at the camp, and a council was opened.

WRIGHT'S CAMPAIGN.

The submission of these Indians was complete and pitiful. They had fought for home and country, as barbarians fight, and lost all. The strong hand of a conquering power, the more civilized the more terrible, lay heavily upon them, and they yielded.

An arbor of green branches of trees had been constructed in front of the commander's tent, and here in state sat Colonel Wright, surrounded by his officers, to pass judgment upon the conquered chiefs. Father

Joset and the interpreters were also present. Vincent opened the council by rising and saying briefly to Colonel Wright that he had committed a great crime, and was deeply sorry for it, and was glad that he and his people were promised forgiveness. To this humble acknowledgment Wright replied that what the chief had said was true—a great crime had been committed; but since he had asked for peace, peace should be granted on certain conditions: the delivery to him of the men who struck the first blow in the affair with Colonel Steptoe, to be sent to General Clarke; the delivery of one chief and four warriors with their families, to be taken to Walla Walla; the return of all the property taken from Steptoe's command; consent that troops and other white men should pass through their country; the exclusion of the turbulent hostile Indians from their midst; and a promise not to commit any acts of hostility against white men. Should they agree to and keep such an engagement as this, they should have peace forever, and he would leave their country with his troops. An additional stipulation was then offered—that there should be peace between the Cœur d'Alênes and Nez Percés. Vincent then desired to hear from the Nez Percés themselves, their minds in the matter, when one of the volunteers, a chief, arose and declared that if the Cœur d'Alênes were friends of the white men, they were also his friends, and past differences were buried. To this Vincent answered that he was glad and satisfied; and henceforth there should be no more war between the Cœur d'Alênes and Nez Percés, or their allies, the white men, for the past was forgotten. A written agreement containing all these articles was then formally signed. Polatkin, for the Spokanes, expressed himself satisfied, and the council ended by smoking the usual peace-pipe.

A council with the Spokanes had been appointed for the 23d of September, to which Kamiakin was invited, with assurances that if he would come he should not

be harmed; but he refused, lest he should be taken to Walla Walla. The council with the Spokanes was a repetition of that with the Cœur d'Alênes, and the treaty the same. After it was over, Owhi presented himself at camp, when Wright had him placed in irons for having broken his agreement made with him in 1856, and ordered him to send for his son Qualchin, sometimes called the younger Owhi, telling him that he would be hanged unless Qualchin obeyed the summons. Very unexpectedly Qualchin came in the following day, not knowing that he was ordered to appear, and was seized and hanged without the formality of a trial. A few days later, when Wright was at Snake River, Owhi, in attempting to escape, was shot by Lieutenant Morgan, and died two hours afterward. Kamiakin and Skloom were now the only chiefs of any note left in the Yakima nation, and their influence was much impaired by the results of their turbulent behavior. Kamiakin went to British Columbia afterward, and never again ventured to return to his own land.

On the 25th, while still at the council-camp, a number of Palouses came in, part of whom Wright hanged, refusing to treat with the tribe. Wright reached Snake River on the 1st of October, having performed a campaign of five weeks, as effective as it was in some respects remarkable. On the 1st of October Fort Taylor was abandoned, there being no further need of troops at that point, and the whole army marched to Walla Walla, where it arrived on the 5th, and was inspected by Colonel Mansfield, who arrived a few days previous.

On the 9th of October, Wright called together the Walla Wallas, and told them he knew that some of them had been in the recent battles, and ordered all those that had been so engaged to stand up. Thirty-five stood up at once. From these were selected four, who were handed over to the guard and hanged. Thus sixteen savages were offered up as examples.

While Wright was thus sweeping from the earth these ill-fated aboriginals east of the Columbia, Garnett was doing no less in the Yakima country. On the 15th of August Lieutenant Jesse K. Allen captured seventy Indians, men, women, and children, with their property, and three of them were shot. Proceeding north to the Wenatchee River, ten Yakimas were captured by lieutenants Crook, McCall, and Turner, and five of them shot, making twenty-four thus killed for alleged attacks on white men, on this campaign. Garnett continued his march to the Okanagan River to inquire into the disposition of the Indians in that quarter, and as they were found friendly, he returned to Fort Simcoe.

Up to this time the army had loudly denounced the treaties made by Stevens; but in October General Clarke, addressing the adjutant-general of the United States army upon his views of the Indian relations in Oregon and Washington, remarked upon the long-vexed subject of the treaties of Walla Walla, that his opinion on that subject had undergone a change, and recommended that they should be confirmed, giving as his reasons that the Indians had forfeited some of their claims to consideration; that the gold discoveries would carry immigration along the foothills of the eastern slope of the Cascades; that the valleys must be occupied for grazing and cultivation; and that in order to make complete the pacification which his arms had effected, the limits must be drawn between the Indians and the white race.[36] It was to be regretted that this change of opinion was not made known while General Clarke was in command of the department embracing Oregon and Washington, as it would greatly have softened the asperity of feeling which the opposition of the military to the treaties had engendered. As it was, another general received the plaudits which were justly due to General Clarke.

[36] *Clarke and Wright's Campaign*, 85.

By an order of the war department of the 13th of September, the department of the Pacific was divided, the southern portion to be called the department of California, though it embraced the Umpqua district of Oregon. The northern division was called the department of Oregon, and embraced Oregon and Washington, with headquarters at Vancouver.[37]

WALLA WALLA VALLEY.

General Clarke was assigned to California, while General W. S. Harney, fresh from a campaign in Utah, was placed in command of the department of Oregon. General Harney arrived in Oregon on the 29th of October, and assumed command. Two days later he issued an order reopening the Walla Walla country

[37] *Puget Sound Herald*, Nov. 5, 1858; *Or. Statesman*, Nov. 2, 1858.

to settlement. A resolution was adopted by the legislative assemblies of both Oregon and Washington congratulating the people on the creation of the department of Oregon, and on having General Harney, a noted Indian-fighter, for a commander, as also upon the order reopening the country east of the mountains to settlement, harmonizing with the recent act of congress extending the land laws of the United States over that portion of the territories. Harney was entreated by the legislature to extend his protection to immigrants, and to establish a garrison at Fort Boisé. In this matter, also, he received the applause due as much to General Clarke as himself, Clarke having already made the recommendation for a large post between Fort Laramie and Fort Walla Walla, for the better protection of immigrants.[38]

The stern measures of the army, followed by pacificatory ones of the Indian department, were preparing the Indians for the ratification of the treaties of 1855. Some expeditions were sent out during the winter to chastise a few hostile Yakimas, but no general or considerable uprising occurred. Fortunately for all concerned, at this juncture of affairs congress confirmed the Walla Walla treaties in March 1859, the Indians no longer refusing to recognize their obligations.[39] At a council held by Agent A. J. Cain with the Nez Percés, even Looking Glass and Joseph declared they were glad the treaties had been ratified; but Joseph, who wished a certain portion of the country set off to him and his children, mentioned this matter to the agent, out of which nearly twenty years later grew another war, through an error of Joseph's son in supposing that the treaty gave him this land.[40] The other tribes also signified their satisfaction. Fort Simcoe being evacuated, the buildings, which had cost $60,000, were taken for an Indian agency. A

[38] *Rept of the Secretary of War*, 1858, 413; *S. F. Bulletin*, Dec. 30, 1858; *Or. Laws*, 1858–9, iii.; *Cong. Globe*, 1857–8, app. 560.

[39] *Puget Sound Herald*, April 29, 1859; *Or. Argus*, April 30, 1859.

[40] See *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1859, 420.

portion of the garrison was sent to escort the boundary commission, and another portion to establish Harney depot, fourteen miles north-east of Fort Colville,[41] under Major P. Lugenbeel, to remain a standing threat to restless and predatory savages, Lugenbeel having accepted an appointment as special Indian agent, uniting the Indian and military departments in one at this post.

General Harney had nearly 2,000 troops in his department in 1859. Most of them, for obvious reasons, were stationed in Washington, but many of them were employed in surveying and constructing roads both in Oregon and Washington, the most important of which in the latter territory was that known as the Mullan wagon-road upon the route of the northern Pacific railroad survey, in which Mullan had taken part. Stevens, in 1853, already perceived that a good wagon-road line must precede the railroad, as a means of transportation of supplies and material along the route, and gave instructions to Lieutenant Mullan to make surveys with this object in view, as well as with the project of establishing a connection between the navigable waters of the Missouri and Columbia rivers. The result of the winter explorations of Mullan was such that in the spring of 1854 he returned to Fort Benton, and on the 17th of March started with a train of wagons that had been left at that post, and with them crossed the range lying between the Missouri and Bitter Root rivers, arriving at cantonment Stevens on the 31st of the same month. Upon the representation of the practicability of a wagon-road in this region, connecting the navigable waters of the Missouri with the Columbia, congress made an appropriation of $30,000 to open one from Fort Benton to Fort Walla Walla. The troubles of the government with Utah, and the Indian wars of 1855–6

[41] Companies A and K, 9th inf., ordered to establish a wintering place and depot for the escort of the N. W. boundary com., reached this place June 20, 1859. A pleasant spot, one mile square, reserved. *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 52, 36th cong. 1st sess., 271.

and 1858, more than had been expected, developed the necessity of a route to the east, more northern than the route by the South Pass, and procured for it that favorable action by congress which resulted in a series of appropriations for the purpose.[42] The removal of the military interdict to settlement, followed by the survey of the public lands, opened the way for a waiting population, which flowed into the Walla Walla Valley to the number of 2,000 as early as April 1859,[43] and spread itself out over the whole of eastern Washington with surprising rapidity for several years thereafter, attracted by mining discoveries even more than by fruitful soils.[44]

[42] *Mullan's Military Road Rept*, 2–12.

[43] Letter of Gen. Harney, in *U. S. Mess. and Docs*, 1859–60. 96.

[44] I introduce here a notice of a pioneer and soldier in the Ind. war, whose biography escaped my attention where it should have appeared, in chapter III.

David Shelton, son of Lewis Shelton and Nancy Gladdin, his wife, and grandson of Roderick Shelton and Usley Willard, his wife, of Va, was born in Buncombe co., Va, Sept. 15, 1812, migrating with his parents to Mo. territory in 1819. He married Frances Willson, born in Ky, May 30, 1837, and removed in 1838 to the Platte Purchase, settling near St Joseph, where he lived until 1847, when he emigrated to Oregon, taking up a claim on Sauvé Island, which he sold in 1848, and went to the California gold mines, returning to Portland in 1849, where he remained until 1852, when he removed to W. T. in company with L. B. Hastings, F. W. Pettigrove, Thomas Tallentine, and B. Ross on a small schooner, named the *Mary Taylor*. Shelton and Ross remained in Olympia until 1853, in which year he settled on Skookum bay, and was appointed one of the three judges of Thurston co., which at that time comprised the whole Puget Sound country. He was elected to first territorial legislature, and introduced the bill organizing Sawamish co. (the name being subsequently changed to Mason), of which he was the first settler. He served in the Indian war of 1855–6, as a lieutenant in Co. F., W. T. vols. Mrs Shelton died April 15, 1887, at the age of 70 years. Shelton was a man of strong convictions, and a power in the community where he lived. His children were Lewis D. W., born in Andrew co., Mo., in 1841; John S. W., born in Gentry co., Mo., in 1844; Levi T., born in Clackamas co., Or., in 1848; Mary E., born in Portland, Or., in 1850; Franklin P., born in Olympia, Or., in 1852; James B., born in Mason co., W. T., in 1855; Joicie A., born in Mason co., W. T., in 1857. Franklin P. died in 1875.

Another pioneer of 1853, Henry Adams, was born in Greenville, Conn., in 1825, came to Cal. in 1849, to Or. in 1850, and to W. T. in 1853, settling at Seattle, where he worked at carpentry. He took a donation claim in 1855 on White river, his present home. He was the first auditor elected in King co., and served as county commissioner.

I. J. Sackman, born near Mansfield, Ohio, in 1830, came to Cal. in 1850, returning home in 1851, but only to emigrate to Seattle, W. T. He engaged in lumbering at Port Orchard, remaining there until 1877, when he removed to Port Blakely and opened a hotel, which he owns. He married Mrs Phillips, a step-daughter of Capt. Wm Renton, of Port Blakely mills.

CHAPTER VI.

THROUGH FOUR ADMINISTRATIONS.

1855-1867.

PARTY POLITICS—ELECTION OF DELEGATE—MARTIAL LAW—STEVENS CHOSEN DELEGATE—DEATH OF STEVENS—HIS CHARACTER—GOVERNOR MCMULLIN—FRASER RIVER MINING EXCITEMENT—ITS EFFECT ON WASHINGTON—SERVICES OF SECRETARY MASON—GOVERNOR GHOLSON—HENRY M. MCGILL—THE CAPITAL QUESTION—THE UNIVERSITY—GOVERNOR WALLACE—GOVERNOR PICKERING—THE CUSTOM-HOUSE CONTROVERSY—INUNDATION OF PORT ANGELES.

WITH the organization of the territory, the democratic party north of the Columbia had prepared to marshal its ranks and act with the democrats of Oregon wherever they could be mutually helpful in resisting what they denominated the "tyranny of the federal party." It had not succeeded in effecting its object, when it suffered to be elected to congress Columbia Lancaster, whose politics were as nondescript as his abilities were inferior. In 1855 a more thorough party organization was perfected[1] for the election of a delegate to succeed Lancaster.[2] The choice of the convention fell upon J. Patton Anderson, the first United States marshal of the territory, who resigned his office in March with the design of running for delegate, his place being subse-

[1] *Ebey's Journal*, MS., iii. 8.

[2] In the democratic convention on the first ballot Lancaster received 18 votes, but never exceeded that number. Stevens received 13, I. N. Ebey 7, J. P. Anderson 7. Stevens withdrew his name on the 6th ballot, and on the 29th ballot Anderson received 38 votes. Judges Lander and McFadden and H. C. Moseley were balloted for, receiving from 15 to 20 votes each. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, May 12, 1855.

quently filled by the appointment of George W. Corliss.[3]

The opposing candidate of the whig party was Judge Strong,[4] Anderson's majority being 176 out of 1,582 votes, 41 of which were cast for a free-soil candidate, Joseph Cushman.

Stevens, while having with him the ultra anti-Indian element, had become unpopular in other quarters. His martial-law measure, among others, was severely criticised. Stevens' excuse for it was that only in that way certain white residents of Pierce county having Indian wives could be effectually secured from intercourse with the enemy. In March 1856 the governor caused them to be arrested upon a charge of treason, without the formality of a civil process, and sent to Fort Steilacoom with a request to Colonel Casey to keep them in close confinement.[5] Two law practitioners, W. H. Wallace and Frank Clark of Pierce county, early in April, determining to vindicate the majesty of law, set out for Whidbey Island, where resided Judge Chenoweth, to procure a writ of habeas corpus, when Stevens, equally determined, thereupon proclaimed martial law in Pierce county.

Then followed a performance which for stubborn persistency on both sides was not unlike the Leschi affair. Casey notified the governor that in the case of a writ of habeas corpus being served upon him, he should feel compelled to obey its mandates, whereupon Stevens removed the prisoners to Olympia, out of

[3] Corliss came to Salem, Or., about 1852, and thence to Puget Sound. He removed to Las Cruces, Cal., where, on the 16th of Jan. 1864, he was murdered, with his wife, née Lucretia R. Judson, daughter of Peter Judson, and a Mr Shepherd, in his own house, which was burned over their bodies. The murderers were never discovered. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., vii. 121. It will be remembered that Mr and Mrs Corliss were at the house of I. N. Ebey on the night when he was murdered, but escaped. A strange fate pursued them to the same end. *Salem Statesman*, Feb. 29, 1864.

[4] Gilmore Hays, W. H. Wallace, George Gibbs, A. A. Denny, and C. C. Hewitt were the other whig candidates. *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat*, May 12, 1855.

[5] The persons arrested were Lyon A. Smith, Charles Wren, Henry Smith, John McLeod, John McPeel, Henry Murray, and Peter Wilson. *Evans' Martial Law*, i.

Chenoweth's district. Chenoweth, being ill, requested Chief Justice Lander to hold court for him at Steilacoom, which Lander proceeded to do, but was arrested, and with his clerk, John M. Chapman, taken to Olympia and detained in custody three or four days. Indignation meetings were held, and congress appealed to, public opinion being divided. Lander opened the district court the 12th of May at Olympia, and next day the governor placed Thurston county under martial law. Thereupon the governor was cited to appear before the chief justice at chambers, and refused, while the governor caused the arrest of the chief justice for ignoring martial law. Lander, declining parole, was sent to Camp Montgomery.

Thus attempts and contempts, writs and restrictions, continued, which, however interesting and instructive at the time, it would be irksome for us to follow. The Pierce county men were tried by a military commission, and martial law abrogated. But the end was not yet; for over innumerable technicalities, in which lawyers, judges, citizens, officials, and military men had become involved, wrangling continued throughout the year, B. F. Kendall,[6] bitterly opposed to Stevens,

[6] Bezaleel Freeman Kendall, like Elwood Evans, crossed the continent in 1853 with Stevens. He was a native of Oxford, Maine, and a graduate of Bowdoin college. His talents are highly praised by all his biographers. Evans, who knew him well, says that he possessed a grand physique, was a fine scholar, able writer, powerful speaker, hard student, and of thorough integrity, but ambitious, aristocratic in his feelings, bitter in his prejudices, and indiscreet in his utterances. 'The newspapers cannot too highly paint his contempt for the opinions of others, his bitterness of expression, his unqualified style of assault upon any with whom he differed.' He carried this strong individuality into a journal which he edited, called the *Overland Press*, and which was the occasion of his death, Jan. 7, 1863. Kendall had been clerk of the legislature, territorial librarian, prosecuting attorney of the Olympian jud. dist; had been sent on a secret mission by Gen. Scott, and appointed Indian agent in the Yakima country, but soon removed on account of his imperiousness. After his removal he published the *Press*, and used it to attack whomsoever he hated. He was the attorney and warm friend of George B. Roberts of the Puget Sound Co. On the 25th of October an attempt was made to burn the buildings of this company on Cowlitz farm. Kendall boldly charged the incendiarism on Horace Howe, a farmer residing on the Cowlitz, who, on the 20th of Dec. 1862, met Kendall in Olympia and struck him over the head with a small stick, in resentment. Kendall retreated, and Howe pursued, when Kendall drew a pistol and shot Howe, inflicting a dangerous wound. A few weeks later a son of Howe shot Kendall through the heart. *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 19, 1863; *S. F. Bulletin*, Jan. 12, 1863; *Wash. Scraps*, 146; *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Jan. 10, 1863.

having been meanwhile appointed United States district attorney by Lander.[7]

The matter having been brought to the attention of the president, Governor Stevens was reprimanded by the executive through the secretary of state, who assured him that, although his motives were not questioned, his conduct in proclaiming martial law did not meet with the approval of the president.[8]

Soon it was rumored that Stevens would be removed, when his friends announced that they would send him as delegate to congress in 1857, and immediately set about marshalling their forces to this end. This being the year when the republican party was first organized in the territory, the election campaign was more hotly contested than usual, Stevens being a southern democrat like Lane, while the new party took direct issue with the south.

The candidate put forward by the republicans was A. S. Abernethy,[9] a mild-mannered man, like his brother George Abernethy of Oregon, and having nothing either in his character or his history to hang praise or blame upon, could not contend for the people's suffrages with Stevens—Stevens, who had a magnetic presence, a massive brain, great stores of knowledge, which he never paraded, although in private a brilliant talker, a memory like Napoleon,[10] whose small stature he approached, and bristled all over with

[7] The documents in this case are contained in *Sen. Doc.*, 98, xiv., 34th cong. 1st sess.; *Id.*, 41, viii., 34th cong. 1st sess.; *Id.*, 47, viii., 34th cong. 3d sess.; *Id.*, 78, 34th cong. 1st sess.; *S. Misc. Doc.*, 71, iii., 35th cong. 1st sess. Many are to be found in the *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat* from May to August; and comments in the *Oregon Statesman* and *Portland Oregonian*, *S. F. Alta; New York Courier and Inquirer*, Feb. 14, 1857; *New York Times; Philadelphia Ledger*, July 4, 1856; *Phelps' Reminiscences of Seattle*, 34; *Oregon Weekly Times; New York Herald*, June 27, 1856; *Washington Union; Washington Republican*, April 17, 1857; but the most complete collection of papers on the subject is *Evans' Martial Law*, before quoted. See also *Cong. Globe*, 1855–6, pt 2, 1517, 34th cong. 1st sess.

[8] *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 41, 56, 34th cong. 3d sess.; *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1856–7, app. vi.

[9] A new party paper was started at Steilacoom, called the *Washington Republican*, by A. S. Abernethy, D. R. Bigelow, and J. P. Keller. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., v. 16.

[10] *Providence (R. I.) Journal*, July 12, 1862.

points to attract the electricity of a crowd. Besides these qualities, which might be relied upon to give him success in a campaign, he was regarded by the volunteers as their proper representative to procure the payment of the war debt, against which General Wool was using his powerful influence. Not an orator or debater, and with almost the whole argumentative talent of the territory arrayed against him,[11] his election was a foregone conclusion from the first. Stevens' majority over Abernethy was 463 out of 1,024 votes.[12] He resigned his office of governor on the 11th of August, one month less two days after his election, the full returns not being made before the last week in July. Secretary Mason filled his place as acting governor until the arrival of his successor in September.

It would occupy too much space to follow in detail the public acts of Washington's first governor.[13] He labored as untiringly for the territory he represented in congress as he had at home, and was met by the same opposition, preventing during his first term the

[11] Salucius Garfielde, a captivating speaker, then newly appointed receiver of the land-office at Olympia, took part in the political debates of this campaign for Stevens. When Stevens was nominated in 1859 Garfielde opposed him; but when Garfielde was nominated in 1861 Stevens supported him. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., v. 77.

[12] The sparseness of the population and small increase is shown by the following comparative statement. At the first election for delegate, in 1854, the total vote was 1,216, in 1855, 1,582, and in 1857, 1,585. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Sept. 11, 1857. Alexander S. Abernethy came from N. Y. to Cal. in 1849 by steamer, and in March 1850 proceeded to Or. by the bark *Toulon*. He soon purchased a half-interest in the Oak Point saw-mill, of George Abernethy, owner, and repaired to that rather solitary spot to reside. He was one of the movers for a territory north of the Columbia, a member of the second legislative assembly, and a member of the council in 1856–7. He was one of the organizers of the republican party in the spring of 1857, and was nominated by the new party for delegate. After the election of Stevens he remained in private life, holding some county offices until the constitutional convention at Walla Walla in 1878, when he was chosen a member. A modest, right-minded, and moderately successful man, Abernethy fills an honorable place in the history of Washington. He continued for many years to reside at Oak Point. Letter of A. S. Abernethy, in *Historical Correspondence*.

[13] Evans' Puyallup Address, in *New Tacoma Ledger*, July 9, 1880; *Yesler's Wash. Ter.*, MS., 11; *Evans' N. W. Coast*, MS., 4–5; *Hays' Scraps, Mining*, iii. 25; *Swan's Wash. Sketches*, MS., 14–15; *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., vii. 25–9.

passage of any bill looking to the payment of the war debt. He urged the claims of the territory to this money, to roads, public buildings, coast defences, a superintendent of Indian affairs, and additional Indian agents, the payment of Governor Douglas of Vancouver Island for assistance rendered acting governor Mason in 1855, more land districts and offices, and the survey of the upper Columbia. None of these measures were carried through in the session of 1858–9. But he was returned to congress in the latter year, running against W. H. Wallace, and beating him by about 600 votes out of less than 1,800. At the session of 1860–1, a land-office was established in the southern part of the territory, called the Columbia River district; an appropriation of $100,000 was obtained to be expended on the Fort Benton and Walla Walla road begun by Lieutenant Mullan; $10,000 to improve the road between Cowlitz landing and Monticello; and appropriations for fulfilling the treaties with the Walla Walla, Cayuse, Umatilla, Nez Percé, Flathead, and confederated tribes, and the coast tribes of Washington; and an act was passed giving to the territory an Indian superintendent and a fuller corps of agents. At the close of this session, also, congress agreed upon a plan for paying the war debt, after reducing it one half.

In April 1861 Stevens returned to Olympia, looking grave and careworn, for he had taken deeply to heart the troubles between the north and south. Being a pro-slavery democrat,[14] yet a determined supporter of the government, he had labored earnestly to prevent secession, but as he probably knew, with little effect. Almost simultaneously with his arrival came the news that Fort Sumter had been taken by the South Carolinans, and civil war begun.

[14] Stevens was chairman of the Breckenridge wing of the democracy after the division in the party in 1860, for which he was denounced by the legislature of his territory in certain resolutions. See *Wash. Jour. House*, 1860, 337–8. He acquiesced in the election of Lincoln, and urged Buchanan to dismiss Floyd and Thompson from his cabinet. *Shuck's Representative Men*, 501.

There were in Washington, as in Oregon, many southern democrats; and there was in the democratic party itself a tradition that nothing should be permitted to sunder it; that to depart from its time-honored principles and practices was to be a traitor. Stevens met the crisis in his usual independent spirit. His first words to the people of Olympia, who congregated to welcome him home, were: "I conceive my duty to be to stop disunion."[15] He had returned with the intention of becoming a candidate for reëlection, but when the convention met at Vancouver he withdrew his name, promising to sustain the choice of the delegates, this falling upon Salucius Garfielde, who had been for four years receiver in the land-office. Again he urged the duty of the party to support the government, and procured the adoption of union resolutions by the convention; yet such was the hostility which pursued him, that many newspapers represented him as uniting with Gwin and Lane to form a Pacific republic.[16]

He remained but a few weeks on the Pacific coast, hastening back to Washington to offer his services to the president, and was appointed colonel of the 79th New York regiment, the famous Highlanders, on the death of their colonel, Cameron. Stevens' service, beginning July 31, 1861, was first in the defences of Washington. In September he was commissioned brigadier-general, and commanded a brigade in the Port Royal expeditionary corps from October to March 1862. From March to July he was in the department of the south. On the 4th of July he was commissioned a major-general of volunteers, but the senate refusing to confirm the appointment, he continued to serve as a general of brigade in the northern Virginia campaign, though in command of a division. At the battle of Chantilly, while leading his faltering command in a charge, himself carrying the flag which the color-

[15] *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, May 16, 1861.
[16] *Or. Statesman*, May 20 and August 12, 1861.

bearer, stricken down by a shot, was about to let fall, he was struck in the head by a ball and died upon the field. But his courage and devotion had saved the city of Washington, for had Pope's army been forced to capitulate, the nation's capital would have been involved in the disaster.[17]

When the intelligence of the death of Stevens reached Washington, the grief of all classes was sincere and profound. The war had readjusted party lines; personal jealousies had been forgotten; nothing could any one recall that was base or dishonorable, but much that was lofty and manly, in the dead hero. When the legislature met, resolutions were passed in his honor, and crape was ordered to be worn for ten days. So mutable is human regard! The legislature of Rhode Island also formally regretted his loss. The most touching, because the most sincere and unaffected, tribute to his character was contained in a eulogistic letter by Professor Bache of the coast survey, in whose office he spent four years. "He was not one who led by looking on, but by example. As we knew him in the coast-survey office, so he was in every position of life...This place he filled, and more than filled, for four years, with a devotion, an energy, a knowledge not to be surpassed, and which left its beneficient mark upon our organization...Generous and noble in impulses, he left our office with our enthusiastic admiration of his character, appreciation of his services, and hope for his success."[18]

Thus died, at forty-four years of age, a man whose talents were far above those whom the president too often appoints to the executive office in the territories. As a politician he would always have failed,

[17] Letter of a corr. in *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Oct. 25, 1862; *Battles of America*, 305.

[18] *Providence Journal*, Jan. 12, 1863; *Boston Journal*, Sept. 5, 1862; *Coast Survey*, 1862, 432-3. Stevens married a daughter of Benjamin Hazard of Newport. His son Hazard, 21 years of age, captain and adjutant, was wounded in the battle in which his father lost his life. There were, besides this son, three daughters in the family, who long resided in Washington. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Oct. 25, 1862.

despising the tricks by which they purchase success; but as an explorer, a scientist, or an army commander, he could have reached to almost any height. His services to Washington are commemorated by the county east of the northern branch of the Columbia bearing the name of Stevens.

The successor of Stevens was Fayette McMullin of Virginia, a politician, whose chief object in coming to Washington seems to have been to get rid of one wife and marry another.[19] He held the executive office only from September 1857 to July 1858, when he was removed. His administration, if such it can be called, embraced the period rendered memorable by the Fraser River gold-mining excitement, of which I have given a full account in my *History of British Columbia*, to which the reader is referred for particulars.

The Hudson's Bay Company had for three years been in the receipt of gold-dust purchased of the Indians in the region of Fraser River with lead, ounce for ounce, when in the winter of 1857–8 some of this gold found its way to Olympia, and caused the greatest excitement here as elsewhere all along the coast. Men rushed to the mines from every quarter, and the prices of labor, provisions, lumber, and real estate on the Sound advanced rapidly. There were many routes to the new mines, and divers outfitting posts; but a policy of exclusiveness on the part of the fur company authorities prevented Washington from receiving the advantages which would otherwise have accrued to the territory.

While the great gold excitement of 1858 gave a new life and impetus to certain branches of business in the

[19] McMullin petitioned the legislature of 1857–8 for a divorce, which was granted, and in July 1858 he married Mary Wood, daughter of Isaac Wood of Thurston county. He returned with his wife to Va, and during the civil war was a member of the confederate congress. After the conclusion of the war he was little known in public affairs. He was killed at the age of 70 years by a railroad train, Nov. 8, 1880, at Wytheville, Va. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, May 1, Aug. 14, Sept. 11, 1857; *Or. Statesman*, June 30, 1857, Aug. 3 and Dec. 21, 1858; *Bancroft's Hand-Book*, 1864, 350; *Olympia Transcript*, Nov. 13, 1880.

Puget Sound country, it failed to build up trade and cities in that region, as some sanguine speculators had hoped. The good that it did came afterward, when many disappointed adventurers, chiefly young men, not having been able to reach the gold-fields, or returning thence poorer than they went, as some gold-seekers always do return, sought work, and finally homes on the government land, and remained to help subdue the wilderness and cultivate the soil. From this class Puget Sound nearly doubled its population in two years.

Another benefit to the country resulted from the impetus given to intelligent explorations, made both in quest of the precious metals and in the search for passes through the Cascade Mountains that might lead more directly to the mines on the upper Fraser. It made the country thoroughly known to its older inhabitants, and caused the laying-out of roads that opened to settlement many hitherto unappropriated valleys and isolated prairies, completing the unpremeditated explorations made during the Indian wars of 1855–6. Attempts were made this summer to open a pass at the head waters of the Skikomish branch of the Snohomish River by Cady and Parkinson, who were driven back by the Indians. An exploration was also made of the Skagit, with a view to constructing a road up that river to the mines, and W. H. Pearson led a large mining party through the Snoqualimich Pass, intending to proceed to Thompson River by the Similkameen route, but was prevented by the Yakimas and their allies. A large immigration to the British Columbia mines subsequently took place by the Columbia River route, and in 1861 Governor Douglas, as a means of depriving Americans of the benefit of free-trade, established a higher rate of duty on goods conveyed over the border, although the Hudson's Bay Company were allowed to carry goods from Nisqually across the line without hinderance.

After the removal of McMullin, and until the arrival of his successor, Mason again became acting governor, soon after which he died. No man in Washington had a firmer hold upon the esteem of the whole community than Mason, who for six years had held the office of secretary, and for nearly half that time of vice-governor. Efficient, prompt, incorruptible, and courteous, he deserved the encomiums lavished upon him in post-obit honors.[20] Stevens pronounced his funeral oration, and he was buried from the capital with imposing ceremonials. The legislative assembly of 1864 changed the name of Sawamish county to Mason, in honor of his services to the territory.

The third governor of Washington was Richard D. Gholson, of Kentucky, and like his predecessors, a radical democrat. He arrived in July 1859, and officiated both as governor and secretary until Mason's successor, Henry M. McGill, arrived in November. The following May Gholson returned to Kentucky on a six months' leave, during which such changes took place in national politics as to cause him to remain away,[21] and McGill officiated as governor until April 1861, when W. H. Wallace was appointed to the executive office by President Lincoln, L. J. S. Turney being secretary.

The administration of Gholson and McGill was marked by events of importance to the territory, per-

[20] Charles H. Mason was born at Fort Washington on the Potomac, and was a son of Major Milo Mason of Vt, deputy quartermaster-general under Jackson in his Indian campaigns. His mother was a native of Providence, R. I., where C. H. Mason resided after the death of his father in 1837, graduating at Brown university with distinction in 1850, being admitted to the bar in 1851, and associated as a partner with Albert C. Green, atty-gen. of the state for 20 years, and afterward U. S. senator. In his 23d year he was recommended to the president for the appointment of district attorney of Rhode Island, but was appointed instead to the secretaryship of Washington. He was reappointed at the time of his death. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, July 29, 1859; *Or. Statesman*, August 9, 1859; *Puget Sound Herald*, April 15, 1859.

[21] Gholson wrote a letter urging the legislature of Ky to call a convention and appoint commissioners to the southern congress at Montgomery, Alabama, who should pledge the state to stand by the south in the attempt to secede. *S. F. Bulletin*, Aug. 30, 1859; *Or. Statesman*, March 11, 1861.

taining to the quarrel over the San Juan boundary, in which the territorial authorities were permitted to participate in an insignificant degree, owing to the military occupation of the island. The not unimportant troubles with the northern and local Indian tribes[22] gave the governor frequent occasion for anxiety. Besides those murders and emeutes to which I have already referred, D. Hunt, deputy United States surveyor, was murdered on Whidbey Island in July 1858. Seven miners were also attacked and killed on their way to Fort Langley, and a white woman captured about the same time. If a party of two or three men set out to perform a canoe journey to the lower waters of the Sound, they ran the risk of meeting their executioners in another Indian canoe in one of the many lonely wastes on Admiralty Inlet.

At length, in February 1859, two schooners, the *Ellen Maria* and *Blue Wing*, mysteriously disappeared while en route from Steilacoom to Port Townsend. The latter was commanded by a young man named Showell, and carried several passengers, among whom was E. Schroeder, a well-known and respected Swiss merchant of Steilacoom, lately appointed sutler to Major Haller. Various rumors were afloat concerning the fate of the vessels, in which Indians were mentioned as accessory to their loss, but the crime, if any, could not be traced to any tribe or individuals, until in July 1860, when, at the trial of an Indian for another offence at Victoria, one of the Indian witnesses irrelevantly gave a clew to the matter. The guilty persons, it seems, were Haidahs, for whom

[22] Strong says that Gholson, who had never held any office, and had large ideas of the importance of an executive position, felt it his duty to suppress the northern Indians in some way, and finally hit upon the happy project of getting out a proclamation authorizing the citizens of the territory to arm and fit out vessels for the purpose of making reprisals against the English for permitting the northern Indians to leave British Columbia and commit depredations in Washington territory—regular letters of marque and reprisal! Strong, to whom he showed the proclamation, assured him it would make him the most famous man upon the Pacific coast. But Tilton, who was also informed of it, put a stop to it. However, the story leaked out, and Gholson received many a sly innuendo. This was during the San Juan difficulty, when there were five British ships of war at Victoria. *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS., 72–4.

requisitions were several times made on Governor Douglas, but refused upon one pretext or another, until the criminals had escaped, when it was granted.

Another matter which occasioned some agitation during the administration of McGill was the location of the public buildings of the territory. By the organic act the governor could convene the first legislature where he pleased; but that body was then, at its first session, or as soon as expedient, to establish the seat of government at such a place as it deemed eligible, which place was, however, subject to be changed by an act of the assembly at some future time. At the session of 1854–5 the legislature fixed the capital at Olympia, the university at Seattle, with a branch at Boisfort plains, and the penitentiary at Vancouver.[23] In January 1858 the university was relocated on Cowlitz prairie without a branch. Work was begun on the state-house, which, however, was suspended by the Indian war.

At the session of 1856–7 congress appropriated $30,000, in addition to the $5,000 granted in the organic act, which had been in part or in whole expended; and then commenced the advancement of competitive claims for the honor and profit of securing one or other of the public buildings.

A determined effort was made in 1859–60 by a faction to remove the capital from Olympia to Vancouver, but as strongly resisted by a majority of the assembly. The matter coming up again at the next session, the effort was renewed, and the matter having been previously arranged by trading, acts giving Vancouver the capital, Seattle the university, and Port Townsend the penitentiary were passed without discussion in the lower house, and being sent to the council, passed that body without argument also, the president's vote constituting the majority.[24] Such

[23] *Stat. Wash.*, 1854–5, 6, 8, 9.

[24] Paul K. Hubbs of Port Townsend was president of the council. A. M. Poe said that he was pledged not to vote for removal. Letter of Poe to W. S. Ebey, in the *Enos Collection.*

was the haste of the legislative traders, that the all-important enacting clause was omitted in the wording of the bill locating the capital, which thereby became inoperative. It was also illegal in another point, having located the capital permanently,[25] which the legislature had no right to do, according to the organic act of the territory.

Another act was passed at the same session requiring the people to vote at the next election upon the seat-of-government question, which being done, Olympia received a large majority over all competitors.[26] This result brought on a contest similar to that between Oregon City and Salem, a part of the legislature going to Vancouver and a part to Olympia, neither place having a quorum. Two weeks were spent in waiting for a decision of the supreme court upon the validity of the opposing laws, when it was decided that for the reasons above named Olympia still remained the capital; and that although the vote of the people carried with it no binding force in this case, yet the wish of the people, when so plainly expressed, was entitled to consideration by courts and legislatures.[27] This settled the matter so far as the capital was concerned, the Vancouver seceders returning to Olympia,[28] where the capital has since remained.

Previous to the removal of the seat of government to Vancouver, Governor McGill having become responsible for the proper outlay of the government appropriation,[29] in which he was opposed by the same

[25] *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Feb. 28, 1861; *Ebey's Journal*, MS., vi. 391; *Steilacoom Puget Sound Herald*, Feb. 28, 1862.

[26] Olympia, 1,239; Vancouver, 639; Steilacoom, 253; Port Townsend, 72; Walla Walla, 67; Seattle, 22; scattering, 23. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Apr. 19, 1862.

[27] The opinion was given in reference to the case of Rodolf vs A. Mayhew et al., where there was a question of jurisdiction, the court being directed to be held at the 'seat of government.' It was argued by Garfielde, Lawrence, Chenoweth, and Hubbs; Evans and Lander, contra.

[28] *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Dec. 23, 1861; *S. F. Bulletin*, Dec. 23, 1861; *Or. Statesman*, Dec. 23, 1861.

[29] Neither McMullin nor Gholson would give bonds, and Judge McFadden, who held the drafts, was about to send them back to Washington.

clique of politicians which effected the subsequent trade, had let contracts for clearing the land donated by Edmund Sylvester for the site of the capitol, and preparing the foundations of legislative halls and territorial offices. The removal of the capital by the next legislature was a part of the political programme, which in the end failed in fact and intent. But the adverse proceedings delayed the erection of a state-house until 1863, when there was completed a structure of wood at Olympia which has served the purposes of the territory for many years.

The university was suffered to remain at Seattle on condition that ten acres of land should be donated for a building site where the commissioners should select it. This condition was complied with by A. A. Denny giving eight acres, and Edward Lander and C. C. Terry the remainder. The corner-stone was laid in May 1861, but the university for many years failed to rank above a preparatory school, partly through mismanagement of its funds,[30] and also by

[30] The legislature, in Jan. 1862, re-incorporated the university, which was previously chartered in 1860 while it was located on the Cowlitz prairie, creating a board of regents consisting of Daniel Bagley, Paul K. Hubbs, J. P. Keller, John Webster, E. Carr, Frank Clark, G. A. Meigs, Columbia Lancaster, and C. H. Hale, in whom was vested the government of the institution. Three regents were to be elected each year, the length of the terms of the first nine to be determined by lot. In case of a vacancy the governor might appoint. The regents had power to elect a president of the board, and a president of the faculty; to fix the number of assistants, and determine their salaries. They could remove either, and could appoint a secretary, librarian, treasurer, and steward, and remove the same; but the treasurer could never be, in any case, a member of the board of regents. They were entitled to hold all kinds of estate, real, personal, or mixed, which they might acquire by purchase, donation, or devise. The money received for the sale of lands or otherwise was to be paid to the treasurer, and as much as was necessary expended by the regents in keeping up the buildings and defraying expenses; the treasurer only to give bonds, in the sum of $15,000 to the governor. There was also a board of visitors to consist of three persons, and both regents and visitors were to receive pay out of the university fund for their actual and necessary expenses, all orders on the treasurer to be signed by the secretary and countersigned by the president. *Wash. Stat.*, 1861–2, 43–6.

In an act in relation to the management and safe-keeping of the moneys arising from the sale of university lands, another board, called 'university commissioners,' whose business it was to locate and sell the two townships of land granted by congress to the support of a university, were associated with the regents and other officers named above, all together constituting a board of directors, with liberty to loan the fund derived from the sale of land, or any part of it, at 12 per cent interest, and for any time from one to ten years,

reason of an insufficient population to support a higher order of college.

the loans to be secured by mortgage on real estate of twice its value. The interest thus accruing was to be set apart for the support of the university, and to be under the control of the regents, the principal to remain an irreducible fund. The laws required annual reports from both boards and the treasurer. *Id.*, 60.

On the 10th of October, 1862, a primary collegiate school was opened for pupils of both sexes, under the charge of A. S. Mercer, assisted by Mrs V. Calhoun, the terms to continue five months. The reports of the different boards showed that in 1861 20,524 acres of the university land had been sold; bringing $30,787.04, and $30,400.69 had been expended in the erection of buildings. The receipts for lands in 1862 amounted to $16,748.03, of which $10,215.73 had been expended on improvements, leaving $6,959.24, on hand, and 28,768 acres of land unsold. *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1862–3, app. xvi.–xx.

The president of the board of regents, Rev. D. Bagley of the methodist church, was also president of the board of commissioners to select and sell the lands of the university, and so zealous was he to sell, and so careless was he in his accounts, that the legislature of 1866–7 repealed all former acts granting authority to the boards of regents and commissioners, and appointing a new board of regents consisting of B. F. Dennison, D. T. Denny, Frank Mathias, Harvey K. Hines, and Oliver F. Gerrish, granting them power to make full investigation of the affairs of the university and report thereupon. *Wash. Stat.*, 1867, 114. The new board elected Dennison president, Denny treasurer, and William H. Taylor secretary.

In the mean time there had been several changes in the school. W. E. Barnard appears to have been the second president of the faculty, if such a board could be properly said to exist, and he resigned in April 1866, the regents appointing Rev. George F. Whitworth, who accepted upon an agreement that the salary should be $1,000 in coin, payable quarterly, in addition to the tuition fees, and the free use of the buildings and grounds. The grade of scholarship was low, as might be expected under the circumstances of the recent history of the country, and the number of pupils probably never exceeded 60, nearly all of whom belonged to Seattle. The new board of regents found $5.85 in the treasury, and only $3{,}364\frac{80}{100}$ acres of land remaining unsold out of 46,080 acres donated by congress. About 8,000 acres had been sold on credit without security, and about 11,000 on securities which were worthless, and at prices illegally low. For the remainder of the 25,456 acres remaining after the erection of the university buildings, there was nothing to show but about six dollars in money and between 3,000 and 4,000 acres of land. In their report to the legislature, the board made Bagley in debt to the university $13,919.34 in coin, and responsible for the other losses sustained by the university fund, having illegally acted as president and treasurer of the board, and disburser of the moneys received. Rept in *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1867–8, 76–104. On account of this condition of affairs the school was closed in June 1867, and the buildings and property taken in charge by the new board. The report of the new board of regents being referred to a select committee of the legislature, the findings of the regents were reversed, and $2,314.76 found due Bagley from the university for services. The committee exonerating Bagley consisted of Park Winans, John W. Brazee, and Ira Ward, assisted by Rev. H. K. Hines of the methodist church, and member of the board of regents. *Id.*, 187–202. Nothing was done by the legislature at this session except to appoint A. A. Denny and W. H. Robertson regents in place of D. T. Denny and H. K. Hines, whose terms had expired, *Wash. Stat.*, 1867–8, 78, the assembly not knowing how to act in the matter. At the session of 1869 a report was made by the regents showing that $4,112.52 had been received into the treasury, $1,335.86 of which had been paid in liquidation of debts existing under the first regency; and $68.20 re-

The administration of McGill, although an accidental one, was energetic and creditable. He combined, like Mason, executive ability with that savoir faire which left those who would have possibly been his enemies no ground for hostility.[31] His attitude during the San Juan and extradition difficulties was dignified and correct, leaving a record alike honorable to himself and the territory.

The appointment of Governor Wallace in 1861 was followed immediately by his nomination to the delegateship of the territory. In Washington as in

maining in the treasury. The school had been reopened on the 12th of April 1869 by John H. Hall, who agreed to teach three years for $600 per annum. There were 70 students in attendance, 23 of whom were not residents of Seattle, and the university was not incurring any debts. *Wash. Jour. House*, 1869, 149–53. The governor, Alvan Flanders, declared in his message that 'everything connected with the management of the university lands up to 1867 can be described only by saying that it was characterized by gross extravagance and incompetency, if not by downright fraud; and that the history of the institution was a calamity and a disgrace,' all that remained of the munificent grant of congress being a building possibly worth $15,000. He suggested asking congress for further aid, which if granted should be protected from similar waste. Instead, congress was memorialized to bestow a grant of swamp and tide lands for school purposes and internal improvements, *Wash. Stat.*, 1859, 527–8, a prayer it was not likely to listen to after the use made of the former liberal grant. The university struggled along, unable to rise out of its slough of despond for almost another decade. The first assistance rendered by the legislature was in 1877, when it appropriated $1,500 for each of the years 1878 and 1879 to defray the expenses of tuition, and establishing 45 free scholarships, the holders to be between the ages of 16 and 21 years, and bona fide residents of the territory six months before their appointment. Each councilman and each assemblyman could appoint one from his district or county; each of the district judges one, and the governor three from three different counties. *Wash. Stat.*, 1877, 241–3. The first graduate was Miss Clara McCarty, in 1876. The annual register for 1880 shows 10 graduates in all, only one of these, W. J. Colkett, being of the male sex. The faculty consisted in the latter year of the president, J. A. Anderson, and wife, Louis F. Anderson, A. J. Anderson, Jr, with 3 male and 3 female assistants. President Anderson raised the standing of the institution, which continued to improve, and has turned out graduates very creditable to it and the succeeding faculty.

[31] McGill was Irish, having immigrated to the U. S. at the age of six years. He came to S. F. in 1857, returning to Washington, D. C., in 1858, where he was assistant, and then acting, private secretary to President Buchanan. In 1859 he was one of the commissioners of the court of claims, until made secretary of Washington. On his retirement from executive office he resumed the practice of law, and in March 1862 was elected U. S. prosecuting attorney for Puget Sound district. He was also elected a member of the territorial assembly for 1863–4 on the republican ticket. For a time he was president of the board of regents of the territorial university. In 1868 he revisited Ireland. *Quigley's Irish Race*, 414–16.

Oregon, the democratic party, as such, had been forced to abandon its ancient rule, and it was now the party of the union which held the reins of government. Wallace had been a whig; he was now a republican. That was the secret of his sudden success. Running against Garfielde, democrat, and Judge Lander, independent, he beat the former by over 300 votes, and the latter by 1,000. Yet the legislature of 1861–2 voted down a series of resolutions presented by republican members sustaining the course of the general government and discountenancing the project of a Pacific confederacy.[32]

The democracy were not yet willing to resort to arms to save the union from overthrow by their political brethren of the south, and the legislature was democratic still. But the following session of 1862–3, very soon after convening, the joint assembly passed very strong resolutions of support to the government in suppressing the rebellion, partly the result of increasing republican sentiment, and partly also, no doubt, from a feeling of sorrow and regret for the loss of the territory's one war hero, I. I. Stevens,[33] and not a little from a fear of losing the patronage of a republican administration.

[32] There appears upon the journal of the council a set of loyal resolutions, sent up from the house, which are 'referred to the committee on foreign relations, with instructions to report the first day of April next'—two months after adjournment! *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1861–2, 207–8. The members who composed this council were James Biles, A. R. Burbank, John Webster, Paul K. Hubbs, B. F. Shaw, Frank Clark, J. M. Moore, J. A. Simms, and H. L. Caples. The house then made a second attempt to pass some joint resolutions of a loyal character, but they were voted down before going to the council. The yeas on the second series were John Denny, father of A. A. Denny, M. S. Griswold, Lombard, McCall, John F. Smith of Clarke county, J. S. Taylor, William Cock, and J. Urquhart. The nays were John Aird, C. C. Bozarth, J. R. Bates, Beatty, Chapman, B. L. Gardner, Gilliam, T. D. Hinckley, Holbrook, T. Page, John H. Settle, Smith of Walla Walla county, B. F. Ruth, Thornton, Edward A. Wilson, W. G. Warbass. Not voting, J. L. Ferguson, William Lean, A. S. Yantis, and Williamson. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, March 22, 1862.

[33] General F. W. Lander, who belonged to the R. R. expedition of 1853, and who laid out the wagon-road on the south side of Snake River to Salt Lake, a younger brother of Judge Lander, though he could not be said to be a resident of Washington, was held in high esteem for his services. He died of wounds received in battle at Edwards' Ferry, much regretted on the Pacific coast. *Olympia Standard*, March 22, 1862; *Or. Statesman*, May 5, 1862.

The resignation of Wallace on his election as delegate was followed by a brief interregnum, during which the secretary, L. J. S. Turney, acted as governor. The next appointee was William Pickering of Illinois,[34] who arrived at Olympia in June 1862. In December Secretary Turney was removed and Elwood Evans appointed in his place. Evans' commission having been sent to him without a bond, Turney refused to vacate the office.[35] Both claiming the exclusive right to act, the financial affairs of the officials and legislators were for some time in an embarrassed condition. Pickering proved to be acceptable as an executive, and Evans was well qualified for the secretaryship; so that peace reigned in the executive office for a longer term than usual, and the legislature memorialized congress against the removal of Pickering in 1866–7, but a commission having already issued, he was forced to give way. During 1865 Evans was acting governor, filling the office to the satisfaction of the territory as well as the republican party.

Since the days when the first collector of customs, Moses, had worried the Hudson's Bay Company, and other British men, ship-captains, and owners, and since Ebey had established a deputy on the disputed island of San Juan, matters had proceeded quietly in the customs department. Ebey was succeeded by Morris H. Frost[36] of Steilacoom, who held the office for four years, and C. C. Phillips of Whidbey Island followed for a short term of nine months, when, in August 1861, the new administration sent out from Ohio an

[34] Pickering was a Yorkshire Englishman who came to the U. S. in 1821 and settled in Ill., where for thirty years he had known Lincoln, from whom he received his appointment. He was 60 years of age, and was sometimes called William the Headstrong. *Pacific Tribune*, June 8, 1872. On the appointment of a successor he retired to a farm in King co., but soon after returned to Ill., where he died April 22, 1873. His son, William Pickering, remained in Washington. *Seattle Intelligencer*, April 27, 1873.

[35] *Or. Statesman*, Dec. 29, 1862; *Wash. Scraps*, 146; *Sen. Jour.*, 39th cong. 2d sess.

[36] M. H. Frost later resided at Mukilteo. He was born in New York in 1806, removed to Mich. in 1832, and to Chicago in 1849. He crossed the plains in 1852 and settled on Puget Sound. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxi. 1.

incumbent named Victor Smith, who was not only clothed with the powers of a collector of United States revenue, but commissioned to inquire into the manner in which the government moneys were disbursed in other departments—a treasury spy, in short, who enjoyed the confidence of the authorities at the national capital, but who, as it turned out, did not possess the requisite discretion for so dangerous an office, the consequence of which was that others, through jealousy perhaps, were spying upon him.

The first offence of which Victor Smith was plainly shown to be guilty was that of plotting to remove the custom-house from Port Townsend to Port Angeles, upon the pretence that the former place was not a good harbor in all weathers, but really, as it was averred, that he might speculate in town lots, he being shown to be the owner of a fifth interest in the Port Angeles Company's town site.[37] A legislative memorial was forwarded to congress in December 1861 in favor of Port Townsend, and asking for an appropriation to erect a suitable custom-house at that place.

Another offence of the imported custom-house official was that he was an abolitionist, a word of hatred and contempt to the democracy. To be an intermeddler between master and slave, and to attempt to alter the settled order of things in the district of Puget Sound, where an appointee from the east was likely to be regarded as an interloper, were serious counts against the new collector. It was not long, therefore, before an apparent defalcation was discovered, and an outcry raised which made it necessary for him to repair to Washington.

In the interim, and before he reached the capital, Secretary Chase, whose confidence Smith seems to have enjoyed to a singular degree, recommended to congress the removal of the custom-house from Port

[37] The company consisted only, it was said, of H. A. Goldsborough, P. M. O'Brien, and Smith.

Townsend to Port Angeles, and a bill was passed removing it in June 1862.[38] This redoubled the animosity with which the Port Townsend faction regarded the Port Angeles faction. Nor was the feeling lessened by the action of the government in first applying to Port Angeles the operation of a "bill for increasing revenue by reservation and sale of town sites."[39] Under this act, the land which the original town company had claimed and surveyed for the city of Cherburg was reserved by the government, which resurveyed it and sold the lots at auction to the highest bidder, the company not neglecting their opportunity to secure a perfect title.

When Smith departed to Washington to explain to the proper authorities the condition of his accounts, and showed that the alleged defalcation was simply a transfer of $15,000 from one fund to another,[40] in which action he was borne out by authority vested in him by the treasury department, he appointed J. J. H. Van Bokelin deputy inspector and collector for the period of his absence. Hardly was his back turned upon Port Townsend when Captain J. S. S. Chaddock of the revenue-cutter *Joe Lane*, acting upon information received, proceeded to take possession of the custom-house, where he left installed as collector Lieutenant J. H. Merryman of the revenue service. This was in June 1862. In August Victor Smith returned to Puget Sound in the steam revenue-cutter *Shubrick*, commanded by Lieutenant Wilson, and demanded of Merryman the surrender of the keys of the custom-house; but this Merryman refused unless he were shown Smith's commission from the department at Washington, or his special authority for making the demand, neither of which were produced. Instead, Smith returned to the cutter, had her brought into the harbor, her men armed, her

[38] *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, 67, 37th cong. 2d sess.; *U. S. Acts*, 127–8. Smith was reputed to be a cousin of Secretary Chase. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xvii. 43.
[39] *Briggs' Port Townsend*, MS., 32–3; *S. F. Bulletin*, July 24, 1862.
[40] *Olympia Standard*, Aug. 23, 1863.

guns shotted and brought to bear upon the town. Two officers with a party of marines then landed and demanded of Merryman to deliver up to them the custom-house keys, but were refused. Upon this Wilson himself went ashore and made a formal requisition for the possession of the custom-house papers and moneys, when the government property was surrendered, and to avoid further trouble, taken on board the *Shubrick*, where the business of the office was transacted until it was removed to Port Angeles in September.[41]

The people of Washington territory had never yet been granted a satisfactory mail communication, but by an arrangement of the postal agent with the *Eliza Anderson*, a passenger-steamer running between Puget Sound ports and Victoria, had for some time enjoyed a sombre satisfaction in being able to get word to and from Victoria in a week. But on the arrival of the *Shubrick*, Smith, who was authorized to introduce retrenchment into the public service wherever it could be done, assumed charge of the mail service, and made the *Shubrick* carrier, which having a regular route away from the mail route, was anything but a proper mail carrier. This disturbance of their already too limited means of communication roused a tornado of invective about the ears of the self-constituted postal agent.

Immediately after the belligerent performances of the *Shubrick*, Governor Pickering, attended by United States Marshal Huntington, Ex-governor McGill, Major Patten of the regular service, and a number of citizens of Olympia, repaired to Port Townsend on the *Eliza Anderson*, to inquire into the conduct of Collector Smith in threatening to bombard that town. But the witty and audacious revenue gatherer exhibited his correspondence with the secretary of the treasury, and smiling benignly, assured his visitors that whatever they might think of his methods, he was un-

[41] *Olympia Standard*, Aug. 9, 1862; *S. F. Bulletin*, Aug. 11, 1862.

doubtedly a favorite of the power which made them, as well as him, of which he was able to furnish abundant evidence. Although this could not be gainsaid, there still remained the suspicion that the confidence of the government might be misplaced, and a few days later, when the *Shubrick* stopped at Port Townsend to leave and take the mail, Marshal Huntington attempted to board her with a warrant, but was not permitted to do so. On the 13th the *Shubrick* sailed for San Francisco, to which place she conveyed the collector, leaving the *Eliza Anderson* to carry the mails as heretofore, to the great joy of the business community.

In good time Smith returned, having caused the arrest of Merryman for carrying away certain moneys, and the custom-house was established at Port Angeles, where two hundred people had gathered in anticipation of soon building up a commercial city, Port Townsend being thrown into alternate paroxysms of rage and despair at being bereft of its prospects of greatness. At the meeting of the grand jury at Olympia in October, four indictments were found against Smith; namely, for resistance to a duly authorized officer of the law, for embezzlement of the public funds, for procuring false vouchers, and for assault on the people of Port Townsend. Smith eluded arrest for a time, but finally surrendered voluntarily, and gave bail for his appearance at court, where no case appears to have been made against him which the courts were competent to try. The government which appointed him saw fit to remove him little more than a year afterward, and apppoint L. C. Gunn in his place.

With regard to the claim of Port Angeles to be considered the better point for a custom-house, McClellan, when surveying the shores of Puget Sound, reported favorably upon it,[42] as the "first attempt of nature on this coast to form a good harbor." It was well protected from the north winds by the sand spit

[42] *Pac. R. R. Rept*, xii. 278.

of Ediz Hook, three miles in length, running out eastward, and from the south-east gales by the mainland, and had a good depth of water, besides lying more directly in the path of commerce than its rival. The town site was also called superior to Port Townsend, although it had the same high bluff back of the narrow strip of land bordering the harbor. Three small streams ran down from the highlands back of it and furnished abundance of water, the custom-house, a fine large structure, being built at the mouth of the cañon through which one of these rivulets ran, Smith's residence adjoining it, and the other buildings being near these central ones.

In the winter of 1863 a catastrophe occurred. For several days the stream just mentioned was dried up, the unknown cause being a landslide, which had fallen into the narrow gorge about five miles from Port Angeles, and by damming up the water formed a lake. On the afternoon of the 16th of December, it being almost dark, a terrible roaring and tearing sound was heard in the cañon, and in a few moments a frightful calamity was upon the until now prosperous new town. The earth which formed the dam had at length given way, freeing a body of water fifteen feet in height, which rushed in a straight volume, carrying everything before it, and entirely changing the face of the ground swept by it. Crushed like an egg-shell, the custom-house fell and was carried out into the harbor. Deputy Collector J. M. Anderson, formerly of Ohio, and Inspector William B. Goodell, lately master of the tug *General Harney*, stood at the front entrance of the building as the water and débris it carried struck the rear side. Their bodies were found two hundred feet away, covered four feet deep with earth and fragments of buildings and furniture.

Neither Smith, the late, nor Gunn, the newly appointed, collector, were in Port Angeles. Mrs Smith, with four young children, and Mrs Randolph were in the dwelling adjoining the custom-house, which, be-

ing partially protected from the first shock by a solid mass of piled-up lumber, fell, but was not carried away. Groping about in the darkness, stooping under the wreck, with the water up to her waist, Mrs Smith found and saved not only all her children, but another woman, who was lying under the water, held down with fragments of the walls. In a short time the flood had passed, and men in boats with lanterns were hurrying to the rescue of those in the direct course of the watery avalanche. No lives were lost except those of the two custom-house officers,[43] but the town was in ruins, and although an effort was made to resuscitate it by removing what remained to a better site higher up the coast, it never recovered from the calamity, and gradually diminished in population, until it was reduced to the condition of a small farming community.

The custom-house safe being found with the office papers and books, the government sustained only the loss of the furniture of the building. The most serious damage fell upon Smith, who owned and had leased the custom-house for a term of four years. This, with his residence, furniture, books, and a considerable sum of money, was snatched away in a moment, while he was in Washington endeavoring to adjust his affairs with the government. In 1865 the custom-house was returned to Port Townsend, and in that year, also, the principal figure in the short and singular history of Port Angeles disappeared from the world's stage as suddenly as his town had done, eighteen months previous, when the steamship *Brother Jonathan*, Captain De Wolf, struck an unknown rock near Crescent City, and went down with 300 passengers on board, among whom was the talented but eccentric Victor Smith.[44]

[43] Collector Gunn, in a letter to the *S. F. Bulletin*, Jan. 28, 1864, says that Anderson was a refined, intelligent, amiable, and conscientious man, and an invaluable officer from his habits of industry and his strict adherence to the requirements of law. Goodell had been appointed only two weeks previous, and was a man much esteemed. He left a wife and three children.

[44] Smith brought out from Ohio several members of his family. The light-

By the catastrophe at Port Angeles all the papers relating to the statistics of commerce were destroyed, leaving a blank in this chapter of early history which can never be satisfactorily filled.[45]

house at Tatoosh Island was given in charge of his father. Two of his sisters long had in charge the light on the California coast near Wilmington. Another married Mr Stork of Olympia.

[45] The collectors following Gunn in office were Frederick A. Wilson, M. S. Drew, Salucius Garfielde, Henry A. Webster, and Bash. Gunn came to Or. in 1852, and was associated with H. L. Pittock in the publication of the *Oregonian*, and was subsequently for many years editor of the *Olympia Transcript*. He died at Olympia, Aug. 23, 1885.

CHAPTER VII.

MINING AND TOWN-MAKING.

1861–1863.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST WASHINGTON INFANTRY—COMPANIES FROM CALIFORNIA — GOLD DISCOVERIES — MILITARY ROAD — FRASER RIVER TRAVEL—COLVILLE MINES—THE MALHEUR COUNTRY—THE SIMILKAMEEN MINES—AMERICAN MINERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA—GOLD DISCOVERIES ON THE CLEARWATER—ON SNAKE RIVER—PROTEST OF THE NEZ PERCÉS—PIERCE CITY—ORO FINO—LEWISTON—VERY RICH DIGGINGS—CALIFORNIA ECLIPSED—SALMON RIVER MINES—POLITICAL EFFECT—WINTER SUFFERINGS—POWDER AND JOHN DAY RIVERS—FLORENCE AND WARREN DIGGINGS—BOISE MINES—ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY OF IDAHO.

I HAVE related in Oregon II. how Colonel Wright was left in command of the department of Oregon when General Harney was invited to Washington upon a pretence of being needed to testify in the Oregon and Washington Indian-war-debt claims, in order to pacify the British minister and Governor Douglas by removing him from proximity to the San Juan Island boundary-war ground; and also that General Scott recommended merging the military department of Oregon in that of the Pacific, with headquarters in San Francisco. In the latter part of 1860 this idea was carried out, and General E. V. Sumner was placed in command of the Pacific department, relieving General Johnstone, whom the people of Oregon and Washington feared might be sent to command the Columbia district. Fortunately for them, since they had come to have entire confidence in Wright, that officer was retained in his important position during the critical period of the breaking-out

of the rebellion. The depletion of his command, and the measures resorted to in order not to leave the north-western frontier defenceless, I have referred to in my *History of Oregon.*

The news of President Lincoln's proclamation calling for volunteers did not reach Washington until about the 1st of May, and on the 10th McGill, who was at that time still acting governor, issued a call for the organization of the militia of the territory under the existing laws, each company to report at once to headquarters and be at the call of the president should their services be required.[1] Adjutant-general Frank Matthias immediately appointed enrolling officers in each of the counties of the territory, both east and west of the Cascade Mountains, and required all men subject to military duty to report themselves to these officers. There were at this time twenty-two organized counties, and not more than six thousand men between the ages of sixteen and sixty capable of bearing arms.[2] In the Puget Sound region there was also need of able-bodied men to repair the damages sustained by several years of Indian wars and mining excitement.

Late in the summer of 1861 Wright was placed in command of the department of the Pacific, and Colonel Albermarle Cady of the 7th infantry succeeded to that of the district of the Columbia. About the last of the year Wright, now a brigadier-general, appointed Justin Steinberger, formerly of Pierce county, Washington, but then in California, to proceed to Puget Sound, with the commission of colonel, and endeavor to raise a regiment to be mustered into the regular service. Steinberger arrived in January; but the ut-

[1] *Steilacoom Herald,* May 10, 1861; *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.,* May 17, 1861.

[2] The first company formed appears to have been the Port Madison Union Guards, 70 men; William Fowler capt.; H. B. Manchester 1st lieut; E. D. Kromer 2d lieut; non-com. officers, A. J. Tuttle, Noah Falk, William Clendenin, Edgar Brown, S. F. Coombs, R. J. May, J. M. Guindon, John Taylor. This company was organized in May. In June the Lewis County Rangers, mounted, were organized at Cowlitz landing; Henry Miles capt.; L. L. Dubeau 1st lieut; S. B. Smith 2d lieut. *Olympia Standard,* July 20, 1861.

most he could do was to raise four infantry companies, one each at Whatcom, Port Townsend, Port Madison, and Walla Walla.[3] In California he raised four more companies, with which he returned to Vancouver in May, relieving Colonel Cady of the command of the district. As three others were then organized in California, enlisting was ordered discontinued in Washington. In July General Alvord took command of the district, and Steinberger repaired to Fort Walla Walla, where he relieved Colonel Cornelius of the Oregon cavalry. The regiment was not filled, however, until the close of the year. On the 5th of January, 1863, Governor Pickering addressed a communication to the speaker of the house of representatives, informing him that the First Regiment of Washington Infantry, organized pursuant to order of the war department, October 1861, was full, and had been received into the service of the United States, and suggested to the legislature to give some expression, either by memorial or joint resolution, of the confidence of that body in this regiment, whether it remained where it then was or should be called out of the territory in the service of the United States, and invoking for it the favorable notice of the general government, praying that in the event of a reorganization of the army this corps might be retained in service in Washington.[4] It was so ordered.

A portion of the regiment was stationed at Fort Pickett, another portion was with Steinberger at Walla Walla, and the territory had at length and for a time the satisfaction of seeing men with no alien tendencies in its places of trust.

Although it was designed that the Oregon cavalry should be used against the Shoshones, who for eight years had grown more and more presumptuous and hostile, and the Washington infantry be kept to gar-

[3] The enrolling officers were R. V. Peabody, H. L. Tibballs, Egbert H. Tucker, and Moore and Cannaday of Walla Walla. *Steilacoom Herald*, March 20, 1862.

[4] *Wash. House Jour.*, 1862–3, app. xxiii.–xxiv.

rison the several posts in the territory, the companies east of the mountains were compelled to support the cavalry on several expeditions against the Indians, in which long and exhausting marches were performed, the history of which has been given in my *History of Oregon*, but to which some reference is also due in this place.

On the opening of the transmontane country east of the Cascades in October 1858, there was a sudden overflow of population into its sunny vales,[5] attracted thither chiefly by the reputed gold discoveries both north and south of the Columbia, on the Malheur and other streams of eastern Oregon, as well as on the Wenatchee River, in the latitude of the Snoqualimich Pass, and about Colville. Many were discouraged miners, who found the soil and climate of eastern Washington so agreeable and productive as to suggest settlement.

The construction of the military road to Fort Benton drew a considerable number in the direction of the Bitter Root Valley, forming a part of the immense and rather indefinite county of Spokane, attached for judicial purposes to the county of Walla Walla, and consequently far from the seat of any court.[6] The stream of travel toward Fraser River, which crossed the Columbia at The Dalles, pursuing a north-east course to Priest Rapids, and a north course thence by Okanagan lake and river to the Thompson branch, or deflecting to the west, reached the main Fraser 200 miles above Fort Yale, stood in need of military protection, as did also the boundary commission, one part of which was at Semiahmoo Bay, and the other at Lake Osogoos, near the Rock Creek mines.[7]

[5] Ruble & Co. erected a steam saw-mill near Walla Walla in 1859. *Or. Argus*, Jan. 29, 1859. Noble & Co. erected another in eastern Oregon the same year. The first grist-mill erected at Walla Walla, in 1860, was owned by H. H. Reynolds, Simms, and Capt. F. T. Dent. *Elliott's Hist. Idaho*, 64–5.

[6] *Wash. Jour. House*, 1860–1, 35–6.

[7] Capt. D. Woodruff, with a co. of the 9th inf., was at Semiahmoo, and two companies of the same regiment under Capt. J. J. Archer at Lake Osogoos, in the summer of 1859. *Mess. and Docs*, 1859–60, pt ii. 111–12.

For the safety of these disconnected groups of people, Fort Colville was established in May 1859. The Dalles, being the one entrepôt for so wide a region, rapidly developed into a commercial town, with a journal of its own,[8] and a population ever increasing in numbers if not in worth; horse-thieves, gamblers, and all the criminal classes which follow on the heels of armies and miners giving frequent employment to the civil and military authorities.

In the spring of 1859, also, the little steamer *Colonel Wright* was built at the mouth of Des Chutes River, by R. R. Thompson and Lawrence W. Coe. She made her first trip to old Fort Walla Walla on the 18th of April, returning on the 20th, and taking a cargo of goods belonging to Joel Palmer, intended for the mines, as far up the river as Priest Rapids. In June she ascended Snake River to Fort Taylor, at the mouth of the Tucannon. A steamboat on the Upper Columbia gave trade another impetus, and Walla Walla, first called Steptoe City, became a rival of The Dalles in a short time.

The passage of gold-hunters though the Colville country revived an interest in that region. Many unsuccessful miners returning from Fraser River, or, prevented by high water from operating there, were led to explore on the upper Columbia and as far east as the Bitter Root Valley, where they made from five to eight dollars a day, and where living was less costly than on Fraser River. Even the military officers and soldiers became gold-hunters, adding not a little information concerning the mineral resources of the country to that furnished by mining prospectors.[9]

[8] *The Dalles Journal*, edited and published by A. J. Price, at $5 per year, weekly.

[9] Captain Wallen's expedition discovered gold in the Malheur country; and Captain Archer reported finding the color of gold almost everywhere on [illegible] march from Priest Rapids to the Similkameen, with the best prospects in the vicinity of the Wenatchee and Methow rivers. An extensive copper mine was discovered on the Okinakane River; and lead was found on Lake Chelan and Pend d'Oreille. Corr. *Dalles Journal*, in *S. F. Alta*, Aug. 12, 1859. Major Lugenbeel, in command of the new military post at Colville, informs the *Portland Advertiser* that the mines at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille,

The soldiers on guard at the commissioners' camp in October discovered gold on the Similkameen, where they could take out twenty dollars a day with pans, besides walking five miles to and from camp. The discovery was as much as possible suppressed, from a fear that a crowd of persons would be attracted there at the beginning of winter, whom there was no means of supplying with food when the military stores should be removed for the season. Miners were warned also not to begin preparations too early in the spring, when the bars of the river would be under water; but the fact was not concealed that the quality of Similkameen gold was superior, being coarse, and equal in coin to seventeen or eighteen dollars an ounce.[10]

Nothing could, however, overcome the eagerness of men to be first upon the ground. By the middle of November companies were organizing in Portland, the mining fever threatening to reach the height of 1858; and by the end of February the first party set out, consisting of twenty men, led by J. N. Bell of The Dalles. These, with fifty others who had wintered there, were the earliest at the new diggings. In March all the floating population of the Walla Walla Valley, with some companies from Yreka, California, were on their way to Similkameen. They were followed by other Oregon companies, one of whom, led by Palmer, undertook the enterprise of opening a wagon-road from Priest Rapids to the Similkameen. Fifty or sixty tons of freight were shipped to the rapids on the *Colonel Wright*, whence it was taken in wagons the remainder of the distance.[11] Several parties left the Willamette in small boats, intending to

which have been worked several times, yield very well to every successive working; that coarse gold exists on the Salmon River, a northern tributary of the Pend d'Oreille; and that miners working about forty-five miles from his post averaged $5 to $10 per day. *S. F. Alta*, Aug. 12, 1859; *S. F. Bulletin*, July 21 and 29, and Aug. 11, 1859.

[10] Corr. *Portland News*, in *S. F. Alta*, Nov. 2 and 15, 1859. Shuswap coarse gold was worth $18.50. Pend d'Oreille gold was found in scales 17 or 18 carats fine. Similkameen gold resembled that of Yuba River, Cal.

[11] *Or. Argus*, March 24 and 31, 1860.

make the journey to the mines, a distance of 500 miles, with no other conveyance. Similar nerve was exhibited by companies from Puget Sound, which, as early as the 10th of March, were on the move to cross the Cascade Range at the different passes, and succeeded in doing so. Those who arrived thus early could not make more than expenses, the best mining ground being under water. Many turned back; others pressed on to Quesnelle River; and others occupied themselves in prospecting, and found gold on Rock Creek, one of the head waters of Kettle River, which entered the Columbia near Colville, and on the Pend d'Oreille. During the summer the Similkameen mines paid well, and in September new diggings were discovered on the south fork of that river.[12]

The Rock Creek and Similkameen mines proved to be in British territory, American traders being taxed over $100 for the privilege of selling goods there.[13]

The Cariboo placers were discovered in August 1860, but their fame was not much spread before winter, and migration thither did not set in before the spring of 1861. When it did begin, it equalled that of 1858. Claims were taken up on Harvey's and Keethley's creeks, in August, that yielded all the way from eight to fifty dollars per day to the man. Five men in one company took out in six days $2,400. Four men took out in one day over eighteen ounces, worth over $300, and so on. There was sent out by express the first month $30,000, besides what remained in the hands of 250 men in the mines. The reports from Cariboo greatly stimulated mining discovery in the region lying on either side of the boundary line of United States territory.

There had been a discovery made in the spring of 1860 destined to work a rapid and important change

[12] *Ebey's Journal*, MS., vi. 348.

[13] Corr. *Portland Advertiser*, Oct. 26, 1860; *Or. Argus*, Dec. 29, 1860. In 1861 there were about 20,000 miners, mostly American, in B. C.

in eastern Washington, although overshadowed for a time by the placers which I have here named. From a letter written April 30, 1860, to the *Oregon Argus*, the discovery appears to have been made a short time before.

E. D. Pierce, a trader among the Indians, had long known that the country east of the great bend of the Snake River was a gold-bearing one, but owing to the hostility of the Indians, he did not prospect it, and for several years resided in California. De Smet had known of it at an earlier period, and in 1854 a Mr Robbins of Portland had purchased some gold of the Spokanes, farther north.

In 1858 Pierce again visited the Nez Percé country but found no opportunity to search until after the ratification of the Nez Percé treaty, and the general cessation of hostilities. Early in 1860 he found means to verify his belief in the auriferous nature of the country on the Clearwater branch of Snake River, reporting his discovery in April at Walla Walla. It does not appear from the public prints that the story of Pierce received much credence, though the correspondent spoken of above reported that some returned Similkameen miners, and others from Walla Walla, had gone thither.

Pierce did not at once return to the Clearwater, on account of the opposition of the Indian and military departments, who dreaded the renewal of trouble with the Nez Percés and Spokanes should a mining population overrun their reserved territory. About the first of August, however, Pierce, with a party of only ten men,[14] set out from Walla Walla to make a conclusive examination of the country in question; having done which he returned with his party to Walla Walla in November, giving all the information which he

[14] The names of the ten were Horace Dodge, Joseph L. Davis, J. R. Benefield, Bethuel Ferrel, Jonathan E. Smith, W. F. Bassett, Frank Turner, David Diggings, Samuel B. Reed, and John W. Park. *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat*, April 26, 1861. Bassett is said to have discovered the first gold on Canal Gulch, where Pierce City is situated. *Lewis' Coal Discoveries*, MS., 16–17; *Victor's River of the West*, 540–1.

himself possessed concerning the new gold-field lying 150 miles east of that place, and believed to be rich. The diggings were dry, and yielded eight to fifteen cents to the pan. The route to the mines was directly through the Nez Percé reservation.[15]

Pierce now endeavored to organize a large company to return with him and winter in the mines; but the representations of those who feared to provoke another Indian war discouraged most of those who would have gone, and only thirty-three accompanied him. The party was followed as far as Snake River by a detachment of dragoons, whose duty it was to prevent their intrusion on the reservation, but who failed to execute it.

Pierce's party of less than forty men remained in the Nez Percé country preparing for mining when spring should open. The snow in December was six inches deep, and during a portion of the winter three feet in depth. The men occupied themselves building comfortable cabins, sawing out planks for sluice-boxes, and sinking prospect holes. They found the gold of the earth to be very fine, requiring quicksilver to collect it, though coarse gold was also discovered in the quartz with which the country abounded. The diggings were situated in gulches and cañons of streams of too general a level to make it convenient washing the dirt and disposing of the débris. The gold was found in a red, and sometimes a bluish, earth of decomposed granite mixed with gravel of pure white quartz. Much black sand appeared on washing it. Pierce himself, though convinced of the richness of the present discovery, freely exposed the disadvantages, and declared, moreover, his belief that these mines were but the outskirts of still richer mining territory.

Pierce had hardly reached his camp on the Clearwater before he received a visit from A. J. Cain, the

[15] *Or. Argus*, May 12, 1860; *Pioneer and Democrat*, Nov. 9, 1860; *Sacramento Union*, Dec. 6, 1860; *S. F. Bulletin*, Aug. 21, 1860, and March 21, 1866; *Angelo's Idaho*, 23.

Nez Percé Indian agent, who did not find it necessary to interfere with the party, but on the contrary, expressed himself pleased with their behavior. The agent might have obtained the consent of the Nez Percés to the presence of a single party of miners in their country; but when in February others commenced to follow, they were intercepted and turned back, a few who succeeded in passing the Indian picket being warned that they would be required to return in the spring.

Knowing how impossible it would be, when spring opened, to prevent a migration to the Clearwater gold-fields, Superintendent E. R. Geary, held a conference with Colonel Wright in reference to the threatened complication in Indian matters. The result of the consultation was that the superintendent repaired to the upper country, held a council, and made a treaty with the Indians to meet the exigencies of the coming mining excitement, promising them military protection, and the enforcement of the United States laws—a compact of necessity rather than a matter of choice with the natives.

Some weeks before the treaty was negotiated, miners were en route from Walla Walla and Portland, and merchants from the former place had taken goods to Pierce City, situated at the mouth of Canal Gulch, on Oro Fino Creek, to be in readiness for the coming demand. At the time the treaty with the Nez Percés was concluded, 300 miners were already in the Oro Fino district. A month later there were 1,000, with immigration coming in rapidly from California, overland. As the spring advanced the excitement increased, and a line of steamers was put upon the Columbia to accommodate the thousands that rushed impetuously to this richest of all the gold-fields yet discovered north of the Columbia.[16]

The route travelled was by steamer to old Fort Walla Walla, thence by stage to Walla Walla town,

[16] *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat*, Feb. 24, March 15, April 5 and 26, 1861.

and thence by pack-horses or teams to the mines, the whole distance from Portland, where the traveller embarked, being 436 miles. Horses, saddles, wagons, provisions, clothing, mining tools, and camp equipage were in demand at Walla Walla in 1861, the merchants, at least, having found a bonanza.

In May the *Colonel Wright* made the first trip ever consummated by a steamer to the mouth of the Clearwater, and up that stream to within twelve miles of the forks, or within less than forty miles of Pierce City. A town was immediately founded at this landing, called Slaterville, after its founder. It contained in May five houses of canvas, two of which were provision stores, two private dwellings, and the other a drinking-saloon. The saloon was roofed with two blankets, a red and a blue one. On its side was written the word "whiskey" in charcoal, and inside, a barrel of the liquid constituted the stock in trade. Two bottles and two drinking-glasses composed the furniture. Fifty white persons were to be found in and about Slaterville at this time. Following the *Colonel Wright*, the *Tenino*, the second steamer on the upper Columbia, made a few trips to this place, but it was soon found to be impracticable for a landing on account of the rapids in the Clearwater, which could only be navigated for a short season of the year. The last trip of the *Tenino* was made before the close of the month, her final departure taking place June 1st.

The next cargo of freight and load of passengers were landed, by necessity, at the confluence of the Clearwater and Snake rivers, on the south side, which was in direct contravention of the terms of the treaty made in April. There did not seem to be any alternative, the mountains rising abruptly on the north side, and this being the natural head of navigation. When the treaty was made, the head of navigation was at old Fort Walla Walla, or in rare cases at the mouth of the Tucannon River. Already this was all

changed, and the route most travelled was up Snake River to the Clearwater. By the 10th of June the navigation company and the miners had settled it that a town must be built at this point. The site was most favorable, being a level piece of ground between the two rivers, sloping gently back a mile or two to the high prairies beyond. The name fixed upon was Lewiston, in compliment to Merriwether Lewis, the discoverer of the Clearwater and Snake rivers, who had been entertained by the father of the head chief of the Nez Percés, Lawyer, almost at the very spot where Americans were now mining for gold. Two weeks after it was first used as a landing, Lewiston had a population and business of considerable importance. Pack-trains daily departed thence to the mines, laden with the goods brought up by the weekly steamboat, the town at once taking on an air of having come to stay, which its excellent location fully justified. The military authorities, however, who were pledged to protect the Indians in their rights, prohibited the erection of permanent buildings, and the Nez Percé agent called the attention of the public to the breach of treaty committed by them in their invasion of the reservation twice reserved.

But remonstrances were unavailing when opposed to the determination of 3,000 persons already occupying the foot-hills of the Blue Mountains, and whose number was daily increasing. Lawyer, and the headmen generally, perceived the difficulties in which the white men would be placed if denied access to the mines, or a landing for their goods, and accepting some compensation, they allowed the town site of Lewiston to be laid off in October. That the Nez Percés were not averse to the coming of white men among them was evident from their obliging and friendly conduct. The better class of Indians as well as white men reprobated the introduction of intoxicating liquors; but otherwise, expecting the treaty to be observed in regard to territory, they made no very

great protest against the presence of miners on the reservation.

As the summer advanced, new discoveries were made and other mining towns sprang up. Oro Fino City, a rival of Pierce City, in the early part of June had sixty houses, built of logs, ten stores of general merchandise, and various other shops. The population was about 500, most of whom lived in tents. Three families were settled there, the whole of the inhabitants with this exception being males. A wagon-road was completed from the mouth of the Clearwater to Pierce City in June,[17] crossing the south branch of that river.

In July 5,000 men were scattered over the mining region, now no longer confined to Oro Fino district. Two saw-mills were in process of erection,[18] and trade was already overdone, so many merchants had hastened their goods into the country. In Oro Fino City building lots sold for from $100, to $200, and with a log-house on them, from $500 to $1,000. Carpenters' wages were nine and ten dollars a day, and common labor from three and a half to six dollars.

As to what the miners were making, that depended upon the locality. The first discovery was inferior in richness to later ones. On Rhodes Creek, which emptied into the Oro Fino one and a half miles above Pierce City, claims paid from twelve to twenty-five dollars a day to the man. The heavy expenses of opening a claim, however, greatly lessened the profits; lumber costing twenty cents a foot, and nails forty cents per pound, in addition to the high price of labor. A few claims yielded fifty, seventy, and a hundred dollars to the man.[19]

[17] This road was cut out by Mr Athey of Oregon City. *Or. Argus*, July 27, 1861. Mr Mulkey of Washington co., Oregon, drove the first team into Oro Fino.

[18] One of these pioneer mills was erected by A. M. and L. M. Starr. *Oregonian*, Aug. 21, 1861.

[19] G. C. Robbins of Portland reported to the press in August that 2,500 practical miners were at work on Rhodes Creek, Oro Fino Creek, Canal Gulch,

With the usual restlessness of miners, a party of fifty-two men left the Oro Fino district in May to explore and prospect the south fork of the Clearwater and its tributaries. This stream was almost unknown, being far to the north of the travelled roads between the Rocky and Blue mountains, and even remote from the trails made by the fur-hunters. Proceeding seventeen miles above the north branch of South Fork, they crossed from the north to the south side of the stream, keeping up the river to the junction of the south branch of the South Fork, up which they continued for six miles, or until they arrived at the village of the chief of that district of the Nez Percé country, Coolcoolsneenee, who objected to this infraction of treaty agreements, which excluded white men from the south side of the Clearwater.

After a prolonged interview with the chief, who insisted upon an observance of the treaty, thirty of the party turned back. The remaining twenty-two crossed the South Fork to the north side, and proceeded along up the stream by the southern Nez Percé trail to the buffalo-grounds, going about twenty miles from the crossing in an easterly course, until they came to where three branches of the South Fork met. Here they made an examination of the earth, and obtained from twelve to twenty-five cents to the pan of shot and drift gold.

and French Creek, and that 4,000 or 5,000 men were making a living in other ways. His report on the yield of the mines was as follows: Jarvis & Co., four men, $10 per day to the man; James & Co., five men, $10 per day to the man; McCarty & Co., four men, $10 each; Vesay & Co., eight men, $7 to $8; Hook & Co., six men, $10 to $12; Jones & Co., four men, $10 to $12; Dunbar & Asar, $10 to $12; Shaffer & Co., fourteen men, $60; Paine & Co., twenty men, $70; Mortimer & Co., twenty-four men, $70 to $80; Hatch & Co., five men, $16 to $20; Thomas & Co., fourteen men, $18 to $20; Rillery & Co., seventeen men, $16 to $17; Blakely & Co., nine men, $16 to $20; Smalley & Co., ten men, $16; Boon & Co., eight men, $16; California Co., nine men, $16; Newland & Co., six men, $16; Hickox & Co., five men, $16 to $20; Let 'Er Rip & Co., eleven men, $16 to $20; Hoyt & Co., eight men, $12; Felton & Co., $16; Sparks & Co., $15; Rossi & Co., $15; Rhodes & Co., eleven men, 300 ounces per day to the company. On French Creek, Antoine Pillir, T. Lapoint, M. Guinon, John Lesot, Harkum, and Quirk were making each $10 to $12 per day. *Portland Oregonian*, Aug. 26, 1861; *S. F. Herald*, Nov. 14, 1861; *Yreka Journal*, Dec. 4, 1861.

About one third of the party returned to Oro Fino, where they arrived on the 6th of June, exhibiting their specimens, and after purchasing a supply of provisions, immediately rejoined their associates in the new diggings.[20]

The discovery on South Fork led to a rush of several hundred Oro Fino miners, some of whom returned before winter. Other diggings were found on the north side of the Clearwater, on Newsom Creek, where from eight to fifteen dollars a day were obtained. The opposition of the Indians to the intrusion of white men on the South Fork for a time restrained the mining population, but good reports continuing to come from there, a fresh migration set in, and by September a town called Elk City was laid off between Elk and American creeks of Red River, the main branch of South Fork, which contained 2,000 inhabitants, several business houses, and forty dwellings already erected or in process of construction.[21]

Elk valley, or prairie, was about seven miles in length, and not more than half a mile in width. The mountains on either side were low and covered with small pines. From the tops of these ridges flat ravines sloped down at intervals, covered with rich grass, and watered by springs. Elk City was situated a mile from the lower end of the valley, on a flat between two of these ravines, which gave it a greater extent of view. On the west the mountains rose ridge above ridge toward the great spur of the Bitter Root range, which the miners were obliged to cross to reach it, and Elk Creek, its meanderings marked only by occasional clumps of willows, flowed along the western border of the town. The distance from Elk City to Oro Fino was 120 miles. Between it and the crossing of the South Fork were two rugged ranges, one fifteen miles, the other twenty-five miles over, sepa-

[20] Corr. *Portland Oregonian*, June 20, 1861. The only name given of any one belonging to this party is McGill, in *S. F. Bulletin*, July 3, 1861.

[21] *Maize's Early Events*, MS., 11.

rated by Newsom Creek.[22] On every side in this locality rose ledges of pale red or rose quartz. Between the mountains were intervals of beautiful grassy prairies; on the mountains heavy pine forests. Game abounded, the principal being the elk, of which there were large bands. The country was, in fact, very different from the California miner's preconceived ideas of a gold country. But experience had proved that gold might exist either under barren sands, rich alluvium, or the frozen mosses of a Cariboo; and certainly this was a pleasanter country to live and mine in than Cariboo. The objection to it was that the mining season, so far up in the mountains, must be comparatively short; and in order to make up for the expense of a long idle winter, it was important to secure a considerable sum during the summer. It was also necessary to lay in a sufficient stock of provisions to last while the heavy snows suspended travel.

Some who preferred wintering in Walla Walla left the mines early to avoid the snow; but the majority remained, and for these the traders provided by hurrying in ample stocks of goods as long as the weather permitted.[23] Such was the energy and enterprise of the latter class, that by the first week in September a trail six feet wide was cut through forty miles of timber on the mountains between Elk City and the South Fork, obstructions removed, and the hills graded where required. In October, in spite of treaty obligations, a white man had taken up a farm on the road, and erected a cabin of the nature of a wayside inn, called the Mountain House.

At this period of the development of the Clearwater mines, there were comparatively few except Oregon and Washington men engaged in mining or trade in

[22] 'The gold at Newsom Creek is a deep red, and heavier and coarser than that found at Oro Fino.' Corr. *Portland Advertiser.*

[23] The first firm to take goods to Elk City was John Creighton & Co. Flour sold from $16 to $20 per 100 pounds, and groceries in proportion. The only cheap article of food was beef, at 12 to 15 cents per pound, and vegetables sold by Indians.

the Nez Percé country. The sale of whiskey, reprobated by the majority, was carried on, notwithstanding the danger that it might involve the miners and Indians in trouble. Few crimes, however, were commited this season. One American was shot in a drunken quarrel with a Frenchman, and one packer was murdered and robbed on the road. Some instances of sluice-robbing occurred at Oro Fino; and horse-stealing by an organized band of thieves began.

By the end of summer, when the mining season was expected to close, the profits of the outlay in opening up the gold-fields began to be speculated upon by the press; and although no doubt was entertained of the riches contained in the gold region, or that it would continue to yield well for a longer period than the Fraser mines, which were already worked out,[24] it was asserted that the Willamette Valley was a million dollars worse off for the discovery. And yet the Willamette Valley was, as far as cash was concerned, already poor, on account of the long period of Indian wars, and the non-payment of the war debt, while the weekly receipt of gold-dust at Portland was nearly $100,000.[25] These jealous writers admitted that this money was developing in various ways the natural resources of an immense region east of the Cascade Mountains, but chiefly on the Washington side of the Columbia. Even The Dalles, which had received a great impetus from the Colville and Fraser River migrations, was but little benefited by this one; for now that the steamers carried freight and passengers directly to Lewiston, the business of supplying miners was transacted either at that place or at Portland.[26] Others with more comprehensive views remarked that the gold

[24] *Angelo's Idaho*, 23.

[25] This statement is taken from the *Oregon Statesman*, the most conservative paper in Oregon, and the one always opposed to mining ventures, or any enterprises not directly beneficial to the Willamette Valley. See *Statesman*, Sept. 9 and Nov. 4, 1861.

[26] The Colville and Oro Fino mines helped Portland greatly; and in 1861 built up the Oregon Steam Navigation Company. Loaded drays used to stand in line half a mile long, unloading at night freight to go in the morning, that involved a fortune. *Deady's Hist. Or.*, MS., 37.

discoveries came opportunely for Oregon, the disbursement of money in the country by the army pay-masters and quartermasters having almost ceased through the withdrawal of the regular troops to participate in the civil war. It was also remarked that, contrary to the ideas generally entertained of the value of the country east of the mountains for agriculture, those persons who had taken up farming claims on the route from The Dalles to Lewiston had raised fine crops, and were getting high prices for them. This was the beginning of a better understanding of the capabilities of the soil in what has since become one of the best wheat-producing countries in the world, but which was up to this period considered as a grazing country only.

The opinion had been repeatedly expressed that the Clearwater mines were but the outskirts of some richer central deposit. In the hope of verifying this belief, prospecting parties had been traversing the country in an easterly and southerly direction during the entire summer of 1861. The party which successfully proved the theory consisted of twenty-three men who left Oro Fino in the early part of July to prospect on Salmon River. After testing the bars on this river for a distance of 100 miles, with encouraging results, they retraced their steps to a point about seventy-five miles south of Elk City, to which place they desired to go in order to lay in a stock of provisions. At the point mentioned, the company divided, nine of them remaining to hunt, and to examine the country for a practicable route through the great masses of fallen timber which obstructed travel in the direction of the Clearwater.

In their reconnoissance, while travelling over a wet, boggy flat on the top of a high mountain twenty miles north of Salmon River, they stopped to rest in a temporary camp, when one of the explorers laid a wager with another that the color of gold could not

be found in that country. In sport the wager was accepted, and in a short time the prospector having taken a pan of dirt from the roots of an upturned tree, found it to contain five cents' worth of gold. Upon this wholly unexpected and flattering prospect the party proceeded to examine the creeks and gulches in the immediate vicinity, obtaining five, ten, twenty-five, and even seventy-five cents to every pan of dirt washed. They then followed their former associates to Elk City, where, after resting for a few days, they purchased a month's supplies and returned to their discovery, accompanied by a few others.[27]

The discovery was made in September, and in October a town called Millersburg was laid off on Miller Creek, where the richest diggings were found. From the first pan of dirt taken out of the first hole sunk in this creek $25 was obtained. In the course of an afternoon Miller washed out $100. The remainder of the company then staked off claims and began operations with vigor. Working only with a rocker, each claim averaged from $75 to $100 daily to the man. With a pan alone $75 was obtained in ten hours, and in one gulch five men took out $700 in the same time.

During the first two weeks in October fifty men were mining at Millersburg, and a radius of five miles had been prospected. To get a winter's supplies to camp was the first care of those on the ground, to which end they expended much labor upon a pack-trail to Elk City. The first train that left Elk City under the guidance of Leech became lost in a snow-storm, and after wandering about for two weeks, returned to the starting-point. But in the mean time three trains belonging to Creighton had left Elk City

[27] The names of a few only of the discoverers of the Salmon River mines have been preserved. These are John H. Bostwick, B. B. Rogers, Nathan and Samuel Smith, John J. Healey, T. H. Miller, Leech, More, and Hall. The Smiths were old Yreka miners. The lucky pan-holder at this last discovery was a Frenchman named Michel. *Bristow's Encounters*, MS., 10; Corr. *Or. Statesman*, Oct. 28, 1861; *Portland Oregonian*, Oct. 21, 1861.

and proceeded as far as Camas prairie, ten miles south of the Clearwater, where they were met by Eagle-from-the-light, who peremptorily ordered them to turn back, and observe the treaty made in April. They endeavored to pacify the justly offended chief, and pushed on.[28]

By the first of November there were 1,000 men on the creeks and gulches of the new district, believed at that time to be limited to a small extent of territory. Elk City and Oro Fino were soon almost deserted. Although a large amount of provisions was hurried into Millersburg, not enough could be taken there before the snow had stopped the passage of trains to support all who had gone there, and by the middle of November many were forced to return to Oro Fino a distance of 100 miles, to winter, lest starvation should attack the camp before spring. The snow was already over two feet deep, and the cold severe, so that frozen feet very frequently disabled the traveller for the remainder of the season.

The excitement which hurried men to the Salmon River mines was intense. Nor was it without justification; for every report from there confirmed and strengthened the accounts given by the first explorers, though some who had gone there returned without any treasure.[29] The weight of evidence was to

[28] C. W. Berry of Scott Bar, Cal., was the first to arrive with a stock of goods, Oct. 18th, and located himself on Nasan's Gulch. *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 6, 1862.

[29] A Dalles correspondent of the *Or. Statesman* of Dec. 2d wrote: 'One of my acquaintances arrived here on Thursday (Nov. 22d) with 55 pounds of gold-dust, nearly all the product of a few days' labor on Summit Flat, Salmon River.' Also, '300 pounds of gold-dust was taken on the last steamer to Portland.' 'The mines are paying from $50 to $150 per day to the hand.' *Or. Statesman*, Nov. 4, 1861. John Creighton, writing to J. C. Isaacs of Walla Walla, says: 'Our company of eleven men made $600 in one week.' *Puget Sound Herald*, Nov. 7, 1861. 'John Munroe, of Yamhill county, took out $180 in an afternoon; the next day 2½ lbs; and the next day 5 lbs (equal to $600 and $1,200). John Malone panned out $400 the first day on his claim. Bostwick of Cal., $80 in a day. Smith (three-fingered) took 46½ ounces ($697) out of one hundred buckets of dirt. Maroon Scott is making $100 a day. H. S. Case writes that the mines are paying from $25 to $400 a day to the man. Wages are $10 and $12 a day.' *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 14, 1861. 'Two men took out 80 ounces in one day. Many were making $50 a day with the pan, and $100 to $200 with rockers.' *Ibid.*, Nov. 5. 'We have heard of two men

the effect that these mines excelled in richness the placer mines of California in their best days. Of their extent, men were not so certain.

A letter to the *Portland Times* of November 25th stated that while the correspondent was at the Salmon River mines, in the latter part of October, he had known from personal observation some claims to yield from thirty to eighty dollars to the pan. One panful of dirt from Baboon Gulch contained $151.50. The same claim yielded $1,800 in three hours, two men working it with a rocker. This claim belonged to a man named Weiser, the same after whom Weiser River in Idaho was named. John Munsac of Yamhill county, Oregon, purchased a claim for $1,800, and from two pans of the dirt took four ounces of gold. In two weeks he had taken out forty-five pounds of dust! It was no uncommon thing to see, on entering a miner's cabin, a gold-washing pan measuring eight quarts full to the brim, or half filled, with gold-dust washed out in one or two weeks. All manner of vessels, such as oyster-cans and yeast-powder boxes, or pickle-bottles, were in demand, in which to store the precious dust. A claim was held in small esteem that yielded only $12 a day, as some claims did, while hundreds of others returned from one to four ounces for a day's labor.

Owing to the lateness of the season and the hostility of the Shoshones, whose territory bordered on the Salmon River basin, the question of the extent of these rich gold mines was necessarily left undetermined until spring should open the roads and

who took out six pounds of gold in two days.' *Or. Argus*, Nov. 16, 1861. 'William Purvine of Mossman's express writes...Men are now making (Oct. 10th) $30 to $150 per day to the hand with the old-fashioned rocker of 1849, and I verily believe that when water and ordinary improvements are brought to bear, that in many of the claims now being worked with rockers $1,000 a day to the hand will be realized as readily as a half-ounce is at Oro Fino or South Fork diggings. These are all gulch diggings, and easily worked. Twenty-five-cent dirt here is worth as much as $1 dirt in the old mines.' *Or. Statesman*, Oct. 28, 1861; *Portland Times*, Nov. 25, 1861; *S. F. Alta*, Nov. 4 and Dec. 27, 1861; *Boisé City Capital Chronicle*, Aug. 4, 1869; *Sacramento Union*, Dec. 1, 1862.

strengthen the hands of the miners. As far as could be judged from external appearances, there was an extent of country comprising a thousand square miles similar to that where the mines were being worked. This area was included in a basin rimmed with mountains that seemed, when viewed from a distance, like the broken walls of an extinct volcano, while the basin itself might have been the burnt-out crater. A deep cañon extended around inside and next to the mountain walls, and thrown up in the centre were countless small buttes, overgrown with small pine and tamarack trees. Fires had burned off the growth on some of them; others were covered with blackened stems, where the fire had only partially done its work, and others were green. Where the ground was bare of trees, bunch-grass had sprung up.

Between these buttes were the gulches in which the gold was found, being simply strips of lowland, covered with a tough sod from six to twelve inches in thickness. The lowest parts of these gulches were marshy or boggy. All of them had numerous ramifications. Under the thick turf was a depth of from one to six feet of loam, and under the loam a red gravel, in which was the gold, in small round particles and of a red color. Underneath this was a solid bed of white quartz gravel, or hard-pan, in place of bed-rock, of from six to eighteen inches in thickness, and under all another bed of loose quartz gravel mixed with water. Very little clay was found in the mines. The method resorted to for obtaining water for mining purposes was to dig holes or wells of a convenient depth, which soon filled from the moist gravel. The rockers were placed beside these holes, and the water used over and over until it became very thick, when the well was emptied and allowed to fill again over night.

The early part of the winter of 1861–2 was not severe. New diggings were discovered at Florence, thirty miles north of the first discovery, before pros-

pecting was interrupted; and all during the month of December companies from the outside were exploring and opening routes to the mines, the most promising of which was by the old emigrant road to the Grand Rond Valley, thence by an Indian trail to Snake River and beyond, after which there were fifty miles to be opened over a range of mountains. December closed with the heaviest storms hitherto known in Oregon, extending over the whole north-west coast and California, snow and floods interrupting travel in every direction. At the time of this interruption to communication there were between 500 and 800 men in the Salmon River mines, and every kind of provisions was worth a dollar a pound, excepting beef, which was still cheap.

The sudden migration to Salmon River did not by any means depopulate the Clearwater mines, which continued to yield as well as at first.[30] The return of many to winter in Oro Fino, where some mining could still be done, kept business alive in that district. Those who could afford to be idle went to Lewiston, which now, in spite of prohibition, was a growing town; while those who had accumulated large sums returned to the world and society to enjoy their wealth.

Politically, the effect of the Clearwater gold discovery was remarkable. Walla Walla county with Shoshone attached elected four representatives, and with Missoula a joint councilman,[31] more votes being cast

[30] *Or. Statesman*, Oct. 14, 1861.

[31] J. M. More of Walla Walla was councilman. The representatives were Gillam, Babcock, Beatty, and Smith. From the manner of keeping the journals of this session, it is impossible to learn to what counties the members of the legislature belonged, or their full names. A contest over a seat reveals as much as is here given; and if Stevens or Spokane county was represented, it does not appear on record. It should be explained that Stevens county, created in Jan. 1858, comprised the greater portion of the territory between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains. The legislature of 1861–2 reëstablished it of a lesser size and gave it the name of Spokane. At the following session its boundaries were rearranged and the name of Stevens restored to that portion lying east of the Columbia. The legislature of 1863–4 dispensed altogether with the county of Spokane, which was reunited to Stevens; but in 1879 another Spokane county was taken from Stevens on the east side, with the county seat at Spokane Falls.

in the counties of Walla Walla and Shoshone than in any two west of the Cascades. A new county called Nez Percé was organized by the miners in the Oro Fino district during the summer,[32] which was legally created and organized by the legislature the following winter, along with the county of Idaho, and the territory was redistricted in order to give a federal judge to this region. The judicial districts as newly defined made the 1st, or mining district, embrace Walla Walla and the counties east of that, P. Oliphant presiding; Chief Justice James E. Wyche being assigned to the 2d, or Columbia River district, and C. C. Hewitt to the 3d, or Puget Sound district.[33]

The legislature found itself much embarrassed by the situation. Three judges had no more than sufficed when the business of the courts was confined to the region west of the Cascades, when suddenly the population east of the mountains became sufficient to require, with the great extent of territory, two if not three more. One of the expedients proposed was to grant the probate courts of the several counties civil and criminal jurisdiction, provided the supreme court then in session should give a favorable opinion upon

[32] The sheriff was Gillespie, the clerk Bradley, the justice of the peace Stone. Ralph Bledsoe was the first councilman elected from Nez Percé county. Idaho county was was first called El Dorado.

[33] McFadden, who was associate justice until 1858, was then made chief justice until 1862, with William Strong and Edmund C. Fitzhugh associate justices for the same period, and Charles S. Weed U. S. marshal. Fitzhugh, whom the reader will remember as identified with the development of coal and other interests about Bellingham Bay, and as special Indian agent and aid of Gov. Stevens during the Indian war, was indicted and tried and acquitted, after his appointment, for killing a man named Wilson several years before in a quarrel. He was one of the seconds in the Broderick-Terry duel in San Francisco, a southerner, and having the convivial habits of his class, but withal considered a good man. The republican administration appointed Wyche chief justice, with Oliphant and Hewitt associates. Wyche was a Mississippian by birth, and a union democrat. He was appointed from Michigan. His wife was a daughter of W. W. Bancroft of Granville, Ohio. The clerk of the court in Walla Walla district was Bennett Sexton, whose wife was a sister of Mrs. Wyche. Sexton died in 1869. Wyche died of consumption Aug. 28, 1873, on the cars, while en route to the east. While residing at Vancouver he lost his eldest daughter; his wife and remaining daughter survived him but a short time; thus all the family passed rapidly away, and the old Harney Castle which they inhabited was sold. The United States district attorney appointed by the republican administration was John J. McGilvra of Chicago.

the right of the territorial assembly, under the organic act, to confer such jurisdiction. By the advice of the federal judges, acts were passed establishing a district court at the county seat of each county, said court to have concurrent jurisdiction within its own boundaries, except in those cases where the United States was a party, in the same manner and to the same extent as before exercised by the federal district courts, with right of appeal to the supreme court of federal judges;[34] the counties to pay the expenses of these courts.

The assessed valuation of taxable property in the county of Walla Walla in 1861 was nearly half a million dollars, which must have been much less than the real value at the close of the year. Two steamboats were now running upon the upper Columbia, built at a cost of $60,000. Pack-trails had been opened through the hitherto inaccessible mountain regions, wagon-roads projected and to some extent completed to the most important points, and ferries established on all the rivers they intersected, and all chiefly by private enterprise.[35] A company was incorporated to

[34] *Wash. Ter. Stat.*, 1861–2, 9. A bill passed the council 'creating Judges of the Plains in Walla Walla county.' As the bill never became a law, the qualifications of this high-sounding order of judiciary are not known. *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1861–2, 213.

[35] A reference to the local laws of 1861–2 shows that J. R. Bates, who was a member of the legislature at this term, was authorized to construct a bridge across the Spokane River on the road from Walla Walla to Colville. The right to keep ferries was granted as follows: To D. W. Litchenthaler and John C. Smith across Snake River opposite Powder River; to Green White and C. R. Driggs across Snake River at the mouths of Grand Rond River; to John Messenger and Walter H. Manly across Salmon River on the Nez Percé trail to Fort Boisé; to Gilmore Hays across Snake River within one mile from the junction of the Clearwater; to E. H. Lewis and Egbert French across the Columbia near The Dalles; to J. T. Hicklin across the Yakima between the mouths of the Ahtanaham and Nachess; to W. D. Bigelow across Snake River on the territorial road from Walla Walla to Colville; to Lyman Shaffer and W. F. Bassett across the south branch of the Clearwater on the main wagon-road from Lewiston to Oro Fino; to Orrington Cushman on the same stream at or near the camp of Lawyer; to W. W. De Lacy and Jared S. Hurd on Snake River at some point between Grand Rond and Powder rivers, to be selected by them; to W. W. De Lacy and his associates on Salmon River; to George A. Tykel to grade a bluff of Snake River in constructing a wagon-road and establishing a ferry over the same near the mouth of Powder River; to Richard Holmes and James Clinton across Salmon River on the Indian trail from Lapwai to Grand Rond Valley; to John Drumhaller on the main Clearwater two miles above Lewiston; to W. Greenville at or near the mouth of Slate Creek on Salmon River; to Sanford Owens to build a bridge across the

construct a railroad from old Fort Walla Walla to the town of that name, which was eventually built and operated. Printing-presses had been taken to Walla Walla, and public journals established,[36] and the place became an incorporated city, and a county seat by act of legislature in January.

Two thirds more population was contained in the counties east of the mountains in December than in the whole lower Columbia and Puget Sound region, settled sixteen years before. And the empire-makers, believing that they had no interest in Puget Sound, but that Olympia was too distant a capital, instructed their representatives to endeavor to get a memorial to congress from the legislature, asking that the eastern division of the territory might be set off and organized as an independent political entity. The council, however, declared that no good reason existed for a separation, which could not benefit the transmontane portion, and would seriously retard the growth and improvement of the Puget Sound region, in which all had a mutual interest as a seaboard,[37] and refused to sanction the prayer to congress. It consented, instead, to ask that body to establish a land-office at Walla Walla for the convenience of those desiring to take farms in either of the new counties east of the Cascades, which in due time was granted.

It would be impossible to imagine greater hardships than were endured by a certain number of over-sanguine persons who took the risk of remaining in the Salmon River Mountains without an adequate supply of food. Men continued to force their way in until February. After that for several weeks the trails

south branch of the Clearwater on the road from Lewiston to Elk City. The rates for foot-passengers on these ferries were generally 50 cts, loose cattle 50 cts, two-horse wagon $2.50, four-horse wagon $3.50, six-horse wagon $4.50, horse and buggy $2.25, pack-animal 75 cts.

[36] The *Walla Walla Messenger*, by R. B. Smith; the *Northern Light*, by Daniel Dodge; and the *Washington Statesman*, by Northup, Rees & Co. The latter afterward became the *Walla Walla Statesman*.

[37] *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1861–2, 312–13.

were obliterated or blockaded by snow, and those who had neither money nor provisions suffered all the horrors of slow starvation. And this state of affairs lasted until May. G. A. Noble started on the 21st of December to go from Oro Fino to Florence,[38] the latest new town which had sprung up in the Salmon River district, having with him a small pack-train. He was ten days toiling through snow-drifts a distance of 125 miles, and would have perished but for assistance from Indians.

He found a town regularly laid out, with building lots recorded and fenced in, all under a city government. The buildings were of logs, dragged half a mile on hand-sleds. By the last of January nothing to eat could be purchased, excepting flour at $2 a pound. Some of the miners earned enough to keep soul and body together by warming water to wash out the gold from earth, obtained with much exertion and exposure by digging down through several feet of snow. The consequence of this, and of insufficient food, was rheumatism, scurvy, and diseases of the chest.[39] During the latter part of winter the snow was from seven to ten feet deep; yet some men who lived on a scanty supply of bread and weak coffee without sugar, in trying to provide themselves with these necessaries, were compelled to remove this amount of snow from their claims in order to work them enough to pay for such food.

It was not until the first of May that pack-trains could come to within ten or twelve miles of Florence. For the remainder of the distance the goods were car-

[38] According to Elliott's *Hist. of Idaho*, Florence was named after a step-daughter of Furber, formerly of Siskiyou co., Cal., who came with her mother to Salmon River in May 1862; but as the town was laid off and named some months before that date, this statement seems questionable.

[39] Noble says that in one case of sickness the patient had lived for five weeks on flour, and tea made by steeping the young leaves of the fir. Another had lived on flour and snow-water for two months. A young man whose home was one of plenty complained of 'nothing but a kind of weakness all over,' which prevented his getting out of his cabin. He had lived two weeks on four pounds of flour and the inner bark of the pine tree, with snow-water for drink.

ried in on the backs of men, at forty cents a pound transportation, and the starving were glad to perform this labor for the wages.[40] These were only incidents of mining life, and did not affect the reputation of the mines, which in the spring of 1862 drew a wild crusade of gold worshippers toward them from every hand. The steamship *Cortés*, as early as February 13th, landed 700 California miners at Portland, and proceeded to Bellingham Bay with still another company, destined for Cariboo. There was plenty of ground from which to choose, for eastern Oregon as well as Washington and British Columbia was now known to be a gold-field. In April the regular line carried 600 or 700 on each trip, and on the 5th of May three ocean steamers, the *Panamá, Oregon*, and *Sierra Nevada*, were at Portland together, their passengers crowding up the Columbia day and night as fast as the river steamboats could carry them, and on the 6th the *Brother Jonathan* arrived with another 600.

It was in vain that the newspapers in California and Oregon endeavored to check the rush, at least until the roads in the upper country were opened to travel. The Portland *Advertiser* of the 14th of March published a fair warning, that the snow at The Dalles was still two feet deep, and from one to four feet between there and Lewiston, with a greater amount in the mountains east of Lewiston; that provisions along the whole distance were exhausted, and no entertainment could be had, nor any transportation, not even on riding or pack animals, the cattle being all either frozen or too thin to travel; that the weather was still severe, and no wood along the route from The Dalles to Lewiston, except at long intervals a few willow poles; and those who should undertake to walk would be in danger of perishing with cold. But miners had been pouring into Oregon for a month when this notice was given, and they were not likely to stop then, when spring was so near. Nor did they. The Dalles

[40] *Or. Argus*, March 22, April 12, and May 31, 1862.

was at one time so crowded with people unable to pay the high prices of provisions that a mob was raised, who proceeded to help themselves at the stores. In general, however, men bore their privations with dogged endurance, hoping for better things.

Nor were the Oregonians more prudent than strangers who knew less of the country, the climate, and the phenomenal effects of the floods and frosts of the winter of 1861–2. Some had mining claims to which they were anxious to return; others, farmers, had lost heavily by the floods of December, and were in haste to retrieve their fortunes. Traders were desirous of being first to bring their goods to a market where gold-dust was more plentiful than flour, sugar, or bacon;[41] and all had good reasons for their precipitancy in the matter of getting to the mines. Most of those crowded into The Dalles began moving forward about the 17th of March, when a saddle-train arrived from Walla Walla, bringing the first passengers that had come through since the disasters of January.[42] They brought 400 pounds of gold-dust, sufficient apology for the haste of the crusaders. By the 22d a change in the weather had left the roads in an almost impassable state, and the streams too high to be forded. Fortunately for those not already upon the way, the steamboat *Colonel Wright* succeeded about this date in forcing a passage from Celilo to old Fort Walla Walla, where J. M. Vansyckle had laid off a town called Wallula, and was making improvements at the landing,[43] and regular navigation to this point was soon resumed, although the water in the Snake River was still too low to admit of a passage to Lewiston. At this place during the winter the suffering had been great from want of adequate shelter, most of the population living in tents. Fuel was scarce,

[41] Flour sold at Walla Walla on the 3d of March for $24 per pound. *Or. Statesman*, March 24, 1862.

[42] *Hist. Or.*, ii., ch. xix., 484, this series.

[43] 'Mr and Mrs Charles Pope recently held a "drawing-room" entertainment at Wallula, in the cabin of a wharf-boat, the only building of any note in that city.' *Or. Statesman*, May 26, 1862.

and provisions both scarce and high.[44] At length, when the snow melted in the upper country, the Columbia rose to a stage which in May inundated Lewiston, The Dalles, and the lower portions of Portland.

The first trains reached Powder River about the last of April; the first that arrived at Salmon River not before the middle of May, the goods being carried, as I have said, on the backs of starving men the last twelve or fifteen miles, many of them becoming snow-blind while performing this labor. When the product of the winter's work, with all its disadvantages, began to appear, it increased the mining furore. The different gulches in the Florence district were found to yield per day to the rocker from $30 to $250. Some great strikes were made, as when Weiser took out of Baboon Gulch $6,600 in one day, and half that amount in another, one panful of dirt yielding $500. The average yield of these placers was $75 per diem.[45]

Prospecting began by the middle of May. In the latter part of June there were thousands of men ranging the country in every direction. Some put their number at 25,000. It is more probable that in the autumn, after the emigration from California and the east was all in, there were 20,000 persons in the

[44] *S. F. Bulletin*, March 31, 1862.

[45] A few items may be worth preserving as a part of the country's physical history. Baboon Gulch was named after an old Dutch miner known as Baboon, who left the diggings in the spring with 75 lbs of gold-dust. The claim was purchased by Gideon Tibbits while it was still yielding $1,000 daily. Miller Gulch, named after one of the discoverers, Joseph Miller, yielded him $7,000 and he sold it for $4,000. Claims on the creek were held at from $15,000 to $30,000. Wells, Fargo & Co. brought down from these mines on the 20th of May 120 lbs of gold-dust, and about the same amount from the Nez Percé mines, besides that in the hands of eighty passengers. It was estimated that $500,000 passed through The Dalles every week. *Or. Statesman*, June 2 and July 7, 1862. The *Julia* brought down from The Dalles 1,000 pounds of the dust on the 30th of July. *Portland Oregonian*, July 31, 1862. There were 186 claims on Miller's Creek, worked by 558 men, the yield for 8 months being $2,785,536. A general average of the product of the Florence mines would give 3,000 miners something over $4.000 for a season's work. But there really was no general average, some getting little and some much, as in every other business; the newspapers contained stories of individual success that would fill a volume. Gold-dust was weighed by the pound at Florence. *Farnham's Florence and Warren*, MS., i. 'I saw two men walk out of Millersburg with 50 pounds of gold-dust' Mrs Schultz, in *Early Anecdotes*, MS., 3.

mines of Clearwater, Salmon, Powder, and John Day rivers.[46]

From these mines, the accounts received were generally flattering, though occasionally a disappointed adventurer expressed his disgust at adverse fortune in terms more forcible than elegant. As to Powder River, after it had been pretty well prospected it was set down as rich, but not of the extraordinary richness of Salmon River. Water was scarce, and until ditches were constructed to carry water from Elk Creek to the flat below, where the claims were located, no sluicing or rapid work could be accomplished. There were about 1,000 persons in the Powder River mines by the middle of June. Among them were many from the mines of Washoe in Nevada.[47] Others followed during the summer, and a considerable proportion of these settled in eastern Oregon,[48] in the neighborhood of the mines.[49] They found a beautiful country of rolling plains, and long sunny slopes partially wooded with stately pines, of fertile valleys, and free-flowing streams of excellent water at frequent intervals; and last, but not least, unlimited grazing, making this the stock-raiser's paradise. Several important discoveries

[46] *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1862, 422–3; *Or. Statesman*, June 2, 1862; *Bristow's Rencounters*, MS., 15.

[47] The most famous man on the Pacific coast, after James Marshall, was H. M. Comstock, who tried his luck in Oregon, which had failed to make him rich in Nevada. He was very active locating both placer and quartz mines, constructing ditches, and making other improvements. He surveyed a road from Powder River shorter and better than the old one, expending $8,000 upon it, and petitioning the Oregon legislature for a charter. The matter was placed in the hands of J. M. Kirkpatrick, elected from Baker county, organized by the mining population in 1862, who was not admitted to a seat, and the charter was lost. Comstock and Lytle opened the first quartz vein in which free gold was visible, on Powder River. *Or. Statesman*, June 16, 1862. On the 11th of August he discovered another lode, from which he took $450 the same day. *S. F. Bulletin*, Aug. 27, 1862. It does not appear that this mine made Comstock rich, or that any mine ever could.

[48] W. S. Ebey, who spent a season in the Powder River and John Day mines, remarks upon this immigration, which came by the way of Humboldt, Queen, and Owyhee rivers. *Journal*, MS., viii. 55.

[49] Mrs Theodore Schultz, of Valencia Street, San Francisco, in a manuscript called *Early Anecdotes*, gives a graphic picture of the immigration from Cal. overland. With her husband and 4 other men, with 17 pack-animals, she travelled from her home in that state to Florence mines, encountering all the hardships of the season, the great flood, and the danger from Indians, which they luckily escaped. She was the first white woman in Millersburg.

were made in the region both east and west of the Blue Mountains, some of which mining ground turned out a large amount of bullion,[50] and some of which is still mined, but the main rush was to the country east of Snake River.

About the 1st of August, James Warren, a "shiftless individual, a petty gambler, miner, and prospector," made up a party in Lewiston for a tour through the Salmon River basin, and returned in less than a month with the report of new and rich diggings.[51] Unlike the Florence mines, the Warren diggings were deep as well as rich. The mining ground extended about sixteen miles north and south along the creek, and the gold assayed from $12 to $17 an ounce.[52]

This proved to be one of the most valuable discoveries made. The diggings outlasted the Florence mines, and when the placers were exhausted on the creek bottoms, still yielded to hydraulic treatment returns nearly as rich as the placers.

Notwithstanding the unsavory reputation of the discoverer, Warren's diggings were worked chiefly by practical miners and men of good character, many of whom long remained there in business.[53] In November 400 men were mining at Warren's, taking out an average of from $14 to $20 daily.[54]

Three years afterward the population was 1,500, which dwindled two years later to 500. When the

[50] The John Day mines began to be worked in August. About 1,000 men were at work on the middle branch in September, and 500 on the north branch. Many handsome nuggets were found in the Powder and John Day mines. *Owens' Dis.*, 1865, 143; *Walla Walla Statesman*, Aug. 27, 1862; *Portland Oregonian*, Sept. 29, 1862.

[51] *Hofer's Hist. Idaho County*, MS., 2–4; *Hutton's Early Events*, MS., 6.

[52] *Farnham's Florence and Warren*, MS., 1. Edwin Farnham was one of the pioneers of Florence, where he went in 1862, and afterward to Warren. His manuscript is principally a comparison between the two camps. Farnham later lived in S. F.

[53] J. W. Seaman, Judge Beatty, Judge Taliaferro, and D. Mulford were of Calaveras co., Cal., and Mark Evans of San Joaquin. J. Bradford, another pioneer, antecedents unknown. Mrs Shultz was again the first white woman in these diggings, and gives a good account of their law-abiding population. Rice was one of the first locators. *Hutton's Early Events*, MS., 5.

[54] *Lewiston Golden Age*, Nov. 13, 1862.

mines had been worked for ten years they were sold to Chinese miners, some of whom became wealthy.

Late in the summer of 1862, the opinion of old miners that a rich deposit would be found farther to the south than any yet discovered was verified. Many companies were searching for such a field,[55] but the successful party was one which left Auburn, Baker county, Oregon, about the middle of July, proceeding east to Snake River and up it to Sinker Creek, above the mouth of the Owyhee, where, the company dividing, one portion returned to a point opposite Boisé River, and having made a skiff and ferried themselves over to the south side of that stream, followed along it to a junction with the immigrant road, where they again constructed a raft and crossed to the north bank of the Boisé, where now stands the city of that name.[56]

Proceeding north, but being interrupted by the impassable cañons of the country, they succeeded in entering the basin of the Boisé River by following a divide which brought them to a stream twelve miles south-west of the present town of Idaho City. After prospecting this stream for three miles on the south side, they proceeded the next day down the north side into the basin and to a larger stream. Here they obtained excellent indications, and spent a week examining the ground higher up, finding it to be rich for fifteen miles. While encamped at Grimes' Pass, they were fired upon by some Shoshones who had hung upon their trail for several days. Grimes, Wilson, Splawn, and the Portuguese pursued the attack-

[55] *Sacramento Union*, June 24, 1862.

[56] The original company on this search were Joseph H. Bransetter, Jacob Westenfeldter, David Fogus from Indiana, Moses Splawn, C. Stanford, Sergeant Smith, John Reynolds of Walla Walla, Samuel Moore of Calaveras co., Cal., John Phillips and David Rodgers of Linn co., Or., Wilson of Portland, an Englishman name unknown, four Portuguese names unknown, all under the leadership of George Grimes of Or. City. Twelve took the route above described. What became of the six remaining is not related. *Portland Oregonian*, March 30 and 31, 1863; *Branstetter's Discov. Boisé Basin*, MS., 4.

ing party into the mountains, when Grimes was shot and instantly killed, having at the same moment shot an Indian.[57]

Being too few in numbers to remain in a hostile country, the eleven returned to Walla Walla by the same route they travelled in going out, arriving about the 1st of September, and bringing between $4,000 and $5,000 in gold-dust, with which they purchased supplies for another season in the mines. A company of fifty-four men was quickly organized and armed to return to Boisé basin, where they arrived on the 7th of October.[58] After a fortnight spent in determining the value of the new mines, all of the company but twenty returned to Walla Walla to obtain provisions, while those left behind occupied themselves in building a stockade and cabins for the company. In spite

[57] Grimes was hastily buried on the divide between Elk Creek and the principal stream, which bears his name. The body was reinterred the following summer in a grove of hackmatack, pine, and tamarack trees near the place of his death. A mining claim was set off for his widow by his associates, and a person deputized to work it for her in order to hold it. This individual sold it for $3,000 and went away with the money. The widow, unaware of this rascality, in the summer of 1864 paid a visit to Boisé to look after her interests. The miners raised $3,000 for her by subscription. 'That amount,' said the *Boisé News*, 'the citizens of this basin feel they owe the unfortunate lady, and they will pay it—not as a charitable donation, but as a just and equitable debt.' It was first proposed that the legislature should legalize a tax on the Boisé miners, who themselves favored this method, but it was not done. *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 4, 1863. The Indian who shot Grimes had acted as guide. He was killed by a party led by Standiffer in pursuit of the murderers of two other miners, in the summer of 1863. *Branstetter's Discov. Boisé Basin*, MS., 4.

[58] As they were passing down Burnt River they met a company of belated immigrants from Iowa and Wisconsin, who had started in March for the Salmon River mines. The Indians had risen all along the route, breaking up the Overland Stage Company's stations, driving off their horses and killing whomsoever they could. This company managed to keep the road to Fort Bridger, and taking Lander's cut-off, reached Fort Hall. When within 40 miles of that place the Bannacks threatened them, but finding them ready to fight, finally withdrew, only to attack a smaller party, nearly every one of which they killed. Forty miles west of Fort Hall the Iowa company came upon the dead and wounded of the Adams party. See *Hist. Or.*, ii. 19, 469–76, this series. While burying the dead they were attacked, and had some of their company wounded. On arriving at Catherine Creek, they were met by the Oregon cavalry, under Colonel Maury, who left Fort Walla Walla to escort the immigration soon after Colonel Steinberger of the 1st Washington infantry arrived at that post to take command. One of the immigrant company mentioned above was Sherlock Bristol, now of Buena Vista, Idaho. Bristol was born in Cheshire, Connecticut, June 5, 1815. He immigrated from Ripera, Wis., and is the author of an interesting manuscript on *Idaho Nomenclature*. After first going to Auburn, Bristol in December joined the miners at Boisé.

of an effort that had been made to keep the discovery secret, the returning party met on the road another company of between fifty and sixty following their former trail; and it was not many days before a rush to the Boisé mines succeeded.

The distance of the new discovery from Walla Walla was about 300 miles, and 70 due east from old Fort Boisé. The basin in which it was situated is a picturesque depression among the mountains about thirty miles square, hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of the Pacific coast. The face of the country varied from grassy meadows to timbered hills and abrupt mountain precipices. The climate, so far from being severe, admitted of sleeping in the open air in November.[59] The camps could be approached with wagons to within fifteen miles, with a possibility of ultimately making that portion of the road passable for wagons. The first camp of the pioneers of this region was on Grimes' Creek, and was named Pioneer City, sometimes called Fort Haynes; but owing to the selfishness of the original discoverers, it received from those who arrived subsequently the euphonious appellation of Hog'em. There are several Hog'ems on the maps of mining districts, probably originating in the same cause. Mutation in the condition of eastern Washington such as had occurred during the year could not but effect some political changes. The county of Boisé was created January 12, 1863, comprising all the country lying south of Payette River and between Snake River and the Rocky Mountains, with the county seat at Bannack City.[60] A large number of charters were granted for roads, bridges, ferries, and mining ditches, in every

[59] Wm Purvine, in *Or. Statesman*, Dec. 22, 1862; *Boisé News*, Sept. 29, 1863.

[60] A county called Ferguson was also established out of that portion of Walla Walla bounded by Wenatchee River on the north, the Simcoe Mountains on the south, the Cascade Mountains on the west, and the 120th meridian on the east. The name of this county was changed in 1865 to Yakima. *Bancroft's Hand-Book*, 1864; *New Tacoma N. P. Coast*, Dec. 15, 1880, 16; *Wash. Ter. Stat.*, 1862–3; *Local Laws*, 4–5.

part of the territory from Yakima to Boisé River, and from the 44th to the 49th parallel. The city of Lewiston was incorporated, having become, in the eyes of its founders,[61] a commercial mart of greater promise than others, for the reason that it was at the terminus of river navigation, and centrally located with regard to the whole Snake River country. It had already, like older cities, large mercantile establishments, hotels, mills, gambling-houses, churches, a newspaper, the *Golden Age*, issued first on the 2d of August by A. S. Gould,[62] and a line of four-horse coaches to Walla Walla and Wallula, while along the line of the road farms were being rapidly improved.

In short, eastern Washington had outgrown the Puget Sound region, and was demanding a separate government. Committees were appointed in every mining district to procure signers to a petition asking the legislature to memorialize congress on the subject. But the legislature refused to agree to such a memorial. A bill was introduced, and passed in the council, to submit for ratification by the people the constitution of the state of Idaho, intended to effect the desired organization, which was defeated by the lower house substituting "state of Washington."[63] But congress, to which the petitioners appealed directly, regarded the matter more favorably for the mining interest, passing an act, approved March 3, 1863, organizing the territory of Idaho out of all that portion of Washington lying east of Oregon and the 117th meridian of west longitude.

[61] The land was still owned by the Nez Percés. Jagger & Co., Trevitt & Co., and Yates & Lane were the owners of all the wooden buildings. *Or. Statesman*, May 12, 1862. Its first mayor after incorporation was A. M. Kelly; recorder, R. H. Johns; councilmen, Hill Beachy, D. M. Lessey, F. H. Simmons, William Kaughman, and James McNeil; marshal. Schwatka. As early as Feb. 1862 its citizens had adopted rules for town government, and made provisions for preëmpting lands and holding town lots. The first councilmen elected under these rules were Joseph Herring, Robert Dyson, and James Bowers. Dyson acted as president of the board and justice of the peace. *Portland Oregonian*, Feb. 20, 1862.

[62] Gould came from Cal. to Portland, and was employed on the *Portland Times* until he went to Lewiston with a press of his own. He was afterward in Utah, and died in S. F. about 1879.

[63] *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1862–3, 157, 164.

Although the loss of a large extent of rich mining territory was regarded with disapproval by the remainder of the population, the benefit to the whole of the more rapid development of all the resources of the country was cause for congratulation, both then and later, the mines having given an impetus to the growth of the territory that agriculture alone could not have done in a long period of time. The area left comprised 71,300 square miles, with a population in 1863 of 12,519, which, although small, was nearly double that of 1860.

Owing to delays, I am compelled to make room for one of the pioneers of Wash. on this page.

Charles Biles was born in Warren co., Tenn., in Aug. 1809, and reared on a farm in N. C., removing when 19 years old to Christian co., Ky. In 1832 he married, and in 1835 removed to Ill., soon returning to Hopkins co., Ky, where he resided until 1853, when he emigrated to W. T. in company with his brother James, their families, and C. B. Baker, Elijah Baker, and William Downing, and their families, being a part of the first direct immigration to the territory, via the wagon road through the Nachess pass. Mr Biles settled upon Grand Mound Prairie in Thurston co., farming, and sometimes preaching as a minister of the Cumberland presbyterian church. He died Feb. 26, 1869, leaving two sons (one having died after emigrating) and two daughters, namely, David F., Charles N., Mrs M. Z. Goodell, and Mrs I. B. Ward.

David F. Biles was born in Ky in 1833, coming with his parents to W. T. In 1854 he took a claim in Thurston co., and in 1855 became a deputy U. S. surveyor, but the Indian war coming on interrupted work, and he took to soldiering in defence of the settlements, resuming his surveying when peace was restored. From 1858 to 1862 he resided in Cosmopolis, Chehalis co., but then removed to a homestead claim near Elma, on the line of the Satsop railroad to Gray Harbor, where he owns 400 acres of land. He served many years as county surveyor, and some time as school superintendent. He married in 1854 Miss Mary J. Hill, who was a member of the immigration of 1853, and had 5 sons and 1 daughter.

Charles N. Biles, born in 1844 in Ky, was educated in Portland, Or. In 1870 he settled in Montesano, Chehalis co., and engaged in surveying, and was county auditor and treasurer several terms. He married Miss E. J. Medcalf.

Another Chehalis co. pioneer is I. L. Scammon, who was born in Me in 1822, came to Cal. in 1849–50, making the voyage on the 63-ton schooner *Little Traveller*. In the autumn of 1850 he took passage for the Columbia river, which was passed by mistake, the vessel making Shoalwater bay. Making his way overland to the Columbia, he went to Salem, Or., and to the southern mines, but returning to W. T. took a donation claim on the Chehalis river, where the old town of Montesano, now known as Wynoochee, grew up about him. He married Miss Lorinda Hopkins in 1844, who rejoined him in W. T. in 1859. The first sermon preached in the region of Montesano was delivered by Rev. J. W. Goodell at Scammon's house, and the second school in the county was on his place, in 1859. The children of this pioneer are, Harriet, married Edward Campbell; George, m. Clara Nye; Cornelia Jane, who died; Eva, who m. I. R. Edwards; Edith, who m. P. B. Briscoe; Ella, who m. Charles H. Finmet, county surveyor; Norman, who accidentally shot himself when about 17 years of age.

CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERNMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

1863–1886.

EFFECT OF TERRITORIAL DIVISION—ELECTION OF DELEGATE—NEGRO SUFFRAGE—PARTY POLITICS—THE LEGISLATURE—PEACE AND PROGRESS—STEAMBOATING—NAVIGATION COMPANIES—CLEARING RIVERS—PUBLIC BUILDINGS—INSANE ASYLUM AND PENITENTIARY—LEGISLATIVE DIVORCES—GOVERNMENT RESERVATIONS—JUDICIAL AFFAIRS—ANOTHER DELEGATE—GOVERNOR FLANDERS—GOVERNOR SALOMON—GOVERNOR FERRY—GOVERNOR NEWELL—ERA OF RAILWAYS—MORE ELECTIONS—POLITICAL PLATFORMS—CONVENTION—WOMAN'S RIGHTS—LEGISLATURE.

WITH the setting-off of the territory of Idaho from that of Washington came the close of a long period of exciting events, and the beginning of a reign of peace and constant, gradual growth. Some slight temporary inconvenience was occasioned by the amputation from the body politic of several counties between two sessions of the legislature, when no provision could be made for the reapportionment of representatives, the legislature of 1863–4 consisting of but seven councilmen and twenty-four assemblymen.[1]

George E. Cole, democrat, was elected delegate to congress in 1863.[2]

[1] Organization was delayed from Dec. 7th to 22d by the balloting for president of council, O. B. McFadden being at length chosen, and for chief clerk, L. D. Durgin. *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 3, 1864. Clanrick Crosby was elected speaker by the house, and J. L. McDonald clerk. *Wash. Scraps*, 149. At the session of 1864–5, Frank Clark was president of the council, and James Tilton chief clerk, while F. P. Dugan was chosen clerk.

[2] Cole was postmaster at Corvallis in 1858. He had been member of the Oregon legislature in 1851–3, but falling out with his party, removed east of the mountains in 1861, and engaged in trade and steamboating, residing at Walla Walla. *Deady's Scrap-Book*, 41. In 1862 he was in the storage and commission business at Lewiston; but in the following year returned to Walla

He received some votes of union men, although repudiated by the republican party as a peace democrat in war times, or of that class of politicians known as copperheads, who were amiably willing to condone rebellion, but without the nerve openly to oppose the government. However this may have been, Cole was subsequently appointed governor of Washington by a republican administration, and again postmaster of Portland under President Grant.

At the election for delegate in 1865 A. A. Denny of Seattle, republican, was elected by a large majority over James Tilton, who, like Cole, was charged with entertaining sentiments inimical to the course of the government in suppressing secession.[3]

There was in Washington a party strongly opposed to the reconstruction acts of congress, which favored the readmission of representatives to congress from the ten excluded states, and demanded for the territory a vote in congress, and the exclusive right to define the elective franchise, or in other words, to exclude negroes from the polls. Among this class were to be found many of Tilton's supporters.

Denny's successor as delegate was Alvan Flanders, of Wallula, an active business man, who left the democratic party before the date of the civil war.[4] Flanders was opposed by Frank Clark of Steilacoom, his

Walla, and ran against L. J. S. Turney and Joseph Raynor. Cole received 1,572 votes, Raynor 1,387, Turney 98. *Wash. Scraps*, 66. Raynor was a methodist preacher, who was stationed at Oregon City two years before. *Walla Walla Statesman*, June 20, 1863. Cole was appointed governor in 1866. His wife was a Miss Cardwell of Corvallis.

[3] Garfielde and Evans labored for the election of Denny, who had been a member of the legislature from 1854 to 1861, and register of the land-office at Olympia subsequently until elected delegate. Denny was later member of a banking firm at Seattle. McFadden, A. J. Lawrence, and J. H. Lassater canvassed the territory for Tilton. *Wash. Scraps*, 156–8; *S. F. Alta*, May 2, 1867.

[4] Flanders came to S. F. in 1851, and was zealously interested with Baker in forming the first republican club of that city. In 1858, in connection with C. A. Washburn, he started the *S. F. Daily Times*, a republican paper. He also represented S. F. in the Cal. legislature, being reëlected once or more. He was appointed by President Lincoln to a position in the mint, and afterward to the land-office of the Humboldt district. In March 1863 he removed to Washington and entered into business with Felton of Wallula. *Oregonian*, in *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, April 27, 1867.

majority over Clark[5] being 153 out of 5,000 votes, so close was the contest.[6]

The last two elections had been carried by undoubted republicans, and a republican executive and secretary had administered affairs for four years, when President Johnson saw fit to remove Pickering, and furnish the late delegate Cole with a commission as governor, dated November 21, 1866, as the *Oregonian* declared, with "partisan motives." The senate, however, declined to confirm the commission, and Cole, who had qualified and entered upon the duties of his office without waiting to hear from the senate, was compelled to abdicate at the end of two months, and after several nominations by the president,[7] Marshall F. Moore was confirmed as governor, and E. L. Smith as secretary of the territory. Smith arrived on the 27th of June, and assumed the duties of acting governor until the advent of Moore,[8] late in the summer.

[5] Frank Clark was born Feb. 10, 1834, at Binghampton, N. Y., and studied law at Lowell, Massachusetts. He came to Washington in 1852, settling in Steilacoom, where he resided until about 1875, when he removed to New Tacoma, where he was a successful lawyer. When Clark first came to Puget Sound he took work in a saw-mill, but having an aptitude for politics, was chosen to the legislature, after which he rose in public life to a candidacy for the delegateship. He died suddenly of paralysis Jan. 8, 1883, while en route to Lewis county to attend court. Clark was twice married, first to a daughter of R. Downey of the early immigration, and second to L. Schofield of Vancouver. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Jan. 12, 1883; *New Tacoma Ledger*, Jan. 12, 1883.

[6] *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, June 27 and July 6, 1867. In the union territorial convention, held April 16th at Vancouver, 16 votes being necessary to a choice, Holmes, Wyche, Garfielde, Abernethy, and Flanders first received scattering votes; afterward Blinn and Denny were named. In the democratic convention, Clark, Lancaster, Dugan, Langford, Lawrence, McFadden, and Vansyckle appeared as candidates, their platform being the same as in 1865, with the addition of disapproving the exemption of U. S. bonds from taxation. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, May 4, 1867.

[7] *Wash. Jour. House*, 1866–7, 139.

[8] Marshall F. Moore was born at Binghamton, N. Y., Feb. 12, 1829. He graduated at Yale college, studied law, and began practice in New Orleans, where he remained five years, removing at the end of that time to Sioux City, Iowa, where he was elected prosecuting attorney, and subsequently judge of the court of common pleas. He again changed his residence to Ohio, where he married the daughter of P. Van Trump of Lancaster. He served through the civil war, under McClellan in Va, and in the department of the Cumberland, participating in the battles of Rich Mountain, Shiloh, Chickamauga, and most of the battles of Sherman's Georgia campaign. He was promoted to the rank of brevet brigadier-general for gallantry at the battle of Jonesboro'. While leading a brigade at the battle of Missionary Ridge he received severe wounds, from which he was unconscious for five days. His health was much

Moore made a good impression upon the legislature, which, by the way, was the first elected and held under an amendment of the organic law allowing biennial instead of annual sessions. The amendment was made in consequence of a memorial to congress in 1864–5, setting forth that no necessity existed for annual sessions, and that the per diem was inadequate to the expense.[9]

The legislature of 1865–6 in another memorial requested that the people of the territory might be permitted to elect their own governor, judges, and other officers. The Oregonians assigned as reasons for a similar request that the federal judges did not remain in the country, and asserted that they had men among themselves competent to be made judges. The Washingtonians, with more tact, refrained from referring to this thought in their minds, but simply complained of absenteeism and its evils.

The answer to their first memorial was the amendment spoken of above, which enacted that after the session of 1866–7 the legislature should meet but once in two years, that members of the council should be chosen for four years and assemblymen for two years, and that they should receive six dollars a day instead of three as formerly, with the same mileage as before; the first election for members of the biennial legislature to take place in 1867. The chief clerk was allowed six dollars a day, and all the other officers elected by the legislature five dollars, including an additional enrolling clerk.[10]

With reference to the petition to be permitted to elect the territorial officers, congress sought to cure the evil complained of by enacting that no officer ap-

shattered by these injuries, but he was promoted to the rank of brevet major-general, March 13, 1865. His next appointment was to the executive chair of a north-west territory. *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, March 3, 1870; *Port Townsend Messenger*, March 4, 1870. E. L. Smith was from Galesburg, Ill.

[9] *Wash. Stat.*, 1864–5, 155–6, 10; *Id.*, 1865–6, 219–20.

[10] On the organization of the legislature at its first biennial session, C. M. Bradshaw was chosen president of the council, and Richard Lane chief clerk. Later on in the session H. G. Struve was made president, and Elwood Evans enrolling clerk. *Wash. Jour. House*, 1867, 207.

pointed should be allowed compensation out of the public funds before he should have entered upon his duties at the proper place, nor should he receive pay for any time he might be absent without authority from the president. In the event of the death or disability of any judge of the federal courts at the time appointed for holding a session, either of the other judges might hold his court. Should the governor die or be otherwise incompetent, the secretary should act in his place, and receive a salary equal to that of governor. These laws put an effectual check upon the practice of governors and judges of spending a large portion of their time journeying to and from Washington city, and of delegates procuring executive appointments in order to receive double mileage.

It is not my intention to go into the particulars of the political contests of this period, when the amendments to the constitution of the United States provoked the same criticism and opposition from the democratic party in Washington that they did elsewhere, and when certain territorial politicians assumed a belligerent air because congress 'interfered' in the concerns of 'our territory.' I have alluded in my *History of Oregon* to the great influx of immigration from the southern and border states, and their effect upon the political and social condition of the Pacific coast, during the period of the civil war in the east and the mining discoveries in the west. It is greatly to the credit of the original pioneer settlers, many of whom were southern born and bred, that notwithstanding the pressure upon society of a large disorganizing element, they maintained the balance of power and performed their duty toward the government.

Moore's administration opened auspiciously, much pains being taken by him to place himself in sympathy with the whole people by studying their interests. It was said that his first message, delivered soon after

his arrival, was a surprise to the legislature, which had not expected so elaborate a document from a new appointee. From it might be gathered a more or less complete statement of the condition of affairs in the territory in 1867.

After a long series of interruptions, it was once more prosperous and progressive, in the enjoyment of health, plenty, and peace, with a rapidly increasing population, as shown by the vote cast at the election in June,[11] which exceeded the vote of the previous year by one thousand. The agricultural, commercial, and mineral resources of the country were being developed, and its exports increasing. During the current year steamboats had been placed on the Chehalis and Cowlitz rivers, opening to commerce settlements hitherto remote.[12]

[11] The annual election was first set for the first Monday in Sept., but in 1855 was changed to the second Monday in July. In 1866 the day of election was changed to the first Monday in June.

[12] The first charter granted to a steamboat company on the Cowlitz River was to Seth Catlin, John R. Jackson, Fred. A. Clarke, Henry N. Peers, George B. Roberts, and their successors, by the legislature of 1854–5. *Wash. Stat.*, 1854, 459. This company failed to make any use of its charter. The legislature of 1858–9 granted to Royal C. Smith and Noyes H. Smith and their associates permission to incorporate the Cowlitz River Steam Navigation Company, for the purpose of improving the bed of the Cowlitz River, and keeping upon it a steamboat or boats suitable for carrying freight and passengers between the two points named, upon condition that a steamer should be put upon the river within six months, and the obstructions removed in nine months, failing to do which they forfeited their charter. But this company also failed to accomplish its object. Upon condition of improving and navigating the river, the legislature of 1862–3 granted to Nathaniel Stone and his associates, under the name of the Monticello and Cowlitz Landing Steamboat Company, the exclusive right to navigate the Cowlitz. This company placed a boat on the river in the spring of 1864, when the Oregon Steam Navigation Company put on an opposition boat. The *Rescue* and *Rainier* were built for this trade. The Monticello company filed a bill against them, and prayed for an injunction. The case was tried before Judge Wyche, who held that the exclusive grant of the legislature was void, because in conflict with the powers of congress to regulate commerce among the several states of the union, and the injunction was denied. *S. F. Bulletin*, June 24, 1864; *Wash. Scraps*, 132–3. The river was found to be navigable for steamers to Cowlitz landing only in the season of high water until the government should have made large appropriations for its improvement, which was never done, and there remained the primitive canoe, or the almost equally primitive 'stage,' to convey passengers from Cowlitz landing to Monticello, whence they were conveyed in small boats across the Columbia to Rainier, where they were picked up by a passing steamboat. But in Sept. 1867 the O. S. N. Co. began to run a boat regularly to Monticello to connect with Hailley's tri-weekly line of stages, which was the improvement to which Gov. Moore alluded in his message. The legislature of 1859–60 passed an act incorporating the Che-

Within the year just ended, Alaska had been added to the United States territory, giving Wash-

halis Steamboat Navigation Company, for the purpose of improving that stream and rendering it navigable from Gray Harbor to Davis' landing, or farther, if practicable, conditioned upon Thomas Wright and his associates having a steamer running on Gray Harbor and Chehalis River within six months after the passage of the act. *Wash. Stat.*, 1859–60, 459–60. The same legislature memorialized congress to grant $15,000 for the improvement of the river, which was not appropriated; but in June 1860 $20,000 was granted to erect a light-house at the entrance to the harbor, and buoy out the channel. The latter service was performed in 1867 by Capt. Bloomfield. The steamer *Enterprise*, which had been running on Fraser River and adjacent waters, was taken to Gray Harbor in the summer of 1859. *S. F. Alta*, July 13, 1859. The legislature of 1861–2 passed an act making the Chehalis navigable from its mouth to Claquato, at the crossing of the territorial road. Again, in Jan. 1866, a company was incorporated, consisting of S. S. Ford, Courtland Ethridge, A. J. Miller, J. Boise, O. B. McFadden, S. S. Ford, Jr, J. Brady, S. Benn, Reuben Redmond, and G. W. Biles, and others resident in the vicinity of the Chehalis, with the 'purpose of manufacturing lumber and flour, developing the resources of the Chehalis Valley, and navigating the waters of Gray Harbor and its tributaries by steam or other vessels,' etc. No requirement as to time was laid upon this company, but in the autumn of 1866 they placed a small steamer, called the *Satsall*, on the river, and in the spring of 1867 the *Carrie Davis*, which made regular trips. In the autumn the Goff brothers of Tumwater put on a stern-wheel boat of light draught, which ascended as far as Claquato. *Olympia Standard*, Jan. 18, 1868. The legislature of 1867–8 memorialized congress to appropriate $10,000 to remove obstructions and improve navigation; and by joint resolution inquired why the light-house had never been erected for which money had been appropriated. The Oregon Steam Navigation Company was first incorporated by the Washington legislature in Dec. 1860, the incorporators being required to register all their steamers and vessels subject to taxation in Clarke county. *Wash. Stat.*, 1860–1, 72; *Hist. Or.*, ii. 480–2, this series. In Jan. 1862 there was incorporated the Columbia Transportation Company of the Territory of Washington, with headquarters at Vancouver, T. H. Smith, A. D. Sanders, Milton Aldrich, E. S. Fowler, Dexter Horton, William W. Miller, Peter J. Moorey, A. S. Abernethy, and Charles C. Phillips as corporators. This organization was formed to run in opposition to the O. S. N. Co. It built several steamboats, and ran on the upper as well as lower Columbia for a season, but finally sold out to the monopoly. Approved at the same time was an act incorporating the Puget Sound and Columbia River Railroad Company, to build and operate a railroad from Steilacoom to Vancouver; the capital stock $15,000,000, which might be increased to $50,000,000; the road to be commenced within three years, and completed within ten. The movers in this enterprise were J. B. Webber, P. Keach, Lafayette Balch, Thomas Chambers, S. McCaw, J. W. Nye, Lewis Lord, Richard Covington, John Aird, Lewis Sohns, George W. Hart, C. Lancaster, T. J. Demarco, George Woods, Enoch S. Fowler, Paul K. Hubbs, H. Z. Wheeler, J. P. Keller, A. A. Denny, H. L. Yesler, Charles Plummer, W. W. Miller, A. J. Chambers, James Biles, H. D. Huntington, Charles Holman, Cyrus Walker, Frank Clark, William W. Morrow. A company was also incorporated in Jan. 1863 for the purpose of clearing the Puyallup River of obstructions and rendering it navigable as far as the mouth of the Stuck, consisting of Cyril Ward, William Billings, A. J. Perkins, Israel Wright, John Carson, John Walker, Isaac Woolery, Abraham Woolery, J. P. Stewart, Miller, R. S. Moore, William M. Kincaid, Jonathan McCarty, L. F. Thompson, Archibald McMillan, Sherman, J. B. Leach, W. H. Whitesell, Aronomous Nix, Isaac Lemmon, Van Ogle, Daniel E. Lane, Edward Lane, William Lane, H. W. Berry, James H. Downey, R. M. Downey, F. C. Seaman, and Willis Boatman. The act required the company to begin

ington a comparatively central position with respect to the Northwest Coast, which could not but be

clearing the river within three months, and each year to clear at least one mile of the channel from all drifts, jams, sunken logs, or other obstructions to the passage of flat-boats or other small craft, and within five years have cleared the whole distance; after which completion of the work, certain rates of toll might be collected. The act was amended at the next session to allow ten years for the completion of the work of clearing the river from obstructions to the mouth of the Stuck. Whatever work was accomplished was rendered valueless by the accumulations of drift. In 1875 McFadden, delegate, secured an appropriation from congress for the survey of the Puyallup River. *Pacific Tribune*, March 26, 1875. The survey was made, and embraced that portion of the river from the mouth to the forks. It was proposed to deepen the channel sufficiently to admit of the passage of boats drawing 2½ feet. In 1864 much interest was shown in the Columbia River pass of the Cascade Mountains, two companies being incorporated to build a railroad at the portage on the Washington side; one by Peter Donahue, William Kohl, and Alexander P. Ankeny, called the Washington Railroad Company, and another by William C. Parsons and Richard Harris, called the Middle Cascade Portage Company, neither of which ever made any use of their franchise. *Wash. Stat.*, 1864–5, 108–20. Subsequent to the close of the Fraser River mining excitement and the opening of the country east of the Cascades, which drew mining travel up the Columbia instead of by Puget Sound, the numerous boats employed in these waters had been withdrawn, and the only craft left were sailing-vessels, a steam revenue-cutter, and the mail passenger-steamer *Eliza Anderson*, running between Olympia, Victoria, and way-ports. I have mentioned in an earlier chapter the *Major Tompkins* as the first mail and passenger steamer employed on Puget Sound, in 1854. She was lost at Victoria harbor after running about one year, and was succeeded by the *Traveller*, Capt. J. G. Parker, which ran from Olympia to Victoria for two years carrying the mail. She was then sold to Horton, who chartered her to the Indian department, which needed a steamer to carry their officers and goods to the various reservations, and was lost, March 1858, at Foulweather Bluff, together with five persons, Thomas Slater, Truman H. Fuller, special Indian agent, John Stevens, George Haywey, and a sailor, name unknown. Fuller was from the state of New York. He came to Puget Sound as purser of the *Major Tompkins*, and after she was lost was engaged by the Indian department. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, March 19, 1858. She was an iron steamer, built at Philadelphia, and brought out around Cape Horn in sections. This was the first steamer that ran upon the Dwamish, White, Snohomish, and Nootsack rivers. She rendered important services carrying men and supplies to forts and camps. In 1855 was incorporated the Puget Sound Navigation Company, consisting of William H. Wallace, William Cock, H. A. Goldsborough, H. L. Yesler, Charles C. Terry, James M. Hunt, and John H. Scranton. Scranton went to S. F. as agent for the company and purchased a tug-boat, the *Champion*, which, however, does not appear to have reached the Sound. He purchased also the passenger steamer *Young America* at Portland; but she was burned at Crescent City while on her way from S. F. to Vancouver with 1,000 troops under Major Prince. Scranton seems to have been unfortunate. He owned the *Major Tompkins*, which was lost this year. In 1856 he purchased the screw-propeller *Constitution*, together with W. E. Moulthrop, which ran from Olympia to Victoria with the mails for about three years before and during the Fraser River times. The *Constitution* was built in New York in 1850 by Ward & Price, who sold her at Panamá in 1851 to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and afterward sold to Scranton. Her engines were taken out in 1860, and she became a lumber carrier about the Sound, though her timbers were still good in 1873. *Portland Herald*, Feb. 13, 1873; *Ebey's Journal*, MS., v. 100, 105, 137. Captains A. B. Gove and James M. Hunt commanded the *Constitution* on the Sound during 1867–9.

beneficial to it, with the stimulation to trade which the change in the nationality of the Russian possessions must bring with it.[13]

In December 1859 the *Eliza Anderson* succeeded the *Constitution* as a mail carrier. She was built on the Columbia by Farman for George and John Wright of Victoria, whose father owned the ill-fated *Brother Jonathan*. The *Anderson* was commanded by D. B. Finch, and ran for about 8 years on the same route. She was laid up in 1880. During a part of this time a small steamer, the *J. B. Libbey*, built at Utsalady, carried the mail from Seattle to Penn Cove, Whidbey Island, and from there through the Swinomish slough to Whatcom, Bellingham Bay. During the busy times of Fraser River mining rush, the *Julia*, from the Columbia River, and the *Wilson G. Hunt*, *Sea Bird*, and *Surprise* from San Francisco, ran on the Sound, returning to other routes on the subsidence of travel and increase of business on the Columbia, and one steam-vessel performed the carrying on the Sound between Olympia and Victoria. *Parker's Puget Sound*, MS., 5–9. At the session of 1865–6 the Puget Sound Steam Navigation Company was reincorporated by W. T. Sayward, Thomas Deane, E. S. Fowler, H. L. Tibbals, O. F. Gerrish, P. M. O'Brien, C. B. Sweeny, W. W. Miller, Isaac Lightner, S. W. Percival, S. D. Howe, G. K. Willard, Sam. Coulter, T. F. McEloy, J. L. McDonald, and their associates, to navigate the waters of Washington, V. I., and B. C. *Wash. Stat.*, 1865–6, 193–4. Nothing was ever done by this company for the benefit of navigation. Boats continued to arrive from S. F. for the business of the Sound for several seasons: the tug-boat *Resolute*, Capt. Cuindon, in 1859, which blew up in 1867; the small side-wheel steamer *Ranger No. 2*, Capt. J. S. Hill; the *Black Diamond* in 1861; the *Cyrus Walker*, a tow-boat, in 1865; the *Josie McNear*, Capt. Crosby, in 1868, which carried the mail for the contractors, Hailley, Crosby, & Windsor. She ran on the Sound for less than a year, when she was traded to the O. S. N. Co. for the *New World*, Capt. Windsor, which had been a Hudson River steamer, but ran away and came to the Pacific coast. Her history was eventful, having carried passengers on the Hudson, Sacramento, and Columbia rivers, and Puget Sound. She proved too large and expensive, and was sold to the Wrights of Victoria. The *Olympia* was the next mail and passenger boat, Capt. Finch. The next contractors were L. M. & E. A. Starr, who ran the steamer *Alida*, Capt. Parker, a good passenger boat, to Victoria, sometimes connecting at Port Townsend with the English steamer *Isabel*. The *Zephyr*, Capt. Thomas Wright, ran at the same time. They subsequently built at S. F. the *North Pacific*, which was brought up to take the *Alida's* place in 1871, and was carrying the mail in 1878. *Parker's Puget Sound*, MS., 8–9. In the mean time small jobbing and freight steamers have multiplied, owned chiefly by individuals, as the *J. B. Libbey*, *Chehalis*, *Goliah*, *Favorite*, *Phantom*, *Politkofsky*, *Ruby*, *Success*, *Cello*, *Mary Woodruff*, *Addie*, and the *A. E. Starr*. In 1876 the Puget Sound Transportation Company was incorporated, and built two boats, the *Messenger*, Capt. J. G. Parker, and the *Daisy*, Capt. C. H. Parker, making a line from Olympia to Mount Vernon on the Skagit River. The company has since bought and sold several other boats. In 1881 a spirited competition was kept up for a season between the boats of the Puget Sound Transportation Company and Starr's line, the *Otter* and *Annie Stewart*. In the autumn of 1881 the O. S. N. Co. purchased Starr's line, and added some of their old boats, the *Welcome*, *Idaho*, and *Emma Hayward*. In the following year another company was formed, called the Washington Steam Navigation Company, whose boats were the *City of Quincy*, *Daisy*, *Washington*, and *Mervin*. J. G. Parker, in *Historical Correspondence*, MS., 1884.

[13] Message of Governor Moore, *Washington Jour. House*, 1867–8, 30–1. The policy of the Alaska Company was not to encourage trade, but rather to oppose it.

A reciprocity treaty had also been negotiated with the Hawaiian Islands, from which it was expected that Washington would obtain sugar at a reduced price, and the Hawaiian kingdom purchase more largely of the territory's lumber and other products.[14]

The inadequacy of the mail service it was suggested should be made the subject of a memorial to congress.[15] The legislature accordingly petitioned for a mail route by sea from San Francisco to Olympia, instead of by land from the Columbia; for steamship service between Olympia and Sitka; for a weekly mail to Astoria by the way of the Chehalis, Gray Harbor, Shoalwater and Baker bays; and for improvements in other routes, and for increased compensation in certain cases, which have since been granted. The necessity of codifying the laws was urged, and of appointing commissioners for that purpose without delay. An act was accordingly passed authorizing the governor to appoint "three discreet persons" as code commissioners, to revise, digest, and codify the statute laws of the territory. The three persons chosen were J. H. Lassater, Elwood Evans, and B. F. Dennison,[16] who made their report to the legislature of 1869, which met in October, in accordance with an act passed in January 1868 changing the time of holding the sessions of the legislative assembly.

Another subject of executive advice was the proper care of the insane, at the time provided for by contract with the lowest bidder. No territorial asylum was provided where their condition could be ameliorated until 1871, when an asylum at Steilacoom was prepared for their reception.[17]

[14] No such benefits resulted as were anticipated by Gov. Moore; the effect of reciprocity with inferior nations being to assist them at the expense of the other side.

[15] The government discriminated unjustly, by paying a subsidy of $6,000 in coin for carrying the mail from Victoria to Fort Pickett on San Juan Island, and $10,000 in depreciated currency for carrying it from Victoria to Olympia and back, once a week. The tri-weekly mail from Portland to Olympia was detained at the latter place from two to four days.

[16] *Olympia Standard*, Oct. 9, 1870; *Wash. Stat.*, 1867–8, 64.

[17] The legislative assembly of 1861–2 authorized the gov. and auditor to

For several sessions previous to 1862 the legislature had granted divorces indiscriminately.[18] When Governor Pickering came to observe this, he made a serious appeal to the legislature to cease dissolving the marriage bond and leave this matter to the courts, where the impediments were few enough, but where, at least, some examination would be made into the merits of the applicant's case. Notwithstanding, sixteen unions were dissolved by the legislatures of 1862–3, and at the following session Pickering again called attention to the practice, which was not there-

contract for the care of the insane, the contract being let to the St John lunatic asylum at Vancouver, in charge of the Sisters of Charity. A fund was set aside out of the general fund of the territory to pay for their keeping, and they were kindly cared for. A memorial was forwarded to congress, asking that an appropriation might be made to erect a building somewhere on the Sound which should serve both for a marine hospital, which was needed, and an asylum for the insane. But congress had not responded, when the legislature of 1866–7 passed an act again authorizing the governor and auditor to make contracts for the care of the insane, the contractors giving bonds for the proper performance of their duties, and the law requiring them to report annually to the governor. A board of inspectors was appointed to visit the asylum quarterly, and to audit the accounts submitted by the institution. The patients were removed from St John's, Vancouver, to a private asylum in charge of James Huntington and son, located in the Cowlitz valley opposite Monticello, where the accommodations were inadequate, and where by the unusual flood of Dec. 1867 the improvements were swept away. It was in reference to these facts that Gov. Moore called for a radical change in the system adopted, and advised the purchase of a farm and the erection of an asylum which would meet the requirements of those suffering from mental diseases, who, with intelligent treatment, might be restored to society. At the session of 1867–8, however, nothing was done except to petition congress for a grant of land, the proceeds of which should be expended in providing a fund for the erection of a suitable building and the support of the insane. But at the following term an act was passed authorizing the purchase of the government buildings at Fort Steilacoom, should they be offered for sale, and appointing the governor and auditor commissioners to secure the property. The purchase of the abandoned military quarters was effected in Jan. 1870, by James Scott, territorial secretary, and other commissioners appointed by the legislature, Delegate Flanders having in the mean time proposed to congress to donate them to the territory. *H. Ex. Doc.*, 202, 42d cong. 2d sess.; *Id. Doc.*, 175; *Cong. Globe*, 1868–9, 554; *Olympia Transcript*, Feb. 27, 1869. The price paid for the buildings was $850. In March 1873, soon after the settlement of the Puget Sound Company's claims, congress did donate the military reservation for asylum grounds, giving Washington one of the most beautiful sites on the Sound for the use of the insane. The patients were removed in Aug. 1871. The number of patients in 1870 was 23. In 1877 it was 67. There were 25 acres of ground in cultivation, and 300 fruit-trees set out. *Tacoma Herald*, April 14, 1877. The disbursements for the insane in 1879 were $52,325. *Olympia Standard*, Oct. 10, 1879.

[18] In 1860–1 there were granted 17 divorces, in 1861–2 13, and in 1862–3 16. There seems to have been some connection between the gold-mining excitement and the desire for freedom.

after renewed; but an act was passed in January 1866 declaring marriage to be a civil contract, and doubtless intended to prevent legislative divorces, as civil contracts could only be annulled by the courts.[19]

Nevertheless, a bill was passed in January 1868 dissolving a marriage, which on presentation to Governor Moore was returned without approval, and the legislature declined to pass it over the veto, by a vote in the house of three to twenty-four. Subsequent efforts to revive the practice failed. This tendency to dissolve marriage ties was the more remarkable when it is remembered that the male population greatly exceeded the female, many men having taken wives from among the Indian women.[20] A. S. Mercer of Seattle in 1865 made a movement to establish a social equilibrium, by importing a ship-load of unmarried women from the Atlantic states, widows and orphans of soldiers, but the influence of a single adventure of this kind was hardly perceptible.

Among the public institutions of which the territory had long had need was a penitentiary, the only prison in use for felons being the county jail of Pierce county, from which escapes were of frequent occurrence. In January 1867 congress set aside for the purpose of erecting a suitable prison the net proceeds of the internal revenue of the territory from the 30th of June, 1865, to the same date of 1868, provided the amount should not exceed twenty thousand dollars. The legislature appointed a committee to wait upon the collector to ascertain the amount due the territory,[21] which fell far beneath the appropriation, the

[19] *Wash. Stat.*, 1865–6, 80–85; *Wash. Jour. House*, 1867–8, 400.

[20] Morse, in his *Wash. Ter.*, MS., xv. 34–5, speaks of this condition of society in the Haro archipelago more particularly. Orcas Island was settled chiefly by returned Fraser River miners, who nearly all took Indian wives. As late as 1879 there were but 13 white women on that island. On Lopez Island the first white woman settled in 1869, Mrs J. L. Davis. There were more purely white families on Lopez than Orcas; San Juan had later a more nearly equal division of the sexes than the smaller islands of the group, but miscegenation prevailed to a considerable extent in all the northern settlements. See also *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Sept. 30, 1865.

[21] Philip D. Moore was collector of internal revenue in 1867. He was succeeded by Edward Giddings, who was born in Niagara county, New York, in

grant of $20,000 being doubled before the penitentiary buildings proper were begun.[22]

No event could better illustrate the change which ten years had made in the condition of Washington than the abandonment in the spring of 1868 of Fort Steilacoom. So far as the natives of the Puget Sound region were concerned, their millenium had come, their eternity begun, and they would learn war no more. Contentedly they digged their little farms on the reservations, hired themselves out as farm-hands, fished, raced horses, held *pot-laches*,[23] gathered berries for sale, or spent their trifling earnings in whiskey, which caused many, both men and women, to adorn, in the picturesque enjoyment of dolce far niente, the curb-stones and door-steps of the various towns in the vicinity of their reserves, day after day. Whiskey, as applied to the noble savage, is a wonderful civilizer. A few years of it reduces him to a subjection more complete than arms, and accomplishes in him a humility which religion never can achieve. Some things some men will do for Christ, for country, for wife and children: there is nothing an Indian will not do for whiskey.

May 1822. He served several years in the office of the state controller at Albany, under Silas Wright and Millard Fillmore, coming to the Pacific coast in 1849. He returned in 1850, married, and brought out his wife, residing in California 3 years, when he removed to Puget Sound, having his home at Olympia. He was chief clerk in the surveyor-general's office from 1862 to 1865, and afterward deputy surveyor until appointed assessor of internal revenue. He was succeeded in that office by J. R. Hayden, but in 1875 displaced Hayden as collector of internal revenue, which position he held at the time of his death in 1876. *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, Feb. 26, 1875; *Olympia Standard*, April 29, 1876.

[22] The legislature of 1869 appointed John McReavy, Fred. A. Clarke, and L. F. Thompson commissioners to select a site for a penitentiary, 'at or near Steilacoom.' The land selected was donated by John Swan and Jay Emmons Smith, a free gift to the territory of twenty-seven acres on the south-east shore of McNeil Island, about five miles by water from Steilacoom. Its situation was all that could be desired, being healthful and beautiful. The secretary of the interior, however, who had the matter in hand, would take no steps toward building until the land was deeded to the United States, and money enough placed in his hands by appropriation to complete some portion of the work. Finding that $20,000 would be insufficient, he directed a suspension of the work until congress should move in the matter, which it would only do by being memorialized by the legislature and importuned by its delegate. The further appropriation was not made until 1873.

[23] A *pot-lach* was a ceremonious feast held on certain occasions, when presents were given.

But it was not altogether, nor in the first place, the allurement of strong drink which reduced the red men to submission. Troops on one hand, and government agents with presents on the other, had accomplished the reduction; and now in 1868 there was no longer any use for the troops, and the occupation of the Indian agent would last but a few years longer. In the interim, teachers and preachers contended with the other civilizer, rum, to the salvation of some and the utter reprobation of others. In the haste and exigency of the times, and dreading an Indian war, numerous small reservations had been left here and there about the Sound, which in these ten years had come to lie at the doors of the principal towns, the temptations of which few Indians could resist. It would have been better to have banished them to the sea-coast, as in Oregon, and kept up a military guard to hold them there, than that they should mix with the foremost civilization of the day.[24]

[24] In 1868 the war department ordered to be sold the government buildings at Gray Harbor and Fort Chehalis, erected in the autumn of 1859, when the Chehalis tribe threatened the new settlements at the mouth of the river of that name. These posts were abandoned at the breaking-out of the war of the rebellion. *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1860, 187; *Olympia Transcript*, Feb. 22 and Dec. 26, 1868. The only military stations left in Washington in 1868 were Vancouver, T. L. Elliott in command; Colville, W. C. M. Manning in command; Camp Steele (formerly Pickett, but changed on account of Pickett's secession), Thomas Grey in command; and Cape Disappointment, R. G. Howell in command. *Rept of Sec. War*, 1868, 40th cong. 3d sess., 742. In 1866 the headquarters of the department of the Columbia was removed to Portland, followed soon after by the whole staff and the commissary stores. The legislature of Washington remonstrated, but headquarters remained at Portland until June 1878, when the war department ordered a return to Vancouver. The territorial legislature had very frequently to remind the general government of the defenceless condition of its sea-coast, as well as of danger from Indian tribes in its midst. From 1854 to 1858 congress was annually petitioned to place a man-of-war on the Northwest Coast. During the Indian wars the *Decatur*, *Hancock*, and *Massachusetts* did good service, and the latter was left on the Sound to watch the Indians. But she was too large and slow for that service. In 1859–60 the legislature petitioned to have the *Shubrick*, which first visited the Sound in July 1858, put in place of the *Massachusetts*, which was not granted until Victor Smith became collector in 1861, when he secured her services as revenue-cutter, in place of the *Jefferson Davis*, Capt. W. C. Pease, a sailing vessel which had answered that purpose from 1854 to 1861. In Dec. 1866, all war vessels having been withdrawn from the Sound, while there was a British naval station at Esquimault harbor, V. I., the pride if not the fears of the representatives of the people became alarmed, and congress was memorialized to 'station such a number of vessels of war upon the waters of Puget Sound as are essential to our security, as well as to convince foreign powers

The political quarrels of 1867 culminated in an act of the legislature, passed in January 1868, redistricting the territory, and assigning the federal judges in such a manner that Hewitt was given the county of Stevens for his district, and required to reside there; while Wyche was given Walla Walla, Yakima, Klikitat, Skamania, Clarke, Cowlitz, Pacific, Wahkiakum, Lewis, Mason, Thurston, and Chehalis; and the latest appointee, C. B. Darwin, was assigned to the counties of Pierce, King, Kitsap, Clallam, Whatcom, Island, and Jefferson,[25] but in order to relieve Wyche, was required to hold court at Olympia for the counties of Thurston, Lewis, Chehalis, and Mason. The old war was renewed against republican measures, which had only been suppressed while the integrity of the union was in danger. Whatever the ability or want of ability of Hewitt, who had held the judgeship for eight years, it was not that question that assigned him to

that the general government has the interest and honor of her most remote settlements at heart.' *Wash. Stat.*, 1866–7, 260. At the following session congress was memorialized to erect fortifications at such points on the Sound as the war department might deem expedient.

In 1871 the following reservations were made by the government for the erection of fortifications in the future: at New Dungeness; at entrance to Squim Bay, Protection Island; on each side of the entrance to Port Discovery; at Point Wilson, including Point Hudson and Point Marrowstone at the entrance to Port Townsend Bay; at both sides of the entrance of Deception Pass; at Admiralty Head, opposite Point Wilson; at Volcano Point, or Double Bluff, Whidbey Island; at Port Ludlow Bluff, Foulweather Bluff, and Whiskey Pit, at the entrance to Hood's canal; at Point Defiance and Point Evans, at the Narrows. All these reservations were large enough for extensive works. Reservations were also made at Neah Bay, which was in contemplation for a port of refuge. Gov. mess., in *Olympia Transcript*, March 11, 1871. With half these fortifications the whole of Washington would be safe from invasion except through the gulf of Georgia and B. C. The above points were selected by generals Halleck and Steele in 1866. *Portland Oregonian*, July 25, 1866. The matter had been under consideration a longer time. *H. Ex. Doc.*, 65, vii., 35th cong. 2d sess. The legislature continued to petition for these fortifications, but up to 1884 none have been erected or even begun.

In 1884 the arsenal at Vancouver was closed, and the territorial arms, 478 Springfield rifles, turned over to Gov. Newell, with the ammunition.

[25] The county of Quillehuyte was organized at the session of 1867–8, comprising the territory on the coast from the mouth of the Wyatch River southeast along the Olympia range to where the 124th meridian crosses the 48th parallel, thence south along the meridian to the north boundary of Chehalis county, and from there west to the ocean. *Wash. Stat.*, 1867–8, 80–1. It was later included in Clallam, Jefferson, and Mason; Gideon Brownfield, John C. Brown, Aurelius Colby, John Weir, and Smith Troy were appointed county officers, showing that the coast country was becoming settled.

Stevens county to hold court and reside at Fort Colville. The same persons who made war upon Hewitt openly declared that Darwin should be removed, as well as some other officials.[26]

Congress did not look with favoring eyes upon the act of the legislature heaping contumely upon the appointments of the president and senate, refusing to confirm it.[27] But when Grant came to the presidency a sweeping change was made, which saved the malecontents the trouble of scheming against the old bench of judges, by the appointment of B. F. Dennison chief justice, and Orange Jacobs and James K. Kennedy associates,[28] with A. W. Moore chief clerk, and Philip Ritz marshal.[29] In 1871 Jacobs was appointed chief justice, with Rodger S. Greene and James K. Kennedy associate justices, and E. S. Kearney marshal. In 1872 J. R. Lewis succeeded Kennedy.[30]

The presidential appointments of 1869 included a new governor, Flanders, who, it was said, had intended to return and run again for delegate, but was prevented by the commission of executive. James Scott was appointed secretary, Colonel Samuel Ross, late commander of Fort Steilacoom, Indian superintendent,[31] Elisha P. Ferry surveyor-general,

[26] Although this was a political quarrel, there was another good reason for the removal of Darwin—the seduction of the wife of another official. Darwin was a scholarly judge, which Hewitt was not; but Hewitt was honest, which Darwin was not.

[27] *Cong. Globe*, 1867–8, 3709.

[28] Kennedy had been prosecuting attorney of the 3d judicial district. *Olympia Pacific Tribune*, March 12, 1869.

[29] Ritz was an early settler of the Walla Walla Valley, where he introduced fruit culture, writing many pamphlets upon the resources of the country, and advocating the speedy construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad. He made a very valuable contribution to my Library in the form of a manuscript monograph upon the Walla Walla Valley. A town in the Spokane country is named after him.

[30] Lewis had been a judge in Idaho. 'He is reputed,' says the *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, May 14, 1872, 'to have been one of the ablest, most honorable, and incorruptible judges that have ever occupied the bench of Idaho.'

[31] Samuel Ross was a native of N. Y.; enlisted as a drummer-boy in the 8th inf. at 16 years of age (1837), and was brevetted a 2d lieut in 1848. Resigning, he studied law in Ohio, and was practising in Iowa when Sumter fell. He then joined the army, was severely wounded at Chancellorsville, and was subsequently brevetted col in the regular and brig.-gen. in the volunteer service. Finally he was sent to Washington, and after his last appointment

Edward Giddings[32] assessor of internal revenue, Hazard Stevens collector, and United States district attorney Leander Holmes.

Salucius Garfielde and Marshall F. Moore then became candidates for the delegateship, the former as the choice of the republicans, the latter of the democratic party. Garfielde, was elected, and secured some of the ends for which he was nominated.[33] Moore died in February of the following year, from the effects of old wounds received in the civil war, sincerely regretted by the people of the territory.[34]

The republican party, which had been in the ascendancy for several years, elected a republican majority to the legislature in 1869,[35] but it was losing power

as Indian agent, was placed on the retired list as a brig.-gen. in 1871 by the solicitation of Delegate Garfielde. *Olympia Courier*, June 15, 1872; Seattle despatch, in *Pac. Tribune*, May 17, 1872; *Seattle Intelligencer*, July 31, 1880. In 1875 congress reduced his rank to a colonelcy. He was accidentally drowned while bathing in Osceola Lake, near Peekskill, N. Y., July 10, 1880. *New Haven Palladium*, July 13, 1880.

[32] Edward Giddings was born in Niagara co., N. Y., May 20, 1822. His boyhood was spent at home, and a portion of his youth in the office of the comptroller at Albany. He came to Cal. in 1849, and to Puget Sound in 1852, residing at Olympia, where he erected the first wharf for the discharge of sea-going vessels. He was collector of internal revenue for the district of Olympia at the time of his death in April 1876. *Olympia Trans.*, April 29, 1876.

[33] Garfielde, if the testimony of both parties can be credited amid so much detraction of public men, varied his politics according to the winds of fortune; *Olympia Standard*, May 8, 1869; *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, April 24, 1869. George B. Roberts, in his *Recollections*, MS., 91, says that the settlers on the lands of Puget Sound Ag. Co. elected Garfielde that he might secure them the patents to the land on which they had squatted. In a memorial to congress, passed Jan. 9, 1867, the legislature had said that at the time of settlement of Washington, American citizens believed that the treaty with Great Britian in 1846 gave the foreign companies only the lands actually enclosed and occupied at that date; and that under this belief they had entered upon, claimed, and improved, according to the donation act, the unoccupied land, unjustly claimed by those companies, and now asked that they should be secured in their homes and property by proper legislation, without being subjected to other or greater expense in obtaining patents than settlers on other parts of the public domain. *Wash. Stat.*, 1866–7, 250–1. This was simply asking that the sovereignty of a portion of the territory still in dispute should be determined, for the welfare of all concerned; and inasmuch as Garfielde contributed to this result, he was of service to the country he represented. Garfielde was appointed collector of customs in 1873.

[34] See eulogy in *Walla Walla Statesman*, April 30, 1870.

[35] The officers of the council were, William McLane president, C. B. Bagley chief-clerk, Edwin Eels enrolling clerk, C. H. Blake assistant clerk, S. W. Beall sergeant-at-arms, Daniel House door-keeper, S. H. Mann chaplain. The house organized with George H. Stewart speaker, Elwood Evans chief clerk, Charles B. Curtiss assistant clerk, Elizabeth Peebles enrolling clerk, I. V. Mossman sergeant-at-arms, Edwin A. Stevens door-keeper. *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1869, 15; *Wash. Standard*, Oct. 9, 1869.

by dissensions and struggles for place within itself, of which the reviving democratic party eagerly took advantage. Garfielde, who held the delegateship nearly three years, on account of a change in the time of elections[36] was not permitted to take his seat until December 1870. He served his term, and was renominated by the republican party in 1872, but was beaten by O. B. McFadden, the democratic candidate,[37] who since the incoming of Lincoln's administration had been living in the retirement of an ordinary law practice, or serving in the legislature. He went to Washington city, but was unfitted for duty by severe illness during a portion of his term, and died the year following his return. McFadden had the faults and the virtues that recommended him to his constituents, a warm heart and ready adaptability to surroundings, which was counted to him sometimes for judicial weakness. He was buried with imposing ceremonies from the house of his son-in-law, Ex-surveyor-general W. W. Miller.[38]

Flanders did not long retain the executive office, being succeeded in April 1870 by Edward S. Salomon of Chicago, a German Jew, lawyer by profession, and a colonel in the 82d Illinois volunteers during the civil war, where he won wounds and honors, after which the quiet and ease of Olympia life must have

[36] In 1869 Senator Williams of Oregon introduced a bill in the senate, which became a law, providing that the elections for delegate to the 42d congress, in Washington, should be held on the first Monday in June 1870, which law left the territory without a representative in congress for the whole year following Flanders' appointment as governor. *Cong. Globe*, 1868–9, 1080. Another bill was introduced and passed in the spring of 1872, changing the time of election to November of that year. *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, May 10, 1872. These changes were said to have been made for party purposes. The *Olympia Wash. Standard*, March 2, 1872, charges the last one to the 'manipulations' of Garfielde, 'who dreads to enter the contest with the existing division in his party.'

[37] The total vote for Garfielde was 3,513; for McFadden 4,274. Although the former received a larger vote than in 1870, the democrats polled a much greater one, showing a striking change either in public sentiment or in the politics of the later accessions to the population, which is more probable.

[38] *Olympia Transcript*, July 3, 1875; *Walla Walla Union*, July 3, 1875; *Vancouver Register*, July 2, 1875.

seemed a summer holiday.[39] James Scott still remained secretary. The officers elected[40] in the territory now began and closed their terms in the year intermediate between the elections for delegate, the congressional and executive terms corresponding, and the legislative appointments coming between.[41]

On the expiration of Salomon's term he was succeeded by Elisha Pyre Ferry, surveyor-general, his appointment making way for a new officer in the land department, which was filled by Lewis P. Beach, a pioneer of 1849.[42] Ferry held the office of governor from April 1872 to April 1880, when William A. Newell was appointed.[43]

Ferry's administration was not eventful in wars[44] or political changes, but covered a period of active

[39] Salomon and his German regiment were much commended by generals Schurz and O. O. Howard. He fought at Gettysburg and Chancellorsville. *Puget Sound Express*, Jan. 14, 1875; *S. F. Alta*, April 25, 1870.

[40] The territorial officers were J. G. Sparks auditor, Hill Harmon treasurer, James Rodgers public printer, and S. H. Mann librarian. *Pacific Dir.*, 1870, 134.

[41] The president of the council in 1871 was H. A. Smith of Snohomish, chief clerk Elwood Evans, assistant clerk James M. Hayes, sergeant-at-arms R. L. Doyle, enrolling clerk Annie F. Tuck, chaplain J. R. Thompson. In the lower branch of the legislature J. J. H. Van Bokkelen was chosen speaker, W. S. Baxter chief clerk, W. Byron Daniels assistant clerk, A. B. Young enrolling clerk, D. P. Wallace sergeant-at-arms, David Helsler door-keeper. *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1871, 4–9.

[42] Beach was from Seneca Falls, N. Y. He came to the Pacific coast in the early days of gold-mining, and to Puget Sound in 1861, where he had followed logging, printing, farming, and surveying at different times, being an industrious and able man. He died on returning from a visit to Washington city in the spring of 1873, of pleuro-pneumonia. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, May 3, 1873.

[43] W. A. Newell was a native of Franklin, Ohio, whose family removed to that state from New Jersey. He returned there and entered Rutger's college, graduating in the class with U. S. Judge Bradley and Senator Frelinghuysen, after which he studied medicine at the university of Pennsylvania, becoming accomplished in surgery. He was elected to congress in 1846, and again in 1848, and was chosen governor of New Jersey in 1856. In 1864 he was again returned to congress. He ran against George B. McClellan in 1877 for governor, but was beaten, and in 1880 President Hayes tendered him the office of governor of Washington, which he accepted. It is said of him that while in congress he originated the life-saving system now in use on the coasts of the U. S., by which many thousands of lives have been saved; and also that he made the first movement to establish an agricultural bureau. He was over 60 years of age when appointed to Washington, but hale and vigorous. *Trenton (N. J.) Gazette*, in *Olympia Wash. Standard*, May 21, 1880; *Puget Sound Mail*, May 29, 1880; *New Tacoma N. P. Coast*, May 15, 1880.

[44] It witnessed one Indian war of brief duration in which Idaho was the sufferer. Of this I shall speak later.

growth. He reëstablished civil government over the Haro archipelago in October 1872, by making it temporarily a part of the county of Whatcom, until reorganized by the legislature,[45] and was a witness of the closing scenes of the Hudson Bay Company's occupation of the territory through the claims of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

It was during Ferry's administration, also, that the Northern Pacific Railway constructed the Puget Sound division from Kalama to New Tacoma, passing Olympia eighteen miles to the east, in resentment for which slight put upon the capital the citizens of Thurston county constructed with their own money and labor, the women of the county assisting,[46] a narrow-gauge railway from Olympia to Tenino, a distance of fifteen miles, which was completed and opened for travel in July 1878.

The territorial secretaries during Ferry's administration were J. C. Clements, 1872 to 1875, Henry G. Struve[47] from 1875 to 1877, and N. H. Owings[48] from 1877 to 1884. Ferry's administration extended over

[45] An 'act to create and organize the county of San Juan' out of the islands forming the Haro archipelago was passed October 31, 1873, the county seat being temporarily located at the 'old landing of the Hudson's Bay Company.' Charles McCoy, Samuel Trueworthy, and Joseph A. Merrill were appointed county commissioners. *Wash. Stat.*, 1873, 461-3.

[46] The building of this railroad was made a labor of love by the volunteer work accorded to it. The governor and territorial officers, and all the most prominent citizens, worked at clearing and grading on regular days, called field-days, when their wives and daughters accompanied them to the place indicated by the superintendent of construction, and carried with them ample stores of provisions, which, being prepared and served by them with much mirth and amiability, converted the day of labor into general holiday.

[47] Struve had been in the regular army as a soldier, having enlisted in the 1st regiment of dragoons in 1854. The *New York Sun* of April 28, 1875, accused him of desertion for having failed to report himself to a provost-marshal within 60 days after the issuance of Lincoln's proclamation of March 11, 1865 —which failure, according to law, made him forever incapable of holding office. But this stigma was explained away subsequently, the president having, owing to some peculiar circumstances, cancelled his enlistment and ordered his discharge. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Oct. 3, 1875. Struve married a daughter of H. M. Knighton, mentioned in my *History of Oregon*. He was prosecuting attorney of the 2d jud. dist for 1868-9, and for a time was editor of the *Vancouver Register*.

[48] N. H. Owings was born in Indiana. He served in the union army during the rebellion. At its close he was appointed register of the land-office in Colorado, and subsequently held the office of special agent of the postal railway service. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, March 31, 1877.

four biennial sessions of the legislature,[49] during which time the laws were frequently amended and improved, the legislation of Washington being from the first liberal and progressive. The revised statutes of the United States, approved June 1874, made some changes in the mode of filling territorial offices. Justices of the peace and all general officers of militia were required to be elected by the people, in such a manner as the legislature might prescribe; but all other officers not provided for in the revised statutes should be appointed by the governor and confirmed by the council. This new system of appointment removed from the governor the opportunity of exercising any arbitrary power, and affected all territories alike.

The democratic convention of 1874 renominated McFadden, who, being at that time ill in Pennsylvania, telegraphed the withdrawal of his name. B. L. Sharpstein of Walla Walla was then made the nominee of the party for delegate to congress. Sharpstein was a lawyer of good abilities who had represented his county in the territorial council in 1866–7. J. M. Murphy of the Olympia *Standard* was chairman of this convention, which met at Vancouver.

The republican convention, which met at the same place, chose Thomas H. Brents[50] of Walla Walla

[49] The officers of the legislature in 1873 were William McLane president of the council, Beriah Brown chief clerk, J. N. Gale assistant clerk, Levi Shelton sergeant-at-arms, William Fowler door-keeper, C. A. Huntington chaplain. In the lower house N. T. Caton was speaker, Charles W. Frush chief clerk, Jason E. Ebey assistant clerk, W. Gness engrossing clerk, Mary O'Neil enrolling clerk, Jacob Isaac sergeant-at-arms, and Rev. P. E. Hyland chaplain. *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1873, 5–7.

[50] Says W. C. Johnson of Oregon City, in an address before the Oregon Pioneer Association in 1881: 'Brents got his start in the "brush end" of Clackamas county. His father in early days was county commissioner. Young Brents learned something in district school, was for a short time in college at McMinnville, Yamhill county, read law, practised in San Francisco several years, and then settled at Walla Walla, where he acquired a good practice and is highly esteemed. He is exceedingly industrious, bookish in his tastes, and is one of God's noblemen—an honest man.' *Portland Oregonian*, June 21, 1881. Brents was at one time expressman in the upper country, about 1861–2, during the excitement about the Nez Percé and Salmon River mines.

chairman, and nominated Judge Jacobs for delegate. Jacobs immediately resigned the chief justiceship, which was conferred upon Judge Lewis, the vacancy created by his promotion being filled by S. C. Wingard, United States prosecuting attorney, whose place was taken by John B. Allen of Olympia.[51] Jacobs was elected by a large majority, the counties east of the mountains for the first time casting the greater number of votes for a republican nominee[52] for the delegateship, showing that the class of voters which in 1862–4 overflowed from the south-western states upon the Pacific coast was being either eliminated or outnumbered.[53]

The democratic convention of 1876 nominated John Paul Judson, son of John Paul Judson, senior, who settled on Commencement Bay in 1853, where New Tacoma now stands.[54] He was a member of the legal fraternity of the territory, of good talents and unassuming address; but he was unable to carry the territory against Jacobs, who was reëlected by the republican party. At the following congressional election in 1878 Thomas H. Brents was returned by the same party, and served two terms in congress. At his first election he ran against N. T. Caton, democrat, also of Walla Walla, beating him by over thirteen hundred votes out of thirteen thousand.

The platform resolutions adopted by the democrats in 1878 were, 1st, unalterable opposition to the dismemberment of the territory, and approval of state

[51] The position was first offered to R. H. Milroy, late superintendent of Indian affairs for Washington. Allen was spoken of as a 'rising young man.' *Olympia Pacific Tribune*, Feb. 12, 1875.

[52] Id., Nov. 1874. Sharpstein had 3,560; Jacobs 4,934.

[53] The *Olympia Transcript*, May 12, 1877, remarks that 'Andrews, recently appointed clerk of the U. S. court at Seattle, is the first eastern Washington man ever appointed to a federal position on Puget Sound.'

[54] J. P. Judson, Sr, emigrated from Prussia to the U. S. in 1845, and settled in Ill., where he resided until 1853. His son was born in Prussia in 1840. He earned the money in mining on the Fraser River with which he paid for two years' schooling at Vancouver. In 1863 he was territorial librarian, and chief clerk of the house of representatives in 1864, after which he was employed as school-teacher until he finished his law studies in 1867. He was a partner in the law office of Judge McFadden. *Walla Walla Union*, Oct. 7, 1876.

government; 2d, extension of time to the Northern Pacific Railroad; 3d, improvement of the Snake and other rivers by the general government. The 6th resolution declared the Indian-reservation system a failure, and called for the breaking-up of the tribal relation, or the consolidation of reservations into one, which should be under military control. The 5th resolution charged upon the republican party a widespread commercial distress.

The platform of the republicans protested against an irredeemable currency; favored extension of time to the Northern Pacific Railway, provided it should construct twenty-five miles of road annually; approved the restoration to the public domain of the lands of the branch line originally located over the Skagit pass of the Cascades; besought government aid in the construction of the Seattle and Walla Walla railroad;[55] opposed the dismemberment of the territory; urged the passage of an enabling act for state purposes by congress; denounced Chinese immigration and the existing management of the Indians.[56] From these two schedules of party principles and aims the general drift of territorial affairs at this period may be gathered.

Ever since 1867–8 a movement had been on foot to annex to Washington that strip of country forming a handle to Idaho on the north, comprising the counties of Nez Percé, Shoshone, and Idaho.[57] These counties did not all lie in the "long narrow strip" described in a legislative memorial to be only fifty miles wide, but congress was asked to assume that they did. And these veracious memorialists did "further show" that

[55] The Seattle and Walla Walla railroad was built in the same manner as the Olympia and Tenino road, by the exertions of the people of Seattle. The first ground was broken in 1874, when on the 1st of May the citizens, men, women, and children, turned out and graded a mile of road before nightfall. On the 14th they repeated this action and graded another mile. Having made this beginning, the work was carried forward, and 20 miles of road intended to be the Cascade division of the Northern Pacific was completed. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 15, 1883.

[56] *Olympia Transcript*, Oct. 19, 1878; *Olympia Standard*, Sept. 14, 1878.

[57] See petition of Washington legislature, in *Wash. Stat.*, 1867–8, 176–7.

the representatives of the said counties in order to reach Boisé City were compelled to travel through a large portion of Washington and Oregon, a distance of over 500 miles, at a great expense to their territory; to cure which evil, it was claimed that they desired to travel 125 miles farther, at the expense of Washington, to reach Olympia!

There was, indeed, a wish on the part of those inhabitants of Idaho north of the Salmon Range to be reunited to Washington. In 1873 another memorial was passed in the legislature of Washington, setting forth the benefits to be derived to the north of Idaho from annexation,[58] which received as little attention in congress as the former one. Not long after, a scheme was found to be on foot to create a new territory out of eastern Washington and northern Idaho, this being the dismemberment to which both republicans and democrats were opposed in the laying-down of their principles.

Both parties were agreed in disapproving of the reservation system, which had brought on another Indian war, in which that portion of the Nez Percés which acknowledged Joseph as chief had massacred an entire settlement in Idaho and alarmed the whole country.[59] Both parties wished for the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and favored extension of time as a means to that end. Both believed the time had come for a state constitution, being satisfied that as a territory congress would ignore their demands for internal improvements, harbors, and coast defences, with an unjust degree of parsimony on one hand and favoritism on the other.[60]

[58] *Wash. Stat.*, 1873, 608.

[59] See *History of Idaho*, this volume.

[60] From the report of the secretary of war for 1883 it appears that the whole amount expended on river and harbor improvements in the United States between 1789 and 1882 was $105,796,501, the most of it subsequent to 1861. The whole share of the Pacific coast in these appropriations amounts to $2,157,233, of which California has had $1,492,428, Oregon $649,305, Idaho $10,000, and Washington territory $5,000! *S. F. Chronicle*, Jan 25, 1884. Population and apportionment of representatives aside, such parsimony, where a proper degree of expenditure would produce more magnificent results

The legislature of 1867–8 passed an act to submit the question of calling a constitutional convention to the people at the next general election, but the meagre vote polled in 1869 showed them to be indifferent or undecided. The legislature of that year passed another act calling for a vote in 1870, and making it the duty of the next legislature, should there be a majority in favor of a convention, to provide for the holding of it.[61] Again the people were indifferent.

The legislature of 1871 repeated the enactment of 1869, with the addition that the governor should give notice in his proclamation that the legal voters of the territory were required to vote for or against a state convention, but with the same result as before. In 1873 another act was passed of a similar nature, in the hope, by mere iteration, to bring the voters up to the mark of taking an interest in the matter. The whole vote cast "against convention" was less than a fourth of the popular vote for delegate, but enough to defeat the movement.

In its turn, the legislature of 1875 took up the subject, passing another act similar to the last,[62] which called out in 1876 a vote of over 7,000, and a majority for convention of 4,168. Accordingly the succeeding legislature[63] appointed a state constitutional convention to be held at Walla Walla in June 1878, the delegates being elected in April.

than in almost any portion of the union, is a short-sighted policy in the federal government, which every year renders more distasteful to the people on the Pacific coast.

[61] *Seattle Intelligencer*, May 23, 1870.

[62] The president of the council in 1875 was B. F. Shaw, chief clerk A. J. Cain, assistant clerk C. C. Perkins, sergeant-at-arms Charles Stockton, door-keeper Frank Lampson, enrolling clerk Emma Nichols, engrossing clerk Clara Gove. Speaker of the house Elwood Evans, chief clerk R. G. O'Brien, assistant clerk S. L. Crawford, sergeant-at-arms Luke Moore, door-keeper F. M. Jones, enrolling clerk James A. Hughes, engrossing clerk Estella Galliher. *Wash. Jour. House*, 1875, 6–10.

[63] T. M. Reed was chosen president of the council in 1877, and T. B. Murray chief clerk. In the house, R. G. Newland was elected speaker, and R. G. O'Brien chief clerk. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Oct. 6, 1877. Miss C. E. Myers was chosen enrolling clerk, and Miss S. Galliher engrossing clerk, for the house; Fannie Baldwin enrolling, and Anna Knighton engrossing, clerk for the council. *Wash. Jour. House*, 1877, 7–8. In the council were 5 republicans and 4 democrats; in the house 16 republicans and 13 democrats.

Notwithstanding the election of delegates took place as ordered by proclamation of the governor, the newspapers complained of the apathy of the people, accounting for it by saying they feared the movement would fail in congress. But the real reason was, that a majority of the voting class were willing that congress should continue to pay the expenses of the municipal government until the population, then less than 40,000, reached the number of 124,000 required by the general apportionment bill to give them a member of congress. Outside of Washington it was admitted that if any territory might claim exemption from the law it was this one, possessing an immense area and great resources, and lacking only population, which would rapidly be drawn thither when it should become a state, with all the advantages of equality with the other Pacific states.[64] At home the arguments put forward to overcome the apathy of the people at large was the increased value of property likely to result from admission into the union, which would more than offset the expense of state government; the appropriations which would be due, and the position of north Idaho, which was waiting to be joined to Washington, but could not be until the latter should be admitted, with this territory included within its present boundary.[65]

In the mean time the delegate in congress, Jacobs, acting on the result of the election of 1877, introduced, by way of an entering wedge, a bill for the admission of Washington as a state of the union, in December 1877. After it was settled that there was really to be a constitutional convention, the subject of a name for the future state was discussed more than any of the more important issues, a large number of the inhabtants clinging to the name of Columbia, by which it was first presented to congress for territorial organization.[66]

[64] *S. F. Chronicle*, Dec. 28, 1877; *Id.*, April 8, 1878; *S. F. Bulletin*, June 29, 1878.
[65] *Olympia Transcript*, Oct. 24, 1878.
[66] *Olympia Wash. Standard*, April 6, 1868.

The convention met at Walla Walla June 11, 1878, a delegate from northern Idaho being also present, but without a vote. A new boundary was fixed for the eastern portion of the state, including the panhandle of Idaho. In the declaration of rights it was said that "no person on account of sex should be disqualified to enter upon and pursue any lawful business, avocation, or profession,"[67] but all attempts to have stricken out the word 'male' as a qualification for voters failed. The instrument gave the legislature power to amend itself, made the sessions biennial, gave that body authority to adopt the system known as the preferential system in dealing representatives, and limited its sessions to forty days. Special legislation was forbidden; no lotteries could be authorized, or divorces granted. The courts were reorganized; taxes made uniform under general laws; the power to tax corporate property could never be suspended; the public school fund could never be reduced; educational and penal institutions should be provided; the legislature should have power to change the location of the seat of government, which

[67] This declaration of the rights of women was the outcome of several years of effort on the part of the advocates of woman suffrage, the apostle of which was Mrs Abigail Scott Duniway of Oregon, proprietor of the *New Northwest*, a journal devoted to the enfranchisement of women. She began the canvass of Oregon and Washington in 1870, making at first rather awkward attempts at oratory, but rapidly improving, until her speeches on the suffrage question commanded attention everywhere. Mrs Duniway attended the Walla Walla convention as a reporter. An act was passed in 1871 with the evident design of putting an end to Mrs Duniway's seiges of the legislatures. It declared that 'hereafter no female shall have the right of ballot or vote at any poll or election precinct in this territory, until the congress of the United States of America shall, by direct legislation upon the same, declare the same to be the supreme law of the land.' *Wash. Stat.* 1871, 175. However, in 1879 an act was passed entitled 'An act to establish and protect the rights of married women,' as follows: 'Sec. 1. All laws which impose or recognize civil disabilities upon a wife, which are not imposed or recognized as existing as to the husband, are hereby abolished. Sec. 2. Henceforth the rights and responsibilities of the parents, in the absence of misconduct, shall be equal.' The framers of this absurd law did not perceive that they were merely heaping responsibilities upon women without allowing them the means of adequately discharging them. Nor did the Olympia newspaper editor see more clearly when he called this 'the first married woman's emancipation bill on this continent.' The bill, such as it was, passed without a dissenting voice. *Olympia Standard*, Nov. 21 and Dec. 6, 1879.

should be submitted to a vote of the people at the general election next following the adoption of the constitution; the qualifications of voters who were citizens of the United States were a residence of six months in the state, and thirty days in the county, and aliens must have declared their intention of becoming citizens six months before voting. Three articles were left to be voted upon separately, namely, local option, a temperance measure; woman suffrage; and the annexation of the panhandle counties of Idaho.

Such, briefly, was the instrument which occupied the delegates twenty-four days in completing. It was submitted to the people at the November election for delegates, and by them adopted.[68] Congress had passed no enabling act; the convention was purely voluntary, and therefore the constitution ineffectual until ratified.

Delegate Thomas H. Brents, elected in November, offered the state of Washington for adoption into the union immediately on taking his seat in congress, but the candidate for the honors of statehood was not regarded in the national legislature with favor, although a rapid growth had set in with the development brought about by navigation and railroad companies, and the territory was in a solvent financial condition.

The members of the legislature of 1879 were still largely of the pioneer class, about half the members having resided in the territory for twenty-five years. The other half were young men of more recent immigrations,[69] the newer element promising soon to be the

[68] The following is a list of the delegates: W. A. George, Elwood Evans, and S. M. Gilmore were delegates at large; S. M. Wait, B. F. Dennison, and Charles H. Larrabee, from the judicial districts; C. M. Bradshaw, H. B. Emory, D. B. Hannah, Francis Henry, A. S. Abernethy, George H. Stuart, O. P. Lacey, L. B. Andrews, from council districts; and J. V. Odell and Alonzo Leland were delegates from north Idaho. A. S. Abernethy was elected president of the convention, W. Byron Daniels secretary, assisted by William S. Clark, Henry D. Cook, sergeant-at-arms, John Bryant and John W. Norris, messengers. *Id.*, June 22, 1878.

[69] The *New Tacoma Herald*, Oct. 30, 1879, is my authority for the following condensed biographies: President of the counsel, Francis H. Cook, born

founders, and to become themselves builders of empire. In the judiciary there had occurred a change

in Ohio; age 28; came to the territory in 1871; publisher of the *Herald*. Elliot Cline, born in Pa; age 60; immigrated in 1852; farmer by occupation; residence New Dungeness. J. H. Day, born in Va; age 60; immigrated in 1862; druggist; residence Walla Walla. S. G. Dudley, born in N. Y.; age 45; immigrated in 1874; farmer; residence Seattle. R. O. Dunbar, born in Ill.; age 45; immigrated in 1846; lawyer; residence Goldendale. J. B. La Du, born in N. Y.; age 45; immigrated in 1853; farmer; residence Mount Coffin. John McGlynn, born in Ireland; age 34; came in 1872; hotel-keeper; residence La Conner. L. M. Ringer, born in Va; age 44; came in 1873; merchant; residence Almota. A. F. Tullis, born in Ind.; age 49; immigrated in 1852; farmer; residence Chehalis. Allen Weir, chief clerk, born in Cal.; age 25; came in 1860; publisher; residence Port Townsend. Samuel Greene, assistant clerk, born in Mass.; age 42; came in 1874; farmer; residence Seattle. W. R. Andrews, enrolling clerk, born in Mich.; age 28; came in 1861; lawyer; residence La Conner. Emma Knighton, born in Or.; age 21; came in 1860; residence Olympia. J. H. Wilt, sergeant-at-arms, born in Ohio; age 26; came in 1876; teacher; residence Walla Walla. G. W. Brant, door-keeper, born in Mo.; age 25; came in 1852; wheelwright; residence Vancouver. Ruth Bigelow, messenger, born in the territory; age 19; residence Olympia. Robert Wilson, watchman, born in N. Y.; age 47; immigrated in 1855; hatter; residence Walla Walla. J. R. Thompson, chaplain, born in Eng.; age 38; came in 1870; presbyterian preacher; residence Olympia.

In the lower house, George H. Stewart, speaker, born in Ind.; age 48; immigrated in 1850; lawyer; residence Vancouver. J. N. Baker, born in Ky; age 32; immigrated in 1853; farmer; residence Oakville, Chehalis co. H. Blackman, born in Maine; age 32; came in 1872; lumberman; residence Snohomish City. C. Catlin, born in Ill.; age 35; came in 1850; farmer; residence Freeport, Cowlitz co. M. F. Colt, born in N. Y.; age 42; came in 1865; merchant; residence Walla Walla. P. D. Jorup, born in Denmark; age 34; came in 1860; hotel-keeper; residence Utsalady. J. M. Deware, born in Scotland; age 55; came in 1859; farmer; residence Walla Walla. Levi Farnsworth, born in Maine; age 70; immigrated in 1850; shipwright; residence Yakima. J. J. Foster, born in South Carolina; age 55; came in 1864; farmer; residence Wahkiakum co. T. C. Frary, age 39; came in 1876; physician; residence Pomeroy. J. E. Gandy, born in Wis.; age 32; came in 1865; physician; residence Puyallup. D. C. Guernsey, born in Wis.; age 34; came in 1871; merchant; residence Dayton. M. V. Harper, born in Tenn.; age 40; immigrated in 1853; surveyor; residence Goldendale. S. W. Hovey, born in Maine; age 46; came in 1857; cashier of Port Gamble Mill Co.; residence Port Gamble. D. F. Percival, born in Maine; age 39; came in 1872; farmer; residence Rock Creek. J. A. Perkins, born in Ill.; age 38; came in 1861; farmer and land speculator. F. C. Purdy, born in Tenn.; age 52; settled in 1854; farmer; residence Skokomish. F. M. Rhoades, born in Ohio; age 47; immigrated in 1847; farmer; residence Key, Thurston co. Henry Roder, born in Germany; age 54; came in 1851; farmer; residence Whatcom co. B. F. Shaw, born in Mo.; age 51; immigrated in 1844; farmer; residence near Vancouver. L. P. Smith, born in Maine; age 64; came in 1869; watchmaker; residence Seattle. Alfred Snyder, born in N. J.; age 51; came in 1870; salesman at Port Blakeley. D. J. Storms, born in Ohio; age 65; came in 1872; farmer; residence Waitsburg. J. A. Taylor, born in N. Y.; age 54; immigrated in 1845; farmer and agent for farm machinery; residence Walla Walla co. M. R. Tilley, born in Ind.; age 45; immigrated in 1852; livery-stable; residence Olympia. S. Troy, born in Pa; age 46; came in 1873; farmer; residence New Dungeness. A. H. Tucker, born in N. H.; age 40; immigrated in 1852;

in 1878, R. S. Greene being appointed chief justice, the place he vacated being filled by John P. Hoyt,[70] of Michigan. Judge Wingard was reappointed. The other federal officers of this administration were N. H. Owings, secretary; C. B. Hopkins, marshal; J. B. Allen, United States attorney; William McMicken, collector of internal revenue; J. R. Hayden, deputy collector; Robert G. Stuart, receiver of public moneys at Olympia; Josiah T. Brown, register of the general land-office; and C. B. Bagley, deputy.

By an act of congress, approved June 19, 1878, a change of apportionment was made, to take effect in 1881, which reduced the maximum of members of the lower house of the legislature to twenty-four from thirty, and increased the council from nine to twelve.

In 1884, William A. Newell was succeeded in the executive office by Watson C. Squire,[71] a veteran of

mechanic; residence Port Townsend. C. P. Twiss, born in N. H.; age 50; came in 1870; farmer; residence Napavine. D. B. Ward, born in Ky; age 41; came in 1859; teacher; residence Seattle. W. H. White, born in Va; age 37; came in 1871; lawyer; residence Seattle. W. C. Porter, chief clerk, born in N. Y.; age 45; came in 1876; lawyer; residence Pomeroy. William Hughes, assistant clerk, born in Wales; age 31; came in 1875; printer; residence Seattle. Louis B. Noble, enrolling clerk, born in Wis.; age 26; came in 1878; lawyer; residence Walla Walla. Emma Harmon, assistant enrolling clerk, born in Wash.; age 23; residence Steilacoom. L. P. Berry, sergeant-at-arms, born in Ind.; age 36; immigrated in 1853; commission merchant; residence Colfax. G. D. Keller, door-keeper, born in Maine; age 71; came in 1858; farmer; residence on White River. F. Seidel, watchman, born in Germany; age 32; came in 1879; carpenter; residence Seattle. W. S. Hayes, messenger, born in Ky; age 68; farmer; residence near Olympia. D. N. Utter, chaplain, born in Ind.; age 35; came in 1875; unitarian preacher; residence Olympia. The republicans had a small majority in either house, and 7 on a joint ballot. The religion of the assembly was represented by 5 presbyterians, 4 methodists, 4 congregationalists, 2 baptists, 2 catholics, 2 unitarians, 2 episcopalians, and 1 lutheran. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Oct. 24, 1878.

[70] Hoyt had been appointed governor of Arizona, but resigned. *Olympia Transcript*, Dec. 28, 1878.

[71] Governor Squire was born at Cape Vincent, N. Y., May 18, 1838. He graduated from the Wesleyan university of Middleton, Conn., in 1859, and commenced the study of the law, but the war of the rebellion calling him to the service of his country, he enlisted in 1861 as a private, being promoted to be first lieutenant of co. F., 19th N. Y. infantry. When the three months' men were discharged he resumed his studies in Cleveland, O., and graduated from the Cleveland law school in 1862, after which he raised a company of sharp-shooters, and was given the command of a battalion of the same, serving in the army of the Cumberland. Subsequently he was judge advocate of the district of Tennessee, serving on the staffs of Maj.-Gen. Rousseau and

the civil war and a man of rare administrative ability. During his term, and for several preceding years, the history of Washington, apart from the anti-chinese riots of 1885–6, was one rather of material development than of political significance. Up to that date, the employment of chinese in large numbers had been almost a necessity, since for the construction of the transcontinental and other railroads no adequate supply of white labor was available. But now the herding in cities and towns of hordes of chinamen was becoming a serious menace to society, and to the working classes an ever-present source of uneasiness. Thus in 1885, an attempt was made by the Knights of Labor, an organization mainly composed of foreigners, to expel them from the territory. At Tacoma they were compelled to leave at a month's warning; at Squak two were killed; but it was at Seattle and among the coal-miners that the agitation assumed its most aggravated form, resulting in bloodshed and general disorder. Fortunate it was that at this juncture a ruler was at the helm of state whose soundness of judgment and promptness of action were equal to the emergency.

On the 5th of November Governor Squire issued a proclamation calling on the citizens to preserve the peace; but the very next day a number of chinese houses were set on fire by an infuriated mob. Thereupon troops were ordered from Vancouver, and a statement of the situation forwarded to the secretary of the interior, resulting in a proclamation by the

Maj.-Gen. Thomas. On the close of the war, he became agent for the Remington Arms co., and managed their operations to the amount of $15,000,000. In 1876 he became interested in Washington, removing in 1879 to Seattle, where he engaged in a number of enterprises tending to build up the city of his adoption, also becoming the owner of one of the largest dairy farms in the territory. In recognition of his efforts to secure for Washington the long-coveted boon of statehood, he was elected president of the statehood committee held at Ellensburg in January 1889, and as president also of the permanent committee labored assiduously in framing the memorials afterward presented to congress, until finally his efforts and those of his colleagues were crowned with success. As a soldier, a statesman, and a politician his reputation is stainless, and there are none whose career has been more closely identified with the prosperity and development of Washington.

president, which was duly published and promulgated. For a time the disturbance subsided, only to break out again in more violent phase in February of the following year, when lives were lost in the effort to protect the chinese, and overt rebellion existed against the constituted authorities. The governor then adopted the extreme measure of declaring martial law, and thus with the aid of the citizens and troops at length succeeded in restoring order. Though such a course subjected him to the abuse of the proletariat and to the hostile criticisms of a portion of the press, his action was approved by all the more conservative and law-abiding people of the community. By the Cleveland cabinet he was warmly commended, and as a token of its approval his resignation was not accepted until long after the democrats succeeded to power. His conduct also received the approbation of the legislature, and of such representative associations as the Seattle chamber of commerce and the bar association of King county.[72]

During the régime of Governor Squire, and at his recommendation, several long-deferred public needs were supplied, among them the building of the penitentiary at Walla Walla, the addition of a manufacturing department to the penitentiary at Seatco, and the erection of a new insane asylum at Steilacoom. The finances of the territory were carefully administered, and at the close of 1885 it was free from debt, and with an available surplus of nearly $100,000. His reports to the secretary of the interior are deserving of more than passing notice, as models of political literature, on the preparation of which no money or pains was spared. The one for 1884 was declared by that official to be "the best that had ever been given by any governor of any territory." So great was the demand for it throughout the east, that,

[72] The entire official correspondence relating to the Seattle riots, together with a careful presentation of the matter, will be found in Governor Squire's report to the secretary of the interior for 1886.

the government edition being exhausted, the Northern Pacific railroad company ordered at its own expense a special edition of five thousand copies with accompanying maps. In the opening paragraph the governor states that as no report had been forwarded since 1879, while those issued before that date were somewhat meagre in their treatment, he has thought it best to make a full representation of the more important facts connected with the resources and development of the territory. "For this purpose," he says, "I have diligently corresponded with the auditors and assessors of all the counties of the territory, furnishing them printed blanks to be returned, and with all the managers of its various educational and business institutions. Besides drawing on my own knowledge of the territory, gleaned during a residence here during the past five or six years, I have gathered and compiled a variety of important facts from leading specialists in reference to the geographical, geologic, and climatic characteristics, the coal and iron mining, horticultural, agricultural, and manufacturing interests, the fisheries, and the flora and fauna of the territory.

"The data thus offered, together with the summary reports of our charitable and penal institutions, and an exhibit of the financial condition of the territory, if published, will not only be of great service in encouraging and stimulating our people, but will furnish reliable information to the intending immigrant, and will indicate to congress the rightful basis of our claim for admission into the union of states."

In the report for 1885 we have a careful revision of the previous document, including more recent data. Again the government edition was speedily exhausted, whereupon a special edition of ten thousand copies was issued by authority of the legislature, and included the governor's biennial message for 1885–6. Under the title of the *Resources and Development of Washington Territory*, it was scattered broadcast through-

out the United States and Europe, not only by the Northern Pacific railroad, but by real estate firms and by the citizens of Washington. To the representations of the two reports is largely due the immense volume of immigration within the last half-decade, and more than anything else that has been written they have aided in securing admission to statehood.

The population of Washington increased from 75,000 in 1880 to 210,000 in 1886, owing chiefly to the rapid construction of railroad lines. The Northern Pacific company operated at the beginning of this year 455 miles of railway within its limits; the Oregon Railway and Navigation company, 295 miles; the Columbia and Puget Sound railroad company, 44 miles; the Puget Sound Shore railroad company, 23 miles; and the Olympia and Chehalis railroad, 15 miles—making, with some newly completed portions of roads, 866 miles of railroad, where a few years previous only a few miles of local railway existed. The effect was magical, all kinds of business growth keeping an even pace with transportation. Leaving out the lumber and coal trade of western Washington, and the cattle trade of eastern Washington, each of which was very considerable, the Northern Pacific shipped to the east 4,161 tons of wheat and 1,600 tons of other grains, while the Oregon company carried out of southeastern Washington 250,000 tons of wheat, flour, and barley. The tonnage of Puget Sound vessels, foreign and domestic, amounted to 1,240,499 tons, and the business of shipbuilding was active.

The federal and territorial officers, during the administration of Governor Squire, were N. H. Owings, secretary; R. S. Greene, chief justice; J. P. Hoyt, S. C. Wingard, and George Turner, associate justices; Jesse George, United States marshal; John B. Allen, United States district attorney; William McMicken, surveyor-general; C. Bash, customs collector; C. B. Bagley and E. L. Heriff, internal revenue collectors;

John F. Gowey, registrar, and J. R. Hayden, receiver of the United States land-office at Olympia; F. W. Sparling, registrar, and A. G. Marsh, receiver at Vancouver; Joseph Jorgensen, registrar, and James Braden, receiver at Walla Walla; J. M. Armstrong, registrar, and J. L. Wilson, receiver at Spokane; and R. R. Kinne, registrar, and J. M. Adams, receiver at Yakima. Thomas H. Brents was delegate to congress.

In 1887, Eugene Semple of Oregon, democrat, was appointed governor of Washington. Semple had been a newspaper editor, and possessed fair talents, with industry. He found public affairs somewhat disquieted on the questions of statehood and woman suffrage. After the defeat of equal suffrage by the popular male vote of 1878, the legislature had, in 1883–4, passed an act conferring upon women the privilege of voting at all elections. Later, this act was pronounced unconstitutional, and after voting at two elections, serving upon juries, and holding various offices, the women of the commonwealth were disfranchised. But there was a sufficiently strong sentiment in favor of the political equality of the sexes to make it a party question in 1886, the republicans having incorporated equal suffrage in their platform, while a respectable majority in both houses of the legislature were pledged to vote for a bill restoring the woman suffrage law.

Another matter upon which the legislature was divided was the proposition revived to remove the capital from Olympia to some more central location, favorable mention being made of North Yakima[73] and

[73] Yakima City was incorporated Dec. 1, 1883. Twelve months later, when it had 400 inhabitants, the surveyors of the Northern Pacific railroad laid out the town of North Yakima, 4 miles distant from the old town, upon a broad and liberal scale, and proposed to the people of the latter that if they would consent to be removed to the new town they should be given as many lots there as they possessed in the old, and have besides their buildings moved upon them without cost to the owners. Such an agreement in writing was signed by a majority of the citizens, and in the winter and spring of 1884–5 over 100 buildings were moved on trucks and rollers, hotels, a bank, and

Ellensburg. Those who were laboring for this end expected that the long-coveted panhandle of Idaho would be joined to Washington, and intended to use that accession of territory as a lever to effect the removal of the capital east of the mountains. But the people of western Washington strenuously opposed the transference of the government offices to the Yakima valley, and succeeded in preventing it.

The legislature of 1887 appointed a commission to codify the laws of Washington, consisting of W. H. Doolittle of Tacoma, J. H. Snively of Yakima, Thomas H. Came of Seattle, and A. E. Isham of Walla Walla. As the passage of the enabling act rendered it undoubted that the state constitution would differ materially from the organic law of the territory, the commission suspended its labors until the state constitution had assumed definite form, when it reviewed its work.

The corporation law received particular attention, making provision for freights, for the rights of different roads to the use of each other's tracks, and the rights and duties of stockholders. All telegraph and telephone companies were given the right of way on the lines of railroad companies on equal conditions. Railroads might pass along streams, streets, or highways where life and property were not endangered, but the companies must restore either of these to its former condition of usefulness. Every railroad must construct not less than five miles of road each year until completed, or forfeit its charter. Foreign railroads could not enjoy greater privileges than domestic roads. An annual report was to be made by each railroad to the stockholders, subject to the inspection of the secretary of state; besides which a sworn annual statement was required of the officers of each company.

other business houses doing their usual business while en route. This was a good stroke of policy on the part of the railroad, general land commissioner, and the company, as it definitely settled opposition, both to the new town and the corporation, which also secured a year's growth for North Yakima in ninety days' time. Subsequently the town had almost a phenomenal growth.

The federal officers during Semple's second term were N. H. Owings, secretary; R. A. Jones, chief justice; W. G. Langford, George Turner, and Frank Allyn, associate justices. Charles S. Voorhees succeeded Brents as delegate to congress.[74] James Shields succeeded Hayden in the receiver's office of the land department, and John Y. Ostrander was appointed registrar in 1886.

[74] John B. Allen, republican, was chosen for congressman by a majority in 1887 of 7,371, over Voorhees, democrat, but was prevented taking his seat in congress by the prospect of the passage of an enabling act.

Among the leading citizens of Washington, in addition to those mentioned elsewhere in this volume, the following residents of Spokane Falls are worthy of note:

J. N. Glover, a Missourian by birth, and, it may be said, the founder of the city, settling there, or rather on its site, in 1873, and purchasing from two squatters named Downing and Scranton the tract of land on which their shanties were then the only buildings. First as the owner of a saw-mill, next as a contractor, then as the leading organizer and president of the First National Bank, and finally as mayor of Spokane, he has won for himself his well-earned wealth and reputation.

In connection with the First National Bank should be mentioned Horace L. Cutter, who was also one of its organizers. A native of Cleveland, O., in 1871 he removed to Colo, on account of his health, and in the following year to Cal., where for eight years he was secretary of the San José Savings Bank. Settling at Spokane Falls in 1882, he was appointed cashier and manager of the First National, and has since been a promoter of several leading enterprises, as the electric light and cable-road companies. He was also one of the founders of the board of trade, of which he is treasurer, and of the public library, of which he is president.

The president and manager of the Traders' National Bank is E. J. Brickell, a native of Ind., but most of whose lifetime has been passed in Ill. and Nev., where he engaged in merchandising and lumbering. In 1884 he settled at Spokane, where he is now the owner of one of the largest hardware stores. Among the directors of this bank, and its former vice-president, is R. W. Forrest, a Pennsylvanian by birth, and now one of the capitalists of Spokane, where his residence dates from 1879.

Others deserving of notice are Col D. P. Jenkins, a native of O., and a lawyer by profession, who, after serving almost throughout the civil war, resumed practice, first in Tenn. and Ind., and later in Colo and W. T., whither he removed for his health's sake, settling at Spokane in 1879; J. D. Sherwood, a son of the late B. F. Sherwood of San Francisco, and who, as one of those who established the electric-light works, as president of the cable company, and in connection with other enterprises, has helped to build up his adopted city; W. Pettet, an Englishman, who visited California in 1846, and in 1886 made his permanent home at Spokane, where he purchased the first electric-light plant and organized the company by which it was operated; E. B. Hyde, a native of Wisconsin, who came to Spokane in 1881, two years later building, in conjunction with others, the Union block, and since that date adding a number of handsome edifices to the improvements of the city; W. M. Wolverton, a native of Ia, who, in 1881, the year after his arrival, erected the first brick building in Spokane, where, until retiring from business in 1886, he was the owner of a flourishing hardware store.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS AND STATEHOOD.

Remarkable Growth of the Territory—Demand for Statehood—Enabling Act—State Convention—Character of the Delegates—Constitution Ratified—Waiting for a Proclamation—Meeting of First State Legislature—Character of Members—Unexpected Delay of the Presidential Proclamation—Election of Senators.

From 1880 to 1888 the progress made in Washington was phenomenal, and was felt in every direction—in commerce, manufacture, banks, corporations, schools, growth of towns, improved styles of building, construction of railroads, mining, agriculture, and society. New towns had sprung up among the firs and cedars, the Puget Sound country, and out of the treeless prairies almost in a night; and hitherto unimportant villages had become cities with corporate governments, grand hotels, churches, colleges, and opera-houses.

The board of trade of Tacoma in 1886 declared that "the commercial independence of Washington territory accompanying the completion of the direct line of the Northern Pacific railroad to tide-water should be supplemented by its political independence as a state of the American union. Admission cannot in decency be delayed many years longer, whatever party influences may sway congress. The census of 1890 will show a population within the present limits of the territory exceeding 200,000, and a property valuation of at least $200,000,000."[1] Governor

[1] The state auditor in November 1889 reported the resources of the commonwealth from taxes, licenses, prison labor, etc., at $372,866.35.

Squire had said in a report to the secretary of the interior that among the reasons for the admission of the territory were the "sterling, patriotic, and enterprising character of its citizens; its present and prospective maritime relations with the world; its position as a border state on the confines of the dominion of Canada, the most powerful province of Great Britain; its wealth of natural resources and growing wealth of its people; the efficiency of its educational system, requiring that its school lands should be allotted and utilized; its riparian rights should be settled, capital and immigration encouraged, and the full management and control of municipal and county affairs should be assumed by the legislature, which is not allowed during the territorial condition."

Governor Semple, in his report for 1888, gave the population as 167,982, showing that the prophecy of the board of trade was not an over-estimate of the probabilities. The taxable property was given at $84,621,182, or a gain of $65,698,260 in ten years, which being taken from the assessment roll was considered conservative enough for the minimum; for as the governor quaintly remarked: "Whatever else an average American citizen may neglect, he never forgets to beat down the assessor." The revenue produced by a tax of two and a half mills was $212,734.92, showing the ability to erect and maintain the necessary public works as they should be required. There were in the territory in operation 762.2 miles of standard gauge railroads belonging to the North Pacific railroad company; and 282.6 miles of the same gauge belonging to the Oregon railway and navigation company; the Seattle, Lake Shore, and Eastern railroad company operated 58 miles of standard gauge road; the Columbia and Puget Sound railroad 44.5 miles; and the Puget Sound and Gray's Harbor railroad 10 miles —making in all 1,157.3 miles of broad-gauge railways. In addition, there were 40 miles of narrow-gauge road, divided between the Olympia and Chehalis valley, the

Mill Creek F. and M. company, and the Cascade railroad—making in all 1,197.7 miles, and the increase of mileage was augmenting yearly. The amount of coal mined in the territory in 1888 was 1,133,801 tons. The output in lumber of the Washington mills in four localities only for the year was 320,848,203 feet, their capacity being a million feet greater, shingles and lath in proportion. The amount consumed within the territory was 105,940,225 feet of lumber; 14,474,000 lath, and 12,921,250 shingles; the remainder was exported. The estimated capacity of all the mills was 1,043,596,000 feet.

An insane asylum, costing $100,000, was completed at Steilacoom in 1888, in which were treated 200 patients; and $60,000 was appropriated for the erection of a hospital for the insane at Medical lake in eastern Washington, which was being expended on the work. Up to 1887 the territorial prisoners were confined in a private prison, under the control of contractors, but in 1887 a penitentiary was completed at Walla Walla, costing $153,000. At Vancouver a school for defective youth was erected, partly by the citizens of that place donating land, and the rest by the legislature, making at two sessions appropriations for that purpose. The national guard had completed its organization, the legislature having levied a tax of one fifth of a mill for military purposes, and consisted of two regiments of infantry and a troop of cavalry—in all 750 officers and men. These and various other matters, including the question of who should pick the hop crop in Puyallup valley, were reported to the secretary, and Governor Semple put it: "We are rich and reputable, and do not require anybody to settle our bills. Give us the right to regulate our local affairs, and we will not only pay our own officers, but we will render much service to the union."

In 1888 Miles C. Moore of Walla Walla, republican, was appointed governor to succeed Semple, democrat, but only in time to be immersed in the

excitement of a change of government forms, for congress, on the 22d of February, 1889 (very appropriately), passed an enabling act, proposing the terms on which the state of Washington might be admitted to the union. It commanded the governor to issue a proclamation on the 15th of April for an election of seventy-five delegates to a constitutional convention, the election to be held on the first Tuesday after the second Monday in May of that year. The delegates were directed to meet at the capital on the 4th of July for organization, and to declare, on behalf of the people, their adoption of the constitution of the United States, whereupon they should be authorized to form a constitution for the proposed state. The constitution should be republican in form, make no distinction in civil or political rights on account of race or color, except as to Indians not taxed, and not be repugnant to the constitution of the United States and the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It should provide, by ordinances irrevocable without the consent of the United States and the people of said states, that perfect toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured, and no inhabitant of the state ever molested on account of his mode of worship; that the people of the state should forever disclaim all right to the unappropriated public lands lying within the boundaries thereof, or to the Indian reservations, which should remain under the absolute jurisdiction and control of congress; that the lands of non-resident citizens of the United States should never be taxed at a higher rate than the lands belonging to residents; that no taxes should be imposed by the state on lands or property therein belonging to, or which might be thereafter purchased or reserved by, the United States; but nothing in the ordinances should preclude taxing the lands owned or held by Indians who had severed their tribal relations and obtained a title thereto by patent or grant, except those lands which congress might have exempted from taxation, which

the ordinances should exempt, so long and to such extent as such act of congress might prescribe. The debts and liabilities of the territory should be assumed and paid by the state. Provision should be made for the establishment and maintenance of public schools, which should be open to all the children in the state, and free from sectarian control.

On the other hand, upon the admission of the state, sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six in every township of said state, or where such sections or parts of sections had been disposed of, indemnity lands were granted to the state for the support of common schools, except where such sections were embraced in grants or reservations by the government, and until they were restored to the public domain. The lands granted for educational purposes should not be sold for less than ten dollars per acre, and only at public sale, the proceeds to constitute a permanent school fund, the interest only of which should be expended in their support. But the legislature had power to prescribe terms on which the school lands might be leased, for periods of not more than five years, in quantities of not more than one section to one person or company; and such lands should not be subject to entry under any of the land laws of the United States.

Fifty sections of selected public land within the state should be granted for the purpose of erecting public buildings at the capital for legislative and judicial purposes. Five per centum of the proceeds of the sales of public lands within the state, which should be sold by the United States after its admission, deducting all expenses incident to the same, should be paid to the state to be used as a permanent fund, the interest of which only should be expended for the support of common schools. Seventy-two entire sections were granted for university purposes, none of which should be disposed of at less than ten dollars per acre; but, like the common school lands, they might be leased. The schools and universities

provided for in the act should forever remain under the exclusive control of the state, and no part of the proceeds arising from the sale of the granted lands should be applied to denominational schools, colleges, or universities. Ninety thousand acres should be also granted for the use and support of an agricultural college. In lieu of the grant of land for purposes of internal improvement made to new states by the act of September 4, 1841, and in lieu of any claim or demand by the state under the act of September 28, 1850, and section 2479 of the Revised Statutes, granting swamp and overflowed lands to certain states, and in lieu of any grant of saline lands, there was granted to the state of Washington, for the establishment and maintenance of a scientific school, one hundred thousand acres, the same amount for state normal schools; for public buildings at the state capital, in addition to the previous grant for that purpose; and for state charitable, educational, penal, and reformatory institutions, two hundred thousand each; and the state should be entitled to no other grants of land for any purposes. Mineral lands were exempted from all the grants, but lieu lands were allowed in their stead, where mineral should be found on the school sections. But there should be deducted from the amounts granted for any specific object, the number of acres before donated by congress to the territory for similar objects.[2]

The sum of twenty thousand dollars, or as much as might be necessary, was appropriated for defraying the expenses of the state constitutional convention. The state should constitute one judicial district, to be attached to the ninth judicial circuit. There should be appointed one district judge, United States attorney, and United States marshal, the judge to receive a salary of $3,500, and to reside in his district, and the clerks of the court to keep their offices at the state capital; the regular terms of court to

[2] See p. 216, note, on the misapplication of the university lands.

commence in April and November. The courts of the state were made the successors of the territorial courts, whose business should be transferred to them without prejudice.

The constitutional convention might, by ordinance, provide for the election of officers for full state government, including members of the legislature, and representatives in congress; but the state government should remain in abeyance until the admission of the state into the union. Should the constitution be ratified by the people, the legislature might assemble, organize, and elect two senators of the United States, whose election being certified by the governor and secretary of state, they should be admitted to seats in congress on the admission of the state into the union; and the officers elected to fill state offices should in the same manner proceed to exercise their functions. The election for the ratification of the constitution should take place on the first Tuesday in October. Such, in brief, was the compact to be accepted and ratified.

The delegates met on the 3d of July, at Olympia, and proceeded to business on the 4th.[3] They were

[3] The several counties were represented as follows in the convention: Stevens, S. H. Manly, J. J. Travis; Spokane, C. P. Coey, Geo. Turner, J. Z. Moore, J. J. Browne, T. C. Griffitts, H. F. Suksdorf, Hiram E. Allen; Lincoln, H. W. Fairweather, B. B. Glascock, Frank M. Dallam; Kittetass, J. A. Shoudy, A. Mires, J. T. McDonald; Whitman, J. P. T. McCloskey, C. H. Warner, E. H. Sullivan, J. M. Reed, James Hungate, Geo. Comegys; Adams, D. Buchanan; Garfield, S. G. Cosgrove; Franklin, W. B. Gray; Columbia, M. M. Goodman, R. F. Sturvedant; Walla Walla, Lewis Neace, D. J. Crowley, B. L. Sharpstein, N. G. Blalock; Yakima, W. F. Prosser; Clarke, Louis Johns, A. A. Lindsley; Skamania, G. H. Stevenson; Pacific, J. A. Burk; Wahkiakum, O. A. Bowen; Cowlitz, Jesse Van Name; Mason, Henry Winsor, John McReavy; Chehalis, A. J. West; Jefferson, Allen Weir, George H. Jones, H. C. Willison; Skagit, James Power, Thomas Hayton, H. Clothier; Whatcom, J. J. Weisenberger, E. Eldridge; Snohomish, A. Schooley; Island, J. C. Kellogg; Kitsap, S. A. Dickey; King, R. Jeffs, T. T. Minor, T. P. Dyer, D. E. Durie, John R. Kinnear, John P. Hoyt, M. J. McElroy, Morgan Morgans, George W. Tibbetts, W. L. Newton; Pierce, T. L. Stiles, P. C. Sullivan, Gwin Hicks, H. M. Lillis, C. T. Fay, R. S. Moore, Robert Jamison; Thurston, John F. Gowey, T. M. Reed, Francis Henry; Lewis, O. H. Joy, S. H. Berry.

From the *Oregonian* of July 4, 1889, I make the following excerpts: Gwin Hicks was the youngest member of the convention. He was born at

a conservative body of men, chosen from the various

Olympia, Oct. 28, 1857. He resided in Portland, Oregon, from 10 to 18 years of age; took a course in the university of California, supporting himself by his trade of printing, which he afterward followed in Portland; removed to Tacoma in 1883, and was engaged on the *News* as editor, and afterward was appointed deputy collector of internal revenue for Wash., serving 4 years. He was, at the time of his election, manager of the Tacoma Real Estate and Stock Exchange.

Hiram E. Allen, born Aug. 1, 1857, at Crawfordsville, Ind., removed to Wash. in 1872, practised law at Spokane Falls in partnership with his brother, Joseph S. Allen. He was also a brother of Hon. J. B. Allen.

Jacob T. Eshelman, born near Memphis, Mo., in 1852, came to Cal. in 1876, taught school in Napa co., came to Wash. in 1878, resided in Klickitat co. until 1887, removed to North Yakima where he was appointed clerk of the U. S. land-office. He was nominated by the Klickitat democratic convention for services rendered to the party in that co. His profession was that of a Christian minister.

John R. Kinnear, of King co., was born in Indiana, but removed to Woodford co., Illinois, at the age of 7 years. He was reared on a farm, and educated at Washington high school, Eureka college, and Knox college, where he took a regular course. He enlisted in the army during the war, and served three years as a private, being in 20 great battles. After the close of the war he took a course at the Chicago law school, and practised in Paxton, Ill., for 15 years. In 1883, he removed to Seattle, and in 1884 was elected representative from King co. In 1888 he was elected to the council, but the passage of the enabling act prevented his taking his seat. In June 1889 he was chosen a member of the constitutional convention, and took an active part in framing that important instrument. He was chairman of the committee on corporation, and secured the insertion of the clause in the constitution prohibiting trusts, and another prohibiting persons or corporations supporting armed bodies of men in the state, for any purpose. He received 130 votes in the republican state convention for governor.

George Comegys, born in St Charles co., Mo., in 1839, came to Or. in 1850 with his father, educated at the Willamette university, admitted to practise law in the supreme court of Or. in 1877, removed to Whitman co., Wash., in 1878, engaged in law practice, stock-raising, and mining, represented Whitman co. in the legislature of 1881, and was speaker of the house.

William F. Prosser, born in 1834 near Williamsport, Penn., had an academic education, taught school, studied law, emigrated to Cal. in 1854, engaged in mining; was the first republican candidate for the legislature in Trinity co. in 1860; went east to enlist in the union army in 1861, served in the army of the Cumberland, was commissioned major, and lieut-col and col in the Tennessee cavalry regt; located after the war on a farm near Nashville, was elected to the legislature of Tenn. in 1867, and to congress in 1868; was postmaster at Nashville for 3 years, was a commissioner to the centennial exhibition at Phila in 1876; was appointed special agent of the general land-office for Or. and Wash. in 1879, served 6 years, and was removed by a change of administration; located a land claim where the town of Prosser was laid out in Yakima co., elected auditor of that co. in 1886, and member of the convention in 1889. He married Miss Flora Thornton of Seattle.

Jesse F. Van Name was born in Earlsville, La Salle co., Ill., in 1857, educated in the public schools, taught school, went to the Black hills, to Kansas and Colorado, read law with Judge McAnnelly of Fort Collins, went to New Mexico and Arizona, and in 1882 came to Wash. Taught school in Cowlitz valley, and resumed law studies, was appointed clerk of the 2d judicial dist, and was admitted to the bar, locating in Kalama in 1889.

R. O. Dunbar, born in Ill. in 1845, came to Or. in 1846, was educated at Willamette university, studied law with Hon. Elwood Evans in Olympia, and began practice in 1870; removed to Klickitat co. in 1877; was elected mem-

classes. The constitution which they framed for ac-

ber of the territorial council in 1879, prosecuting attorney of the district in 1882, speaker of the house in 1885, and probate judge of Klickitat co. in 1888.

B. B. Glascock, born in Ralls co., Mo., in 1843, came to Yolo co., Cal., in 1852, removed to Wash. in 1883, locating at Sprague and engaging in farming and stock-raising. Was a member of the California constitutional convention in 1878, and member of the senate for the two sessions immediately following the adoption of the new constitution.

A. J. West was born in county Roscommon, Ireland, in 1839, emigrated to Ontario, Canada, received a common-school education, taught school, and worked in a lumber-mill. When the war of the rebellion broke out he went to Mich., enlisted, was commissioned 1st lieut, volunteer infantry, fought in 16 battles, was wounded while charging Fort Wheaton, was in command of his company at the surrender of Gen. Lee, and was commissioned captain in May 1865, a few days before his discharge. Engaged in lumbering in Mich. for 14 years at Saginaw, and filled several town and county offices. In 1884 removed to Aberdeen, Chehalis co., and went again into the manufacture of lumber.

N. G. Blalock was born in North Carolina in 1836 on a farm, was educated in the common schools, except one year in Tusculum college, Tenn., paying by laboring nights and mornings for his tuition; entered Jefferson medical college in 1859, graduating in 1861, and being commissioned asst surgeon of the 115th Ill. vols in 1862, and was discharged on account of ill health in 1864. Came to Wash. in 1873, invested in dry foot-hill lands reputed worthless for agriculture, but which proved most productive. In 1881 he raised on 2,200 acres 90,000 bushels of wheat. In 1878 and 1879, built a flume from the mountains down into the valley, 28 miles, costing $56,000, for the purpose of conveying lumber, wood, and rails. His improvements greatly stimulated farming in Walla Walla valley.

H. W. Fairweather, born in St Johns, N. B., in 1852, came to the U. S. in 1865. He was in railroad employ in Wyoming for 3 years, came to Wash. in 1871, was again in the service of transportation companies, and relieved D. L. Baker of the management of the Walla Walla and Columbia River railroad. In 1879, became superintendent of the Idaho division of the N. P. for 3 years; in 1883, passenger agent of the N. P. and O. R. & N. companies, filling this position for 6 years. He was president of the 1st National Bank of Sprague, and director of the 1st National Bank of Spokane Falls; was mayor of Sprague, and chief of ordnance with the rank of colonel on the staff of Gov. Moore. He married Miss Matilda Curtis in 1885.

Francis Henry was born in Galena, Ill., in 1827, was a lawyer by profession, served as a lieutenant in the Mexican war, came to Cal. in 1851, and to Wash. in 1862, residing permanently in Olympia; served three terms in the territorial assembly; was delegate to the constitutional convention of 1878; served 4 terms as probate judge of Thurston co.; was president of the board of trustees of Olympia; chief clerk of the legislative council of 1887–8, clerk of the supreme court, and treasurer of the city of Olympia.

H. C. Willison was born on a farm in Tippecanoe co., Ind., in 1845, graduated from the university of the city of New York, served on the medical staff of public charities and correction of New York, came to Wash. in 1873, settled at Tacoma, was appointed physician to the territorial asylum and penitentiary at Steilacoom in 1874, and was instrumental in securing the passage of a bill establishing the hospital for the insane on more sanitary and humane principles than the former contract system. He removed to Port Townsend in 1885, where he continued to practise medicine.

M. M. Goodman, born in Mo. in 1856, came to Cal. in 1870, attended the Pacific university, graduating in 1877, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. In 1880 he removed to Wash., locating at Dayton. He was the only democrat elected to the territorial council in 1888.

ceptance or rejection by the people was an instrument

C. H. Warner was born in the state of N. Y. in 1836, migrated in 1847 to Wis., and in 1854 to Ill.; was educated at Mt Morris, Ill., college, taught school. and studied law. In 1862 he came to Cal., engaging in cattle-raising in Sierra co.; in 1867 went into flour milling in Oakland; in 1879 came to Wash., and engaged in milling at Colfax. He was a member of the legislature in 1883; appointed register of the land-office at Walla Walla in 1885; was chairman of the democratic convention which met at Walla Walla in 1884, and also of the territorial democratic committee.

J. P. T. McCroskey was born in East Tennessee in 1828, came to Cal. in 1852, via Panama, settled on Santa Clara valley, made some money in wheat-raising and lumber-making, returned to Tenn., purchased a plantation, and set up a cotton-gin and large flouring-mill; but the civil war caused serious reverses, from which he had not recovered, when in 1879 he removed to Wash. with his family of ten children, and located on 640 acres 9 miles north of Colfax.

Samuel H. Berry, born in Osage co., Mo., in 1849, received a liberal education, was principal of the Linn high school, and county surveyor, migrated to Wash. in 1881, and located in Lewis co., where he pursued teaching and surveying, and was county auditor for four years.

James Z. Moore, born in Jefferson co., Ky, in 1845, removed to Mo. in 1856, was educated at Miami university, Oxford, O., graduating in 1887, and attending Harvard law school at Cambridge, Mass. In 1868 he was admitted to the bar in Owensboro, Ky, and had a very successful practice. In 1884 he was a delegate to the Chicago republican convention, and was elected the Ky member of the republican national committee. In 1886 he removed to Spokane Falls, Wash., and was member of a prominent law firm.

Edward Eldridge was born at St Andrew, Scotland, in 1828, went to sea in 1841, to Cal. in 1849, and to Wash. in 1853, as mentioned in this history. He made himself one of the finest homes in the country, at Bellingham Bay; has held various offices, was speaker of the house in 1866, president of the conventions which nomimated Denny, Flanders, and Garfield for congress, one of the three delegates at large in the constitutional convention at Walla Walla in 1878.

R. S. Moore was born in Scotland in 1828, immigrated to Conn. in 1831, to Iowa in 1848, to Ill. in 1850, and to The Dalles in 1852, removing in 1853 to Steilacoom. He was county commissioner of the first territorial elections for territorial and county officers in 1854, and twice re-elected; was first lieut of co. D, 1st regt of Wash. vols during the Ind. war of 1855; and was one of the company that cut a wagon-road through the Nachess pass in 1853.

George Turner was born in Medina, Knox co., Mo., in 1850, and bred a lawyer. He held the office of U. S. marshal for the southern and middle district of Alabama, and was appointed associate justice of Wash. in 1884 by Arthur. He was chairman of the republican state committee in Ala. from 1876 to 1884; member of the national convention from Ala. in 1876–80–84, and in the latter two, member at large and chairman of the delegation; and was one of the 306 in the convention for Grant.

Theodore L. Stiles, born at Medway, Ohio, educated in the public schools, at the Ohio university, and at Amherst, Mass., college, studied law at Columbia college law school, and entered a law office in New York as a clerk for one year, after which he began practice. In 1877 he went to Indianapolis, thence to Arizona in 1878, remaining in Tucson until 1887, when he came to Wash. and settled in Tacoma.

James Power, born in Ireland in 1849, but reared in Ohio, was by occupation a printer, and worked on the *Ohio State Journal*. In 1870 he removed to Washington City, where he worked in the government printing-office until 1873, when he came to Wash. and started the *Mail* at Whatcom, removing it in 1879 to La Conner. He served as inspector of the Puget Sound

well adapted to their needs. It dealt with corporations

district for some time, and represented Whatcom, Snohomish, and Island counties in the upper house of the legislature in 1883.

John F. Gowey, born in North Lewisburg, Ohio, in 1846, was admitted to the bar in 1869, member of the Ohio legislature in 1873–4–5, and prosecuting attorney of his county two terms, 1876–9. He was appointed receiver of the U. S. land-office at Olympia in 1882, serving four years, and was a member of the territorial council at the session of 1887–8. Leaving the practice of the law, he became president of the First National bank of Olympia, and mayor of that city.

Austin Mires, born in Des Moines co., Ia, in 1852, came to Or. with his parents in 1853, who settled on a farm in Umpqua valley, where he resided until he was 21 years of age, being educated at the different academies in Douglas and Polk counties, and in his turn teaching and learning the printing trade. He was appointed mail agent in 1887, resigned in 1880, and went to Ann Arbor, Mich., where he took a law course at the university, graduating in 1882. He was admitted to the bar in Or. in 1882, and elected chief clerk of the senate of the Or. legislature. In 1883 he removed to Wash., locating at Ellensburg. When the town was incorporated, Feb. 26, 1885, he was elected mayor, serving two terms; was subsequently city attorney and city treasurer; and was elected vice-president of the Ellensburg National bank on its organization.

Addison A. Lindsley, born in Wis. in 1848, and reared in N. Y., came to Portland in 1868; occupation, surveyor and civil engineer; removed to Cal. in 1874; was elected surveyor of the city and county of San Francisco in 1879; removed to Wash. in 1881; was a member of the legislature from Clarke co. in 1885–6; and was engaged in dairying and stock-raising on Lewis river.

Lewis Johns, born in Germany in 1827, came to the Pacific coast in 1852, and worked at the trade of a painter until 1866, when he began merchandising at Vancouver, and was engaged in manufacturing business on Puget Sound and Columbia river. He built the first barrel factory in the territory, at Puyallup, in 1883, and in connection with others established the First National bank at Vancouver, of which he was elected president. He represented Clarke co. in the council; held the office of mayor for 6 years, and was appointed by Gov. Squire a trustee of the School for Defective Youth at Vancouver.

J. J. Weisenburger, born in Bureau co., Ill., in 1855, came with his parents to the Pacific coast in 1862, settling in Nevada City. He was bred a lawyer, admitted to practice in 1879, and removed to Wash. in 1883, locating at Whatcom, where he was city attorney and justice of the peace.

D. Buchanan, born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1820, immigrated to Wis. in 1850, and to Ritzville, Wash., in 1885. Occupation, farmer.

E. H. Sullivan, born in Eaton co., Mich., in 1850, migrated to Neb. in 1855, and to Or. in 1862, removing to Wash. in 1877. He was admitted to the practice of the law at Colfax in 1880, where he continued to reside, and was elected prosecuting attorney in 1884.

D. J. Crowley, born in Bangor, Me, in 1854, of Irish parentage, came to Wash. in 1880, and practised law at Walla Walla, as a partner of John B. Allen, delegate in congress.

R. Jeffs, born in New York in 1827, came to King co., Wash., in 1857, and was justice of the peace for 15 years.

Dr J. C. Kellogg, born in Yates co., N. Y., in 1821, came to Wash. when it was a part of Oregon, settling at South Bay, Whidbey Island, where he continued to reside, and served several terms in the legislature.

John Hoyt, born in Ohio in 1842, came to Wash. in 1879; for eight years was judge of the supreme court; had been a member of the Mich. legislature 2 terms, and speaker of the house, and was appointed governor of Arizona. He was a member of the banking firm of Dexter, Horton, & Co. of Seattle.

Frank M. Dallam, born in Mo. in 1849, but raised in Ill., came to Wash.

especially, as required by the public, and settled the

in 1882, settling at Spokane Falls; was printer, publisher, and editor of several journals in Ill. and Cal., and established the *Spokane Falls Review*.

John M. Reed, born in Mo. in 1842, removed to Or. in 1869, and to Wash. in 1879; had been a member of the Or. legislature from Clackamas co., and county commissioner of Whitman co., W. T.; by occupation a farmer.

O. H. Joy, born in N. H. in 1830, came to Cal. in 1849, where he assisted in forming the mining laws; removed to Wash. in 1878, and settled at Brisfort in Lewis co., as a farmer and mill-owner.

Trusten P. Dyer, born in Warren co., Mo., in 1856, graduated from the Central Wesleyan College of Warrenton in 1874, taught school for 3 years, was admitted to law practice in 1875, was chief clerk of the registry department of the St Louis post-office, city attorney of St Louis in 1885–6, prosecuting attorney for St Louis co., twice elected to the legislature, colonel of the National Guard of Mo., and member of the national convention of Chicago. He settled in Seattle 1888, was first president of the Harrison legion of that city, and married Miss Mary A. Pontius, also of Seattle.

Thomas Milburne Reed, born in Sharpsburg, Ky, in 1825, attended such schools as the country then afforded during the winter terms, at the age of 18 began teaching and studying at the same time, and was clerk in a country store. When gold was discovered in Cal. he came by sea from N. O. to the Pacific coast, mined 2 years, formed a partnership with John Conness, afterward U. S. senator from Cal., in a store at Georgetown; went to Fraser river in 1858, and thence to Olympia, W. T., where he continued to reside, with the exception of 2 years in Idaho during the Salmon river gold rush. He was returned to the Wash. legislature from Lewiston in 1862–3, and to the Idaho legislative body in 1864; was admitted to practice law in Idaho, but returned to Olympia in 1865, and qualified himself as practical surveyor and civil engineer, becoming chief clerk in the office of the U. S. surveyor-general for 7 years, after which he resumed surveying. In 1876 he was elected a member of the Wash. council, was chosen president at the session of 1877, and appointed by the governor auditor-general the same year.

H. F. Suksdorf, born in Schleswig Holstein, Germany, in 1843, came to the U. S. in 1858, settling upon a farm in Scott co., Iowa, where he worked until 20 years of age, when he began his studies at the Quincy, Ill., academy and Iowa state university, graduating from the law department in 1870. Was appointed deputy U. S. marshal to take the census of Davenport, 1870; elected delegate to the liberal republican national convention at Cincinnati in 1872, which nominated Horace Greeley for president; removed to Or. in 1872, was deputy county clerk under J. A. Smith; was appointed U. S. supervisor of census for Or. in 1880, and removed to Spokane Falls, Wash., in 1881, engaging in farming.

T. T. Minor, born in Conn., in 1844, was educated in the public schools, and studied medicine. At the age of 17 years he volunteered as a private soldier in the 7th Conn. regt, was made hospital steward, and afterward asst surgeon of the 1st S. C. regt. In 1864 he resumed his medical studies, and received his diploma from Yale in 1867. The following year he came to Wash. for the Smithsonian institution, and decided to make his home on Puget Sound. He was chiefly instrumental in establishing the marine hospital at Port Townsend, but subsequently removed to Seattle, of which city he was mayor, and a most influential and helpful citizen. His death occurred by drowning in the Sound, together with Col G. M. Haller, son of Col G. O. Haller, and Lewis Cox, while hunting in canoes, in Dec. 1889.

S. H. Marly, born in Norwalk, O., in 1847, came to Wash. in 1882. He was a physician, and had represented Whatcom, San Juan, and Skagit counties in the territorial legislature, where he was instrumental in placing the insane asylum in Pierce co.

Lewis Neace, born in Germany in 1835, migrated to the U. S. in 1847, was brought up in Penn., and came to Wash. in 1859, locating in Walla Walla co., where he continued to reside, farming and stock-raising.

vexed question of tide-lands,[4] which it claimed for the state, except such as had been patented by the United States, thus settling disputed titles. It provided for five supreme judges, and ordained superior courts in all the counties. It fixed the number of representatives at not less than 63, nor more than 99, and the senate at not more than half nor less than a third of that number, the first legislature to have 70 members in the house and 35 in the senate. The salaries fixed upon for state officers were liberal without being extravagant, and left the question of the seat of government to the choice of the people at the election for the constitution; or if not decided

James A. Hingate, born in McDonough co., Ill., in 1844. He first settled in Umatilla co., Or., then in Walla Walla, but removed to Pullman in 1880. He had served as deputy circuit clerk in Ill., and had been county commissioner in Or.

P. C. Sullivan, born in Nebraska in 1859, came to Wash. in 1883, settling in Colfax with his brother E. H. Sullivan in legal business, but removed to Tacoma in 1888.

J. J. Travis, born in Tenn. in 1858. He was appointed to the Colville Ind. agency during the administration of President Cleveland.

J. J. Browne, born in Ohio in 1844, was brought up in Ind., and became a lawyer by profession. He removed to Kansas and thence to Or., finally locating at Spokane Falls, in Wash., where he was president of the Browne National bank, and ranked as the first capitalist of the city.

George H. Stevenson, born in Iron co., Mo., came to Wash. in 1882, and located at the Cascades, where he engaged in salmon fishing. He was auditor of Skamania co., and a member of the legislature of 1887–8.

Thomas Hayton, 57 years of age, came to Wash. in 1876, and settled on a farm in Skagit co., near La Conner.

S. A. Dickey, born in Penn. in 1858, was a teacher, and superintendent of schools in Kitsap co., near Silverdale.

H. M. Lillis was a teacher in the public schools of Tacoma, and member of the city council.

C. T. Fay was 60 years of age, and had for a number of years resided in the territory, and was one of the commissioners of Pierce co.

[4] The vexed question of tide-lands was settled only as to the future; but the trouble of Seattle and Tacoma was that Valentine and McKee held tide-land in front of these towns which had been taken up with scrip authorized by congress, to be issued in payment for certain lands acquired by Valentine, known as the Mirande Mexican grant, in Sonoma co., Cal., and which he deeded to the U. S.; the terms of the certificates being that locations could be made on any 'unoccupied, unappropriated public lands of the U. S., not mineral,' etc. The cases to be settled in the courts will involve the question of the right of the U. S. to give or sell the land properly belonging to the future state. The Seattle and Walla Walla R. co. had received a donation of these lands from the city of Seattle, and held them peaceably for years; but after outside lands began to be valuable, there arose trouble with squatters, who disputed the right of the city to these lands belonging to the government. The same trouble existed at Tacoma, and even at Walla Walla.

then by a majority of all the votes, to another election between the two places having the highest number of votes; and when it should be located, it could not be changed except by a two-thirds vote of all the electors of the state. Three articles were to be voted upon separately, namely, woman suffrage, prohibition, and the seat of government.[5]

Conventions were held, and party forces marshalled for the election of state officers and representatives, to be held at the same time that the election for the constitution was commanded to be had; namely, on the 1st of October. The returns showed that there were 40,152 votes for the constitution, and 11,879 against it. For woman suffrage, 16,527, and 34,513 against.[6] For prohibition, 19,546, and 31,487 against. For the capital at Olympia, 25,490 votes; for North Yakima, 14,718; for Ellensburg, 12,833; for Centralia, 607; Yakima, 314; Pasco, 120; scattering, 1,088—leaving the seat of government to be decided in the future.

The state officers elected were John L. Wilson, congressman; Elisha Pyre Ferry,[7] governor; Charles E. Laughton, formerly lieutenant-governor of Nevada, lieutenant-governor; Allen Weir, secretary of state; A. A. Lindsley, treasurer; T. M. Reed, auditor; William C. Jones, attorney-general; Robert B. Bryan, superintendent of public instruction; W. T. Forrest, commissioner of public lands. The supreme judges elected were Ralph O. Dunbar, Theodore L. Stiles, John P. Hoyt, Thomas J. Anders, and Elman Scott. Every candidate elected was republican.

[5] I am aware that this summary of the constitution is too brief to do justice to that instrument, but space does not permit me to make an extended review. Fortunately, the instrument itself is open to all in the laws of the new state.

[6] The suffragists laid the defeat of their cause to the prohibitionists, who were hated by the saloon men, who lumped the two together and fought both. A good many women voted under the law of 1883, but their votes were not counted, and some suits at law were threatened to grow out of it.

[7] E. P. Ferry was a popular man with all parties, although he polled only the regular majority of his party, 8,979, and I regret that his modesty has left his antecedents unknown to me.

The election for state senators and representatives was an overwhelming triumph for the republicans, there being but one democratic senator and six democratic representatives elected, making the republican majority on joint ballot 96.[8] The choice of republican senators was therefore assured. Owing to a delay in the issuance of the presidential proclamation,[9] the state was not admitted until after the legislature had assembled. Considerable confusion and agitation followed, the several senatorial candidates improving the time in labors to increase their following.[10] The state

[8] These are the names of the first state senators, with their counties: F. H. Luce, Adams, Franklin, and Okanagan; C. G. Austin, Asotin and Garfield; C. T. Wooding, Chehalis; Henry Landes, Clallam, Jefferson, and San Juan; L. B. Clough, Clarke; H. H. Wolfe, Columbia; C. E. Forsythe, Cowlitz; J. M. Snow, Douglas and Yakima; Thomas Paine, Island and Skagit; W. D. Wood, J. H. Jones, O. D. Gilfoil, John R. Kinnear, W. V. Rinehart, King; W. H. Kneeland, Kitsap and Mason; E. T. Wilson, Kittitass; Jacob Hunsaker, Klickitat and Skamania; J. H. Long, Lewis; H. W. Fairweather, Lincoln; B. A. Seaborg, Pacific and Wahkiakum; John S. Baker, L. F. Thompson, Henry Drum, Pierce (Drum was the one democrat in the senate); Henry Vestal, Snohomish; Alexander Watt, E. B. Hyde, B. C. Van Houton, Spokane; H. E. Houghton, Spokane and Stevens; N. H. Owings, Thurston; Platt A. Preston, Geo. T. Thompson, Walla Walla; W. J. Parkinson, Whatcom; John C. Lawrence, J. T. Whaley, A. T. Farris, Whitman.

The representatives were W. K. Kennedy, Adams; William Farrish, Asotin; L. B. Nims, J. D. Medcalf, Chehalis; Amos F. Shaw, John D. Geoghegan, S. S. Cook, Clarke; A. B. Luce, Clallam; A. H. Weatherford, H. B. Day, Columbia; Chandler Huntington, Jr, Cowlitz; E. D. Nash, Douglas; C. H. Flummerfelt, Franklin; W. S. Oliphant, Garfield; George W. Morse, Island; Joseph Kuhn, Jefferson; J. T. Blackburn, W. C. Rutter, W. H. Hughes, Alex. Allen, W. J. Shinn, George Bothwell, F. W. Bird, F. B. Grant, King; M. S. Drew, Kitsap; J. N. Power, J. P. Sharp, Kittitass; Bruce F. Purdy, R. H. Blair, Klickitat; S. C. Herren, Charles Gilchrist, Lewis; P. R. Spencer, T. C. Blackfan, Lincoln; John McReavy, Mason; Harry Hamilton, Okanagan; Charles Foster, Pacific; George Browne, A. Hewitt, George B. Kandle, Oliff Peterson, James Knox, Stephen Judson, Pierce; J. E. Tucker, San Juan; J. E. Edens, B. D. Minkler, Skagit; George H. Stevenson, Skamania; Alexander Robertson, A. H. Eddy, Snohomish; J. W. Feighan, J. E. Gandy, S. G. Grubb, J. S. Brown, A. K. Clarke, E. B. Dean, Spokane; M. A. Randall, Stevens; W. G. Bush, Francis Rotch, Thurston; Joseph G. Megler, Wahkiakum; Joseph Painter, Z. K. Straight, James Cornwall, Walla Walla; R. W. Montray, George Judson, Whatcom; J. C. Turner, E. R. Pickerell, J. T. Peterson, R. H. Hutchinson, B. R. Ostrander, Whitman; John Cleman, Yakima. The democrats in the house were Weatherford, Nash, Flummerfelt, McReavy, Judson, and Stephenson.

[9] The delay was occasioned by the omission of the signature of Gov. Moore to the certificate attached to the copy of the constitution forwarded, the enabling act requiring it to be signed by both the governor and secretary.

[10] The candidates were, in eastern Washington, John B. Allen, Thomas H. Brents of Walla Walla, and S. B. Hyde and Ex-judge George Turner of Spokane. Tacoma furnished Gen. J. W. Sprague and Walter J. Thompson,

was admitted on the 11th of November. Although the legislature had convened on the 6th of November as required by the constitution, voting for senators could not take place, as the lieutenant-governor could not take his seat as president of the senate until the Monday following, which was the 18th, and to that day the inauguration ceremonies were postponed. Governor Ferry was sworn in by Justice John P. Hoyt, and very great enthusiasm prevailed at the capital. On the following day the legislature being fully organized, balloting for senators took place immediately, J. B. Allen[11] being chosen on the first ballot in both houses, the vote being 25 in the senate and 46 in the house—total 71. On the second ballot Watson C. Squire was chosen by a vote of 30 in the senate, and 46 in the house—total 76, the remainder scattering.

The justices of the supreme court had already drawn their terms, Scott and Anders drawing the two slips marked three, and Stiles and Dunbar those marked five, which left Hoyt the seven year term. Scott re-

and Seattle, Ex-gov. Watson C. Squire. These were the principal aspirants, although Ex-congressman Voorhees of Colfax was in the field, with Chauncey W. Griggs of Tacoma. S. C. Hyde of Spokane Falls withdrew before the election.

Thompson was the youngest man in the race. He was born in Wis. in 1853, was educated in the common schools of Burlington, and learned the trade of carpentry. At 18 years of age he began to go west, living a few months in Iowa, in Hebron, Nebraska, 2 years, where he was deputy county treasurer. On attaining his majority in 1873, he formed a law partnership, and in 1875 was admitted to practice. He also organized a bank, and engaged in stock-raising and various undertakings, in which he was successful. In 1883 he removed to Wash., locating in Tacoma, where he purchased the bank of A. J. Baker, organizing the merchants' national bank, of which he became president. From a capital of $50,000 it has increased to $250,000. Out of his wealth he donated $20,000 to establish a training school of manual skill at Tacoma. He served in the legislature in 1886, and was elected to the senate in 1887–8.

[11] John Beard Allen was born in Crawfordsville, Montgomery co., Ind., May 18, 1843, received a common school education, and in 1864 enlisted in the 138th Ind. infantry, serving in Tenn. and Ala. until mustered out, when he went to Rochester, Minn., as agent for a grain firm. He read law, and attended the law school at Ann Arbor, Mich., being admitted to practice in 1869, and coming to Wash. in 1870, and opening an office in Olympia. His talents were soon recognized, and he was appointed U. S. attorney for W. T., which position he held for ten years. He removed to Walla Walla in 1881, and was, as elsewhere mentioned, elected to congress, though he did not take his seat.

quested that Anders, who was his elder, should be elected chief justice, which was so done. Solomon Smith of Goldendale was elected clerk, and the rules of the territorial supreme court were adopted for the time, the court adjourning to the first Monday in January.[12]

Although the new-made state had been thirty-six years in the condition of a territory, few of its members were born on its soil. Yet the average age of its first senators was not far from forty years, although the young majority had mingled with them a dignifying proportion of pioneers, as a few threads of silver on the brow of a mature man add dignity to his still evident youthfulness. Only about half a dozen members of both houses had resided in the territory from the year of its organization; several were Oregonians or Californians by birth, and a few were of foreign birth. Almost enough to constitute a company had fought in the battles of the civil war; some had in other states gained experience as legislators, and in both bodies there was a high order of practical intelligence.[13]

[12] Chief Justice Anders was born in Seneca co., Ohio, in 1838, and admitted to the bar at Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1863. He came to Wash. in 1871, was associated with Thomas H. Brents of Walla Walla in law practice, and was prosecuting attorney of that district for five terms.

[13] C. G. Austin was born in Avon, Ohio, March 18, 1846. Served in the war of rebellion, was twice clerk of the 7th judicial district of Minnesota, and after removing to Wash. was appointed clerk of the district court for Garfield and Asotin counties. His business was that of a dealer in grain and agricultural machinery.

John S. Baker was born in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 21, 1861, and removed to Tacoma in 1881.

L. B. Clough was born in Waterbury, Vt, May 12, 1850. He removed to Vancouver, W. T., in 1877, and engaged in fruit-raising. He was elected sheriff in 1884, and served two years. In 1888 he was elected representative from Clarke co., but the legislature not assembling, he was elected state senator.

Henry Drum was born in Girard, Macoupin co., Ill., in 1857, and educated at the Illinois state university. He removed to Hebron, Nebraska, where he was a banker, and also engaged in stock-raising until 1883, when he removed to Tacoma, where he, with Walter J. Thompson, purchased the bank of New Tacoma, which was reorganized as the Merchants' National bank, of which he was, when elected to the senate, vice-president. He was president of the school board of Tacoma, and was elected mayor in 1888, serving one year; and was director in several commercial enterprises.

A. T. Farris was born in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, which he left in 1867, and

The machinery of the new state was now in motion,

removed to Wash. in 1883, where he engaged in hardware business at Pullman. He was elected to the legislature in 1888, and state senator in 1889.

C. E. Forsythe was born in Penn., in 1850, and received a common school education, with an apprenticeship at carpentering. In 1875 he removed to Hood river, Or., but settled in Kelso, Wash., where he taught school. He was elected county auditor in 1880, on the republican ticket, serving four years; was also clerk and deputy clerk of the district court. Subsequently engaged in real estate and acquired a comfortable fortune.

O. D. Gilfoil was born at Rhinebeck, N. Y., July 8, 1863. He was brought up on a farm, but worked himself up to a railroad contractor. In Wash. he built bridges and constructed other works on the Lake Shore, Seattle, and Eastern R. R. He was the youngest man in the senate.

H. E. Houghton, who migrated from Wisconsin to Wash., was about fifty years of age, and had been a state senator in Wis. He was several times city attorney of Spokane Falls, where he was member of the law firm of Houghton, Graves, and Jones.

Jacob Hunsaker was a native of Illinois, about forty-four years of age. In 1846 his parents emigrated to Or., and he obtained his education at Pacific university, after which he taught school in Or. and Wash. He went to Peru and spent a year on the Challas, Lima, and Oroya R. R., in the employ of Keith & co., returning in 1873 to Thurston co., where he married a daughter of Hon. A. J. Chambers of Olympia, and finally settled in Klickitat co., as a merchant and farmer. He was county commissioner for four years.

E. B. Hyde was born in Utica, Winnebago co., Wis., Jan. 13, 1849, and resided on a farm until he was thirty years of age. He removed to Wash. in May, 1881, settling at Spokake Falls. He was the first marshal of that city, holding the office four terms; was a member of the city council two years, and held other minor offices. His business was real estate and banking. He was a delegate from Wash. to the Chicago republican convention, which nominated Benjamin Harrison for president.

J. H. Jones of King co. was born in England in 1857, soon after which his parents removed to the U. S., settling in Penn. He was a coal-miner in Penn., and on removing to Wash., in 1885, again engaged in coal mining. He was elected to the legislature in 1888, and the state senate in 1889.

W. H. Kneeland was born in Lincoln, Me, Dec. 11, 1848. He secured an education by alternate study and teaching. In 1869 he engaged in lumbering in Penn., and in 1876 became interested in the oil regions. About 1880 gas-wells were discovered in the northern end of the petroleum belt in the state of N. Y., and he conceived the idea of converting the gas to practical use. To this end he organized a company with half a million capital stock, and constructed the Empire gas line, with over 100 miles of pipe, and with about 8,000 patrons. In 1882 he sold out all his property, and removed to Wash., engaging in lumber business in Mason co. He was unfortunate, losing all his capital, but afterwards partially recovering from his losses.

Henry Landes was born in Germany in 1843, but emigrated thence with his parents in 1847. In 1861 he enlisted in a union regiment, serving through the war. At its close he removed to Wash., went to the mines of B. C., was appointed Indian trader at Neah Bay reservation for six years, after which he established himself in business at Port Townsend. He held various city offices, and was member of the board of commissioners to locate the government buildings, the territorial penitentiary, and the site of deaf, mute, blind, and feeble-minded schools. He founded the First National bank of Port Townsend in 1883, of which he was president; was a projector of and director in the Port Townsend Southern R. R. company, and president of the Olympus water company, besides being colonel of the national guard of Washington.

John C. Lawrence was born at Mount Gilead, Morrow co., Ohio, in 1861.

and running without any perceptible jar. It was

His father dying when he was young, he removed with his mother to eastern Washington in 1878. He was county superintendent of schools, and member of the territorial board of education; also for one term superintendent of public instruction. Later he engaged in real estate business.

J. H. Long was born near Columbus, Ohio, Nov. 27, 1845, and removed to Iowa with his parents in 1860. In 1864 he drove an ox-team to Boisé City, Idaho, as payment for his board en route, and in 1865 made a further remove to Lewis co., Wash. He was elected county assessor in 1869, treasurer in 1873, member of the legislature in 1877, and joint councilman of Lewis and Thurston counties in 1881. He began life in Wash. as a farm hand, but became a proprietor, and engaged in cheese-making in several places, also in milling, being president of the Chehalis flouring mill company, and in stock-raising. He married in 1868 a daughter of Stephen Hodgden, a pioneer of 1849. His daughter married Wm B. Allen, a banker of Tacoma.

F. H. Luce was born in Wisconsin, May 23, 1859. He studied medicine, but removed to Wash. in 1887, and engaged in real estate and banking at Davenport, Lincoln co.

Thomas Payne of Skagit co. was born in New York City in 1855, and removed to Wash. in 1882. He was a telegraph operator, having charge of Mount Vernon station.

J. M. Snow was a civil engineer at Waterville, and about 35 years of age.

N. H. Owings was born in Indianapolis, Dec. 21, 1836, and educated at a seminary in that city. He graduated from the law school of the Northwestern Christian university, and commenced practice in Indianapolis. When the rebellion occurred, he enlisted in the Clay Guards in Washington City to guard the white house, and served 60 days, when he was honorably discharged. He was appointed by Lincoln a general staff-officer, with the rank of captain, and served on the staff of Grant and Sherman, receiving one promotion and two brevets, resigning in 1865 with the rank of lieut-col. He was appointed special agent of the post-office department, and subsequently asst superintendent. On the 5th of Feb., 1877, he was appointed secretary of Washington territory, and held the office four terms.

W. J. Parkinson was born in Ireland, May 10, 1844, removing with his parents to New York in 1845. He prepared for college at Wilbraham academy, Mass., and later attended the Wesleyan university at Middleton, Conn., and Columbia law school in New York City. He was a member of the famous 44th Ellsworth regiment of N. Y. volunteers in 1861, after which he was clerk in the private office of the secretary of war. In 1866 he was admitted to practice at the bar in New York. Removing to Kansas, he was elected attorney of Labette co. in 1867. Subsequently he became principal of a seminary in N. C., but returned to Saratoga co., N. Y., and was vice-president of the county agricultural society in 1887–8, and stumped the state of N. Y. for Harrison and Morton in 1888.

Platt A. Preston of Walla Walla co. was born in Saratoga co., N. Y., in 1837. He removed to Omaha, Neb., in 1853–4, where he was employed by the Omaha and Nebraska ferry company. In 1860–1 he went to Colorado, Montana, and Idaho, and in 1866 settled at Waitsburg, Wash., where he engaged in milling and merchandising with his brother, W. G. Preston, and S. M. Wait, and also in farming and stock-raising. He was elected to the territorial legislature, and was mayor of Waitsburg for several years.

W. V. Rinehart of King co. was born in Clinton co., Indiana, in 1836. He resided in Oregon for many years, and served in the 1st Oregon cavalry, 1862–5, being commissioned captain and major. In 1883 he removed to Seattle.

B. A. Seaborg, from Pacific co., was born of Swedish parents, at Wasa, on the coast of Finland, July 29, 1841, removing to the U. S. in 1867, and to Astoria, Or., in 1873, whence he again removed to Ilwaco, on the north

richly endowed by nature and by the general govern-

side of the Columbia in 1880. Here he formed the Aberdeen packing company, and established a salmon cannery, as well as one at Gray Harbor and Bay Centre. He was interested in transportation and other enterprises for the public benefit. In 1883 he was elected commissioner of Pacific co. He was appointed pilot commissioner by three successive governors, and elected school director of his district.

George F. Thompson of Walla Walla was about 40 years of age, and a lawyer by profession. He had resided in the territory for 12 years, and had held the offices of prosecuting attorney, probate judge, and mayor of the city of Walla Walla.

L. P. Thompson was born in Jamestown, Chatauqua co., N. Y., in 1827, and received a common school education. In 1848 he migrated to Chicago, whence in 1849 he went to Sacramento, Cal. Observing that Oregon lumber was in great demand, he went to Milwaukee, Or., spending two years in alternate lumbering and mining. In 1852 he removed to Steilacoom and built a mill near Fort Nisqually, which he operated until the Indian war of 1855, when he held a commission in the regular army and later in the volunteer service in the quartermaster's department. He was a member of the first legislative assembly of Wash. territory; served in the Indian department several years; introduced hop-growing north of the Columbia; was an incorporator and director of the Merchants' National bank of Tacoma; a director of the Washington National bank and president of the Farmers' and Merchants' bank of King co., and was an extensive hop-grower at Sumner.

B. C. Van Houton was about 38 years of age and a successful business man of Spokane Falls, being president of Citizens' National bank, and auditor of Spokane co. for two years.

Samuel Vestal was born in Clinton co., Ohio, in 1845, and removed to Wash. in 1872. He taught school in Cowlitz co. until 1876, when he engaged in merchandising at Kalama, being elected county treasurer the same year, and re-elected in 1878 and 1880. In 1879, his store being consumed by fire, he formed a mercantile partnership with H. C. Comegys, and together they removed to Snohomish, where he was elected to the state senate.

H. H. Wolfe of Columbia co. was a native of Ohio, engaged in merchandising and farming at Dayton, Wash. He had been a long time in the territory.

Alexander Watt was born in Jefferson co., Ohio, in 1834, immigrating to Cal. with his parents in 1849. He mined and prospected for gold in every territory of the northwest and in B. C., finally settling in Yamhill co., Or., where he married and followed farming. In 1879 he removed to Spokane co., Wash., and was elected county assessor in 1888, and state senator in 1889.

John T. Whalley was born near Manchester, Eng., in 1856, and came to the U. S. in 1871, settling in Illinois where he had relatives. In 1873 he again migrated, this time to Or., where he was employed on farms in Yamhill and Washington counties for one year, when he began a course of study, graduating at Forest Grove in 1881. During this time he supported himself by laboring during vacations, or teaching. At the end of the course he went east and studied two years at Yale divinity school, and one year at Andover theological seminary, after which he was settled at Lawrence, Mass., for three years. He then returned to the west and resided at Colfax, Wash., with the intention of engaging in raising blooded cattle and horses.

Eugene T. Wilson was born at Madison, Wis., Dec. 11, 1852. At the age of 13 years his parents removed with him to Montana. In 1876 he came to Columbia co., Wash., and served in the Indian war of 1877 as 1st lieut of Idaho volunteers. In 1881 he established the Pomeroy *Republican*, afterwards the *East Washingtonian*, which he sold out, and in 1883, in company with F. M. McCully, purchased the *Columbia Chronicle* of Dayton. This also was disposed of in 1887 to O. C. White, its original proprietor. In 1885-6

ment. Its legislature would require several months,

he served as clerk of the legislative council; and in 1887 removed to Ellensburg, where he took charge of a mercantile establishment, which was consumed by fire in 1889. He was a member of the city council of Ellensburg.

William D. Wood was born in Marin co., Cal., Dec. 1, 1858. He resided there on a farm, and by labor earned the means to educate himself at the Napa collegiate institute, and by teaching paid his expenses at the Hastings law school of S. F. He also became a skilled stenographer. In 1882 he removed to Seattle, and the same year he was elected probate judge of King co. He was president of the Wood brothers' land and trust company, and made real estate investments and improvements at Green lake near Seattle.

C. F. Wooding was a native of Michigan, about forty years of age, and a banker at Aberdeen. He was also engaged in improvements at Gray Harbor.

The members of the house of representatives were known as follows:

Alexander Allen, born in Scotland in 1842, emigrated thence with his parents in 1849, settling in Wis. He served in the 24th Wisconsin reg't during the war. In 1875 he came to Wash., first residing in Port Madison, but removing to Seattle. By occupation a ship-builder, he was made superintendent of the Seattle dry-dock company.

F. W. Bird, aged about forty years, was a locomotive engineer, who had followed his calling in King co. for 15 years; but had seen the want of building material in Seattle, and turned his attention to the manufacture of brick.

John T. Blackburn was born in Yorkshire, Eng., Aug. 14, 1844, and was apprenticed to a horticulturist. He emigrated to Ill. in 1867. In 1873 he married Miss J. P. Giddings, niece of Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, and in 1884 removed to Vashon island, Puget Sound, where he engaged in farming. He was appointed postmaster at Vashon in 1885, and notary public in 1887. In 1888 he was elected to the legislature which did not assemble.

C. T. Blackfan was born in Ill. and served in the union army, where he was known as the baby of Gen. Harrison's brigade. In 1879 he removed to farm in Wash.

H. Blair was born on a farm in Polk co., Mo., Sept. 19, 1855, where he resided until he came to his majority, when he voted for a republican president. In 1877 he removed to Vancouver, teaching school in Clarke co., and studying medicine. He graduated from the medical department of the Willamette university in 1883, after which he began the practice of his profession and settled in Bickleton, 1886.

George Bothell of King co. was born in Clarion co., Penn., in 1844, and served during the war of the rebellion in the 135th Penn. infantry and 14th Penn. cavalry, being captured by Early's forces, July 4, 1864. He came to Wash. in 1879, and engaged with his brother in logging and shingle-making at Bothell, at the head of Lake Washington.

Josiah S. Brown was born March 6, 1845, in the parish of Burton, Sunbury co., in New Brunswick. When 9 years of age he removed to Aroostook co., Me, where he lived on a farm, and attended the district school. He served through the civil war, being in almost all the famous battles of the rebellion, was wounded, and was but twenty years of age when mustered out in 1865. In 1867 he joined the engineer battalion of the U. S. army, and came to the Pacific coast in 1868, serving in five states and territories, and being wounded in the Modoc war, and specially mentioned for gallantry. After this last service he came to reside in Spokane co., Wash., on a farm. He was a delegate to the republican territorial convention at Ellensburg in 1888, and to the republican state convention at Walla Walla in 1889.

George Browne was born in Boston in 1839, and was an employee of a bank in Wall street, New York, before the war broke out. During the war he was a staff officer; after its close, he began making investments in different

with the assistance of the code commissioners, to

localities, and in 1887 settled in Tacoma, where he became one of the incorporators of the Tacoma and St Paul lumber company, and one of the owners of the Fern Hill Motor railway.

W. O. Bush, son of George W. Bush, the colored pioneer of Wash., was born in Mo. in 1832. He was a successful agriculturist, his exhibits of wheat at the centennial exposition in 1876 taking the premium over all other wheat in the world. His certificate was deposited in the state library at Olympia.

A. K. Clarke was born in Windsor co., Vt, in Dec. 1849. In 1862 he joined a Vermont regiment, and was in the battle of Gettysburg before he was 14 years old. He served throughout the war, and after the war began attendance at a military university; but the habit of active life was too strong, and he entered the regular army in 1866, serving in Indian wars for 20 years, his last fighting being in the Nez Perce war of 1877. He was discharged in 1879 from Fort Cœur d' Alene, and settled at Rockford, in Spokane co.

John Cleman was born in Lane co., Or., in 1855, and removed to a stock farm in Yakima co., Wash., in 1865. There he spent his life; married, had children, improved his land, and never engaged in politics. His friends sent him to the first state legislature.

S. S. Cook, also born in Or., in 1854, represented Clarke co., where he had resided 10 years. He was a stone-mason, and had contracts in Seattle.

James M. Cornwall was born in Orange co., Ind., Aug. 7, 1834, and reared on a farm, in Edgar co., Ill. At the age of 18 he started with an elder brother to cross the plains. James settled on a land claim a few miles west of Portland, and farmed it for ten years, having in the mean time married Miss Mary A. Stott. In 1860 he visited Oro Fino mines, and examined the Walla Walla valley with reference to settlement, taking up land near Dry creek for a cattle rancho. That winter, the severest in the history of the country, killed off all his stock. In 1868 he purchased a farm 9 miles from Walla Walla, where he made his home. He was elected joint representative of Whitman and Walla Walla counties in 1881.

Henry B. Day was born in Tazewell co., Va, in 1830. He removed to Wis. in 1847, and to Or. in 1851. In 1859 he took cattle into the Walla Walla country, afterwards mining in Montana, trading and packing until 1870, when he turned his attention to sheep-raising and stock business generally, settling at Dayton.

E. B. Dean was born in Iroquois co., Ill., in 1842, and reared on a farm. He served in the 18th Iowa infantry during the rebellion. His occupation is that of a brick-mason.

M. S. Drew was born in Machias, Washington co., Me, in 1827. He migrated to Minn. when 18 years of age, and in 1852 came to the Pacific coast, via Panamá isthmus. Two years later he settled at Port Gamble in the employ of the Puget mill company, where he remained, except when serving two years as collector of customs for Puget Sound district, under Grant's administration.

A. H. Eddy was born at San José, Cal., in 1853. Reversing the usual rule, he moved eastward to Illinois, Texas, Colorado, returning to Cal. and practising as a physician. In 1881 he came to Wash., and engaged in contracting and building.

John J. Edens, from Skagit co., was born in Marshall co., Ky, in 1849, and removed to Knox co., Mo., at the age of 12 years. He joined the state militia in 1861, and in 1862 enlisted in the 10th Missouri cavalry at St Louis, being in 14 battles. In 1867 he went to Denver, and in engaged in contracting and freighting. In 1871 settled at Guemes in Skagit co.; has held several county offices, and was once elected joint representative of Skagit and Snohomish counties.

William Farriste was born in Richibucto, New Brunswick, in 1835, of

make and revise the laws, which body is in session as

Scottish parents, and engaged in lumbering and mercantile pursuits in that country. He removed to Wash. in 1878, where he again engaged in lumbering, and was never in any political office.

J. W. Feighan was born in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1844, but removed to Ky. He graduated at Miami university in Ohio, in 1870, and studied law in the Cincinnati law school, graduating in 1872. He had previously been in the service of his country from 1862 to the end of the war of the rebellion. He was prosecuting attorney of Lincoln co., Kansas, for six years, and was commander of that department of the grand army of the republic; and ran for congress on the republican ticket in the 2d district of Ky in 1878. He came to Spokane Falls in 1887, and was for a short term city attorney.

C. H. Flummerfell was born July 31, 1863, in Delaware, Warren co., N. J. He studied telegraphy and bookkeeping, holding various positions after the age of 19; was local agent of the N. P. R. R. at Hawley, Minn., and in 1885 located at Pasco, Wash., in the same capacity, where he remained for three years. Becoming interested in cattle-raising he removed Aitapia in the same county where he attended to his stock and acted as telegraph operator for the railroad company.

Charles E. Foster was born in Bristol, Me, Sept. 3, 1844. At the commencement of the war he enlisted in the 32d Massachusetts volunteers, served through the war. In 1864 President Lincoln issued orders for 12,000 men who had followed the sea, and who were in the army, to be transferred to the navy. Foster having a seafaring knowledge was transferred, and was with Farrgut on the U. S. sloop-of-war *Richmond*, and honorably discharged in 1865. After this he followed the sea for 12 years, removing to Wash. with his family in 1877, settling at South Bend, on Shoalwater bay, where he erected a hotel.

J. E. Gandy was born at Fond du Lac, Wis., in 1847. He served through the war as a private in the Union army, and at its close was commissioned a surgeon in the regular army. He came to Wash. in 1875, and practised medicine at Spokane Falls.

J. D. Geoghegan was born in Galway, Ireland, about 1843, and at 3 years of age landed in New York, where he attended the public school. In 1862, being then in St Paul, Minn., he enlisted, served through the war, and in 1866 was commissioned in the regular army. He resigned in 1869, came to the Pacific coast, and served in the Modoc and Pez Perce Indian wars, since which he has resided at Vancouver, where he is in provision and grocery trade.

Charles Gilchrist was born in Scotland, in 1841, and educated there. At 20 years of age he migrated to Canada, and began farming; afterward mined in Nevada and California; and finally made a fortune in lumbering at Washoe, after which he returned to Scotland. In 1878 he came to Wash., and purchased a saw-mill at Centralia, where he founded the Lewis county bank, of which he became president.

Frederick J. Grant was born at Janesville, Ohio, Aug. 17, 1862, and graduated at La Fayette college, Penn., in 1883, when he removed to Seattle, and was for 5 years editor of the *Post-Intelligencer*. He was elected a member of the Walla Walla state convention of Sept. 4, 1889.

S. G. Grubb was born in Meadville, Penn., in 1834, educated at the Meadville Normal school and Alleghany college, and taught school. By trade he was a mason. He enlisted as a private during the war, and was promoted to 2d lieutenant at Chickamauga. In the march to the sea he was ordnance officer for the artillery of the 14th army corps. After the war he engaged in lumbering in northern Michigan, and in 1884 removed to Wash., where he took a homestead claim.

Harry Hamilton was born at Muncie, Ind., in 1859, where he lived on a farm until 1883. The following year he settled upon a tract of land in what was then Stevens co., Wash., 35 miles from Conconully, and engaged in stock-raising.

I write, and there I leave them, confident in the

L. C. Herren was born in North Carolina, in 1856, educated at Firmin university and Wakeforest college, and graduated at Greensboro law school in 1880. He was collector of internal revenue of the 11th division of N. C. in 1882; came to Wash. in 1884, and was elected to the legislature in 1888.

A. S. Hewitt was born in the state of N. Y., in 1853. He came from Ohio to Wash. in 1877, and was for many years a locomotive engineer, helping to organize the order of brotherhood of locomotive engineers. He engaged in real estate business upon the rapid rise of Tacoma, in which he was extremely fortunate.

W. H. Hughes was 35 years of age, and a native of N. Y., who came to Wash. in 1874. Residence Seattle.

Chandler Huntington was born in Multnomah co., Or., Feb. 24, 1849. His parents removed within the same year to Monticello, on the Cowlitz river, where he has resided on a stock-farm ever since. He was son of H. D. Huntington, member of the first territorial legislature.

R. H. Hutchinson was born at Dixon, Lee co., Ill., in 1859, where he resided until 21 years of age, receiving a good education. He taught school, and studied law, being admitted to practice in 1887, when he removed to Wash.

George H. Judson was born in Thurston co., Wash., in 1859, and removed to Whatcom co., which he represented in 1870. He graduated from the Seattle university in 1882, with the degree of B. S., and engaged in surveying and engineering.

Stephen Judson was born in Prussia, in 1837, his parents emigrating with him to the U. S. in 1845, and settling at Galena, Ill. In 1853 they crossed the plains with an ox-team, and entered Wash. by the Nachess pass, residing since that time continuously in Pierce co. He was sheriff of the co. from 1861 to 1869; was elected to the lower house of the territorial legislature in 1871, 1873, and 1881; was co. treasurer one year, and trustee of the Steilacoom asylum for the insane.

George Kandle was born in Savannah, Mo., in 1851, and immigrated with his parents to Portland, Or., the same year. In 1852 they removed to Wash., and finally settled 15 miles south of Steilacoom, in 1865. In 1871 he removed to Tacoma, and took charge of a general merchandise store. He was four times elected county auditor, and in 1878 began real estate and insurance business. He was a member of the board of trustees of the Steilacoom asylum for the insane, and a member of the city council.

William K. Kennedy was born in Chicago, in 1851, of Scotch-Irish parentage, and educated there. He removed from Iowa to Wash., and settled near Ritzville.

J. A. Kuhm was born in Penn., in 1841, was a lawyer by profession, came to Wash. about 1869, and had served several terms in the territorial legislature.

A. B. Lull was a physician, residing at Port Angeles.

John McReavy was born in the state of Maine, in 1840. He had resided for several years in the territory, and was a merchant at Skokomish. He was a member of the constitutional con.

William J. Meade was born in Busti, Chautauqua, N. Y., in Sept. 1856, brought up on a farm, educated at Jamestown collegiate institute and college, taught school, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1881. In 1883 he came to Wash., and practised law in Tacoma. In 1884 was elected town clerk, and held the office until 1889. He was also a member of the Fidelity title insurance and abstract company, and clerk of the Tacoma school district for 3 years, and a member of the Tacoma board of health.

G. Medcalf was a native of Canada, thirty-seven years of age, a butcher by occupation, at Montesano, and had resided many years in the territory.

D. B. Minkler was born in Wis. in 1849, and bred a farmer. In 1874 he came to Wash., settling in Skagit, in lumbering business, in 1877.

hope that their work will be performed with a con-

G. W. Morse was born in Brunswick, Me, in 1830, and his father being a shipbuilder, had sailed all over the globe. He came to Wash. about 1864, helped build the *General Harney*, one of the first vessels built on Puget Sound, and ran a trading vessel from Olympia to Alaska. He settled finally at Oak Harbor, on Whidbey island.

W. R. Moultray was born in Steelsville, Crawford co., Mo., in 1852, and obtained a good business education. He came to Wash. with his father in 1872, and worked at common labor and contracting for four years. He then purchased a trading-post at Nooksack crossing, and carried on a profitable business for a year, when he began hop-growing, which he found remunerative. He married Miss Lizzie Walker in 1877.

E. D. Nash was born in Chautauqua co., N. Y., in 1836, but resided in Mo. from 1858 to 1883. He served in the 12th Missouri cavalry as major during the rebellion. He came to Wash. in 1883, and engaged in milling and merchandising.

J. G. Megler was born in Germany, in 1838, came to the U. S. in 1848, attended school in New York City, learned the trade of a tinsmith, and went to Cairo, Ill., in 1853. When the war was in progress he entered the gun-boat service as paymaster's clerk, was promoted to mate and ensign, and was in the battles of Shiloh, Fort Henry, Donelson, and Vicksburg. After the war he came to Wash., and engaged in the business of canning salmon.

L. B. Nims was born in Wattsburg, Erie co., Penn., in 1836, removing, when three years old, to Wis. He engaged in teaching, but the Pike's peak gold fever drew him westward, and for several years he drifted about in all the Pacific states and territories, returning home and entering Ripon college, Wis., in 1862, where he remained two years. In 1884 he removed to Wash. from Minn., settling in Chehalis co., erecting a hotel in Cosmopolis, near the mouth of the Chehalis river.

W. S. Oliphant was born at Olive Green, Noble co., Ohio, in 1849, and bred a farmer. He came to Wash. in 1880, and was elected to the legislature of 1888, which did assemble.

B. R. Ostrander was born in Ohio, in 1843, and removed to a farm in Ill., in 1855. He served in the civil war, and was mustered out as orderly sergeant, co. H., 83 Ill. vols, in July 1865, after which he attended Lombard university in Galesburg, and married in 1870. Subsequently he was engaged in lumber and grain business for eleven years, in Ill., and dealt in lumber two years in Colorado, removing to Wash. in 1883, and engaging in raising blooded stock.

Joseph C. Painter came to Wash. in 1850 from St Genevieve co., Mo. At the breaking out of the war he returned east, and served in the union army to the close of the contest.

J. T. Person was born in White co., Tenn., in 1856, removing to Mo. in 1859, and residing on a farm. He came to Wash. in 1881, settling at Endicott, and engaging in merchandising.

Oliff Peterson of Pierce co. was born in Knox co., Ill., in 1848, removing in 1857 to Des Moines, Ia. Before he was fourteen years of age he enlisted in the 20th regt of Iowa vols, and served as a private to the close of the war, being wounded several times. After the war he was a contractor in Ia. In 1875 he came to Wash., settling in Pierce co., where he had, in 1889, 1,800 acres, and was engaged in hop and hay raising and dairying, besides owning property in Tacoma. He was for several years warden of the insane asylum at Steilacoom.

E. R. Pickerell was born on a farm in Porter co., Ind., in 1858. He attended a seminary at Stewartsville, Mo., the academic schools of the Missouri state university, and afterwards the law school, and was admitted to the bar in 1883. In 1884 he came to Wash., locating at Palouse City, where, with W. D. Irwin, he founded the Palouse *News*, but soon after sold out his interest and confined himself to the practice of his profession. He was a

scientious desire to lay strong and broad and deep

delegate to the convention of 1888, and chairman of the committee on permanent organization.

Alfred A. Plummer was born in Port Townsend, Sept. 7, 1856, being the son of A. A. Plummer, the pioneer settler of that place. He was county commissioner for four years, and was business manager of the Port Townsend foundry and machine company when elected to the legislature.

Isaac N. Power was born in Olympia, March 16, 1852, and removed to Whidbey island when one year old, residing there until 1876, when he entered the medical department of the Willamette university at Salem, Or., from which he graduated in 1877. He became associated with Dr Minor of Port Townsend in the marine hospital, but removed in 1878 to La Conner, and later to Neah bay. After five years of practice he took a course of lectures in the Pacific medical college of San Francisco, and in 1883 located in Ellensburg.

Bruce F. Purdy was born in Salem, Or., in 1854, and removed to Wash. in 1875, where he engaged in farming and stock-raising. His parents were from Ohio.

Marcy H. Randall was born at Ames, Montgomery co., N. Y., in 1842, migrated to Wis. with his father in 1849, was educated at Carroll college, Waukesha, and was for some years domiciled with his elder brother, Alex. W. Randall, who was governor of Wis., and P. M. general under President Lincoln. In 1861 enlisted in Chicago in the 12th Ill. infantry, was commissioned as captain in co. A, U. S. colored troops, resigned in 1865 on account of ill health, and removed to Montana, where he followed mining and stock-raising until 1886, when he came to Wash., locating on a stock farm near Kettle Falls.

Alexander Robertson was born in Hamilton, Canada, in 1844, and came to Wash. in 1879, settling near Stanwood, and engaging in farming and stock-raising. He served through the war of the rebellion in the union army, having his eyes seriously injured in the service.

Francis J. Rotch was born in Albany, N. Y., Feb. 15, 1863, was educated at the Johns Hopkins university, Baltimore, and at the Dresden polytechnic school in Europe. On returning home he went into the lumber trade in Wis., and removed in 1888 to Wash., where he was secretary of the Seattle lumber manufacturing company on the Portland branch of the N. P. R. R.

W. C. Rutter was born in Westmoreland co., Penn., in 1854, was brought up on a farm, received a liberal education, being specially devoted to mineralogy and mining science. He came to Wash. in 1887.

John P. Sharp was born in Harrison co., Ohio, in 1842, removed with his parents to Mo. in 1848, and to Or. in 1852, settling in Lane co. Afterwards spent some years in eastern Or. and Idaho, and married Miss Rowland of Yamhill co., Or., in 1865, removing to and settling on a farm in Yakima co., Wash. He was elected county commissioner in 1876, and again appointed to the office to fill a vacancy, and was a school director and road supervisor.

Amos F. Shaw was born in Franklin, N. H., in 1839, and lived on a farm until 1859, when he went to the then unorganized territory of Dakota, and was elected a member of the provisional legislature that met at Sioux Falls in the winter of 1859–60. Enlisted in the union army in 1862, and served three and a half years; was sheriff of Clay co., Da, from 1866 to 1869, was secretary of the territorial council in 1869, member of the house of representatives in 1871 and 1875, and of the council in 1881. He came to Vancouver in the autumn of that year, bought and cleared land, and planted a prune orchard. Returning to Dakota in 1884, was appointed warden of the penitentiary, and served two years. Returned to Wash. in 1887, and formed a company to raise and pack prunes.

W. A. Shinn came to Wash. from the eastern states in 1884, was a druggist, and about 35 years of age.

P. K. Spencer was born in Warren co., Ind., in 1849, received a high

the foundations of a commonwealth destined to unimagined greatness.

school education, and graduated in 1873 from the Indianapolis business college. He went to Kansas the same year, engaging in mercantile pursuits, and from there came to Wash. in 1880, being employed as a clerk in a store for four years. He was appointed auditor for Lincoln co., and elected for two succeeding terms. Was elected joint representative for Lincoln, Douglas, Adams, and Franklin counties in 1888.

George H. Stevenson was born in Iron co., Mo., in 1857. He came to Wash. in 1882, settling at the Cascades. He was elected county auditor in 1882 and 1884; joint representative from Skamania, Clarke, and Cowlitz counties in 1886; was appointed inspector of customs to succeed A. L. Sharpstein, but declined to qualify, fearing to jeopardize his seat in the legislature. He was in the fishery business.

Zebulon E. Straight was born in Wayne co., N. Y., in 1840, removed to Wis. in 1846, to Iowa in 1860, and to Minn. in 1861, where he learned the trade of watchmaker and jeweller. In 1870 he came to Wash., establishing himself in Walla Walla City. He was three times elected to the city council, and was a member of almost every political convention held in his town in 18 years, including the state convention of 1889.

J. E. Tucker of San Juan co. was born in Ohio, about 1839, and came to Wash. in 1881, settling on a farm at Friday Harbor. He was a lawyer by profession, and served during the war in the 50th and 69th Ohio regts. He was probate judge of San Juan co.

John C. Turner was born in Cal. in 1853, had an academic education, and the trade of a cabinet-maker. He went to Or. in 1877, residing for three years in Portland and The Dalles, removing to Colfax in 1880. In 1883 he became deputy auditor and recorder, and in 1885 was appointed to fill the place of auditor made vacant by the death of his principal, being elected to the office in 1887. He married a daughter of John Boswell of Colfax. He resided at the time of his election on a 1,000 acre farm, 4 miles S. E. from Colfax.

A. H. Weatherford was born in Putnam co., Mo., in 1853, went to Or. in 1864, and came to Wash. in 1871, residing in Columbia co. until 1880, when he went to Wasco co., Or., where he held the office of commissioner. In 1886 he returned to Wash., and was elected representative from Columbia co. in 1888.

The manufactured products exported are: first, lumber, the chief article of commerce; lime, a valuable product on account of its almost entire absence over a great extent of Oregon and California; barrels, staves, wooden pipe, the proper trees for which manufactures abound in the small valleys about the Sound; canned fish, and coal—if that may be named with manufactures. The other products exported are wheat and other grains, flour, wool, hides, live-stock, potatoes, and hops.

Puget Sound, from its position, extent, depth of water, and its contiguity to the materials required, should be one of the greatest ship-building stations in the world. In addition to the bodies of iron and coal lying adjacent to navigable water, the immense forests that skirt its shore line for more than 1,100 miles furnish abundance of excellent timber for constructing every part of sea-going vessels, from the tough knees of the tide-land spruce to the strong durable planks of red fir, *abies douglasii*, and the tall tapering masts of yellow fir, *abies grandis*. Oak, arbutus, myrtle, and maple furnish the fine-grained woods required for finishing the interior of vessels.

The great merit of the firs is their size and durability, with their habit of growing close together like canes in a brake, and to an immense height without knots or branches. It is not uncommon to find a tree having a diameter of four feet at a distance of ten feet from the ground, which has attained an altitude of 300 feet; nor is it unusual to find spar timbers 150 feet long with a diameter of eighteen inches, perfectly straight and sound. The mills on Puget Sound find no difficulty in furnishing squared timbers of these dimensions, and often cut plank from 60 to 90 feet in length. The fir has not the corrosive acid qualities of the oaks, and therefore iron bolts are not subject to corrosion, but are held so tenaciously by the strong and pitchy fibre of the wood that they will break sooner than be drawn out.

Numerous tests have been made by the French of the strength of fir spars, as compared with those of Riga, which showed that while the bending and breaking resistance of the two were about the same, the American wood possessed a notable advantage in density, having a flexible and tenacious fibre that might be bent and twisted several times in contrary directions without breaking. Nor has the fir been found lacking in durability. It has been the only wood in use for repairing sea-going vessels on the north-west coast, as well as for building numerous river boats and sea-going vessels, which remain sound after many years of service. White cedar, another valuable timber for ship-building, is found in certain localities about the Sound and on the Columbia River.

Want of familiarity with the materials to be found on the Pacific coast made ship-builders cautious, and it was only gradually that they gained confidence. The first vessel built on Puget Sound was the schooner *H. C. Page*, at Whatcom, by Peabody & Roder, in 1853. Her first business was a charter offered by the H. B. Co. to carry sheep to San Juan Island in 1854. *Roder's Bellingham Bay*, MS., 29–30. The same year Bolton & Wilson built the clipper sloop *Rob Roy* five miles below Steilacoom. *Olympia Columbian*, Oct. 15, 1853. H. D. Morgan established a ship-yard at Olympia in 1854, and launched the *Emily Parker*, a schooner of 40 tons, built to run between ports on the Sound. She was chartered by J. G. Parker. *Parker's Puget Sound*, MS., 4. The schooner *Elsie*, 20 tons burden, built at Shoalwater Bay

in 1854 by Capt. Hillyer, *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 282–3, completes the list of vessels that were put up in Washington waters for these two years. About April 1855 the little steamer *Water Lily*, owned by William Webster, and built at some port on the Sound, commenced running between Olympia and

PUGET SOUND.

Port Townsend with passengers and freight. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, April 7, 1855. The first steamer of a good size built on the Sound was the *Julia Barclay*, known commonly as the *Julia*, at Port Gamble. She was

a stern-wheel boat built for the Fraser River trade, and owned by George Barclay of S. F., but subsequently sold to the O. S. N. Co. *Victoria Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1858; *Ebey's Journal*, MS., vi. 171. The first ocean steamer constructed of native woods in the waters of the Sound was the *George S. Wright*, launched May 12, 1860, at Port Ludlow. She was originally planned by William Hammond, Jr, and partially built by him. It was the intention to have named her the *A. V. Brown*, after the postmaster-general. But her frame being sold to John T. Wright, Jr, who enlarged it, she was called first after him, and then *George S. Wright*, after another member of the family. It was as the *George S. Wright* that the vessel was known on the coast. *Port Townsend Register*, May 16, 1860; *Portland Times*, April 30, 1860. She ran from Portland to Victoria for some years, and then from Portland to Sitka. She was wrecked in Jan. 1873, returning from Sitka, it was supposed, in the vicinity of Cape Caution, at the entrance to Queen Charlotte Sound. Every soul on board perished, either by drowning or at the hands of the Indians, and no reliable account of the disaster was ever received. Among the lost were Maj. Walker and wife, and Lieut Dodge of the army. *Port Townsend Argus*, March 18, 1873. There is no complete list of the vessels built previous to 1868. In the report of the surveyor-general for that year it is stated that 29 vessels had been completed and launched, some of them reaching 600 tons. *Zabriskie's Land Laws*, 1076; and in *Browne's Resources* (1869), 574, I find it stated that probably about 50 sea-going vessels had been built, up to that time, on the Sound south of Port Townsend. The returns made in the *Reports of Commerce and Navigation* are imperfect. Between 1858 and 1866 there are no returns, a deficiency only partly accounted for by the destruction of the custom-house papers at Port Angeles in 1863. The *J. B. Libbey*, a 70-ton steamer, was launched from the mill premises of Grennan & Cranney, Utsalady, in December 1862, built by Hammond, Calhoun & Alexander. *Wash. Scraps*, 98. In 1865 or 1866 a small steamer was built at Port Madison for the Coal Creek Mining Company, to be used in towing coal barges on Lake Washington. *Seattle Dispatch*, Dec. 2, 1876. A steamer for the Sacramento River was built at Port Ludlow in 1866; and another three miles below Olympia, by Ethridge, the same year. *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, Feb. 10, 1866. In 1867 the *Chehalis*, for the Chehalis River, was built at Tumwater, mentioned elsewhere. The following year a steam yacht, the *Success*, was built at Snohomish by Thomas Coupe, and launched in May, at which time another was in process of construction—probably the *Favorite*. *S. F. Call*, May 10, 1868. In 1869 was built the popular passenger steamer *Alida*, at Seattle, 114 tons burden. *Port Townsend Argus*, Jan. 23, 1875.

Ship-yards are numerous; ship-builders William Hammond and E. S. Cheasty at Port Ludlow; Grennan & Cranney at Utsalady, and later at Snohomish; Meigs & Co. at Port Madison, under the superintendence of A. J. Westervelt—the lumbering and ship-building company incorporated in 1877, Port Madison and S. F., capital $1,000,000. Meigs had a ship-yard in 1869 or before, as above. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Dec. 1, 1867; *Walla Walla Union*, Aug. 14, 1869. H. Williamson at Steilacoom; Hammond, Calhoun & Alexander at Utsalady; Crowell at the same place; Thompson at Port Ludlow; Oliver Engleblom at Port Blakeley; Bryant at Port Madison; Hammond at Seattle; all before 1870, and who may be considered as pioneers in ship-building. After that the business declined. In 1869 18 vessels, including two steamers, were built, but the following two years witnessed great dulness in the lumber trade, affecting all other branches. *Victor's Or.*, 269; *Meeker's Wash. Ter.*, 34. In 1871 a thousand-ton ship was built at Port Madison—the *Wildwood*, sold after 4 years in the lumber trade for a third more than her original cost. *S. F. Alta*, April 1875—and at Seattle a steamer in 1872, from which time there has been an increase in the number of yards and of vessels built. Middlemas had a ship-yard at Port Ludlow in 1870; Westervelt at Port Madison in 1871; there was another at Freeport—later called Milton—in 1872; Boole had one at Utsalady at the same time; in 1873 Reed Brothers rented Yesler's yard at Seattle and moved their business to

that place from Port Madison, and in 1874 Hall Brothers from Cal. established themselves at Port Ludlow; after which ship-building became a more prosperous industry. *Tacoma Herald*, May 28, 1875. At Port Madison were built after 1862 the barkentine *W. H. Ganley*, 360 tons; the bark *Legal Tender*, 1863, 190 tons; bark *Northwest*, 1865, 315 tons; bark *Tidal Wave*, 1869, 600 tons; the whole four being for the use of the mill in carrying lumber. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 46. Also in 1870 the schooners *Margaret Crockard*, 169 tons; *W. S. Phelps*, 90 tons; and in 1873 the *Mary Hare*, 64 tons, and *Empire City*, 732 tons. The *Empire City* was taken to S. F. and converted into a steamer. It was claimed that building the steamer in this manner saved $10,000 to her owners. *Seattle Intelligencer*, Nov. 22, 1873. In 1874 the barkentine *S. M. Stetson* of 707 tons was built at Port Madison, and in 1876 the sch. *Robert and Minnie*, 99 tons, and str *Dispatch*, 66 tons. *Portland Board of Trade Report*, 1877, 34. At Port Ludlow the sch. *Light Wing* was built in 1870, 101 tons; and bark *Forest Queen*, 511 tons; in 1873 sloop *Z. B. Heywood*, 107 tons; in 1874 barkentine *Pio Benito*, 278 tons; and schooners *Annie Gee*, 155 tons; *Ellen J. McKinnon*, 70 tons; *Twilight*, 185 tons; *Jessie Nickerson*, 185 tons; and sloop *Mary Louisa*, 155 tons. *S. F. Bulletin*, Feb. 10, 1875. The *Ellen J. McKinnon* in 1879 became water-logged in a gale and foundered, only one out of 10 persons on board escaping. *S. F. Post*, April 24, 1879. In April 1875 the schooner *Cassie Hayward*, 200 tons, was launched at Port Ludlow, and in Nov. the schooners *La Gironde*, 205 tons; the *American Girl*, 220 tons; besides the *Annie Lyle*, *Ida Schnauer*, *Emma Utter*, and *Wm L. Beebe*, built the same year. *Seattle Pac. Tribune*, Nov. 27, 1875. In the following year there were launched at this port the schs *Courser*, 357 tons; *Reporter*, 337 tons; *Premier*, 307 tons; barkentine *Quickstep*, 423 tons; and sloop *Katie Stevens*, 5 tons. *Portland Board of Trade Report*, 1877, 34. In 1881 there were built at Port Ludlow the barkentines *Wrestler*, 470 tons; the *Kitsap*, 694 tons; and the sloop *Mystery* of 6 tons register. *Seattle Intelligencer*, Sept. 3, 1882. From the ship-yard at Seattle in 1870 were launched the sch. *Planter*, 121 tons; the str *James Mortie*, 8 tons; and the barge *Diana*, 24 tons. In 1871 the strs *Comet*, 56 tons; *Clara*, 26 tons; *Zephyr*, 162 tons; and the sch. *Lolita*, 120 tons. In 1874 the sch. *C. C. Perkins*, 27 tons; the scow *Schwabacher*, 19 tons; and the strs *Ada*, 81 tons, and *Lena C. Gray*, 155 tons. In the following year there were launched at Seattle the strs *Nellie*, 100 tons; *Minnie May*, 5 tons; and the barkentine *Kate Flickenger*, 472 tons. In 1879 the str *George E. Starr* was launched at Seattle. She was built for L. M. Starr of the Puget Sound S. N. Co., was 150 feet long, 28 feet beam, and 9 feet hold. *Seattle Intelligencer*, April 17 and Aug. 13, 1879. In 1881 there were built at the same place the *City of Seattle*, a sloop of 7 tons; the sch. *Two Jacks*, 6 tons; and the strs *Jessie*, 12 tons; *Sea Witch*, 38 tons; *Alki*, 45 tons; and *Lillie*, 80 tons. At Milton, opposite Seattle, were built the *Etta White*, str, 97 tons, in 1871; the str *George Seabeck*, 39 tons; the scow *M. S. Drew*, 28 tons; and the sch. *Big River* in 1872; the scow *Western Terminus*, 56 tons, in 1873; and the barkentine *Ella*, 260 tons, in 1874. *S. F Bulletin*, February 10, 1875. At Port Blakeley was built in 1868 the double-topsail sch. *Alice Haake*, 104 feet keel, 115 feet deck, 30 feet beam, and 10 feet hold; owned by J. C. Haake & Co., S. F. *S. F. Alta*, Jan. 10, 1868. In 1870 the sch. *Ontario*, 14 tons; in 1872 the str *Blakeley*, 176 tons; and scows *Uncle Davy*, 33 tons, and *George*, 24 tons; in 1874 the schs *Alice*, 232 tons; *Una*, 200 tons; and barkentine *R. K. Ham*, 569 tons; in 1881 the schrs *Lottie Carson*, 226 tons, *Maria Smith*, 365 tons, *Annie Larson*, 377 tons, and str *Harnet*, 8 tons. *Seattle Intelligencer*, 1882, passim. At Port Discovery, in 1872, the schrs *Marietta*, 141 tons, and *Serena*, 206 tons; in 1874, the barkentine *Discovery*, 416 tons. At Stillaquamish two small sloops were built between 1870 and 1876, the *Undine* and *Artful Dodger;* at Whidbey Island the schooner *Dolly Varden*, 19 tons, and sloop *Albion*, 8 tons; at Port Gamble the schooner *George Francis Train*, 28 tons, in 1873, and steamer *Yakima*, 174 tons, in 1874. On Orcas Island the sch. *Orcas* was built in 1873, 11 tons; at Steilacoom the sloop *Magnolia*, 12 tons, and scow *Red Cloud*, 34

tons; at Tacoma the sloop *Polly*, 9 tons, in 1874; at Fidalgo Island the sch. *Fidalgo Traveller*, 9 tons, in 1876; at Port Townsend the sch. *Jennie*, 15 tons; at Arcada the str *Biz*, 80 tons, in 1881. At Olympia, in 1876, were built the strs *Capital*, 24 tons, and *Messenger*, 121. In 1877 the Seabeck Mill Co. built the bark *Cassandra Adams*, 1,127 tons, and the tug *Richard Holyoke;* and in 1880 a ship with a keel 214 feet long, beam 44 feet, 17 feet hold, and single-decked, probably the largest single-decked vessel afloat. *Seattle Intelligencer*, July 1, 1879. John Kentfield & Co. of S. F. also built a sch. at Seabeck in 1880. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 8. In 1881 two barkentines were built there, the *Retriever*, 548 tons, and the *M. Winkelman*, 532 tons. The only steamboat built in the eastern part of the Puget Sound collection district, which included Colville, was the *Forty-nine*, owned by Leonard White. She was launched at U. S. Fort Colville, Nov. 18, 1865. She was 114 feet long and 20 feet 4 inches wide. She was run as high up as Death Rapids, 270 miles. See a very interesting account of her trip in *Leighton's Life at Puget Sound*, 63–74. This little book, by Caroline Leighton, published in 1884, is unique in description of Washington life from 1865 to 1881, and of the natural scenery of the country. The incidents are well chosen and style delightfully natural.

In 1869, a report was made on ship-building to the board of marine underwriters of S. F., by their secretary, C. T. Hopkins, and by Joseph Ringot, in favor of using the Puget Sound and Oregon timber for ships, and showing that the economy in wood more than counterbalanced the higher wages of shipwrights on this coast, and the expense of importing copper, cordage, and other articles. Cordage, linseed oil, pitch, tar, and turpentine could be manufactured here; and so in time could iron and copper. This report declared that 'sailing vessels of any size and description can be built at Puget Sound, at Coos Bay, on the Columbia River, and at several other points north of S. F., of as good quality as the vessels built of Maine materials, and for less money in gold than at New York or Boston, provided the business be undertaken on a large scale by experienced and prudent mechanics, backed up by a large capital.' *Hopkins' Ship-Building*, 26. The cost per ton of a first class New York sailing vessel, exclusive of coppering, was, for a 100-ton vessel, $115, 300 tons $109, 600 tons $96, 1,000 tons $87. The *Northwest*, 315 tons, built in the Sound, cost $87 per ton coppered; the *Tidal Wave*, 600 tons, cost $83 per ton without copper; the *Forest Queen*, 511 tons, cost $117 per ton without copper; the *Wildwood* of 1,000 tons, $73 per ton coppered; the barkentine *Modoc*, built at Utsalady in 1873, $99 per ton without copper. These variations in cost depended upon the amount of capital at hand and local circumstances. To construct a 1,200-ton ship there were required 10,000 working days of all classes of mechanics and laborers, 3,500 days in the yard. *Olympia Transcript*, March 18, 1876; *Tacoma Pac. Tribune*, Sept. 24, 1874.

Propositions to form a company with five millions capital to enter upon ship-building on Puget Sound was made by the S. F. board of underwriters in 1874, which was not, however, acted upon, the chief difficulty appearing to be that mechanics could not be secured in sufficient numbers at reasonable wages, owing to the expense at that time of travelling from Maine to Washington. Undoubtedly the shipping interest has suffered through the indifference of congress to its importance. What with the whale and other fisheries of the Northwest Coast, and the coal and lumber trade, large fleets of vessels of moderate size should be furnished by Puget Sound ship-yards. Down to 1880 there had been between forty and fifty steamers built and employed in the Puget Sound trade. *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, Sept. 14, 1872; *Stuart's Wash. Ter.*, 14; *New Tacoma N. P. Coast*, Jan. 15, 1880.

Prior to 1872 there were between 90 and 100 sailing vessels built, most of them of small size, for the local freight service, the larger ones for the lumber trade. In the ten years following there were from ten to twenty vessels built annually, yet the vast inland sea still looked solitary, and hundreds of miles of wooded shores were as silent as when Vancouver explored them nearly a century before. During the year ending June 30, 1878, 69 sailing and

39 steam vessels were documented at Port Townsend, the port of entry of Puget Sound collection district, with a carrying capacity of 31,000 tons. This tonnage was exceeded by only 28 of the 125 collection districts of the U. S. American vessels in the foreign trade entered in the same year were 263, with a tonnage of 152,828; there were cleared 284, with a tonnage of 167,178. This surpassed that of vessels so entered and cleared during the same time at 120 of the 125 ports of entry in the U. S., being exceeded only by Boston, Charleston, New York, Detroit, and San Francisco. *Rept of Chief of Bureau of Statistics*, 1878, pt ii. 802–4. Foreign vessels entered at Port Townsend during the same time 46, with a tonnage of 19,915; cleared 61, with a tonnage of 30,962. This was exceeded by but 31 out of the 125 ports of entry of the U. S. American ocean steam-vessels in the foreign trade entered during the same time at Port Townsend were 178, with a tonnage of 130,471; cleared 183, with a tonnage of 131,432; exceeded by only 2 other ports of entry in the U. S.—N. Y. and S. F. The tonnage of foreign ocean steam-vessels in the foreign trade, which entered and cleared at Port Townsend during the year ending June 30, 1878, was exceeded but by 10 other ports of the U. S. It was estimated that at least 75 deep-sea vessels in the general coasting trade, which were enrolled and licensed, and did not make entry or clearance, were employed in the Puget Sound trade, only about one third of which were documented in this district, the remainder in S. F. In 1880 there cleared from Port Townsend, for the four months from July to Oct., 66 American sailing vessels for foreign ports, with a tonnage of 46,244. For the same months in 1881 the tonnage of this class was 65,393. The number of American vessels entering from foreign ports in the same months of 1880 was 62; in 1881 it was 115. The number of American steam-vessels entering from foreign ports in the same months of 1880 was 30; in 1881 it was 72. The number clearing was 33 in 1880, and 73 in 1881. The increase in ocean tonnage from and to foreign ports during the same months of 1881 over 1880 was 100 per cent.

Out of the large number of vessels which have come and gone in the thirty-four years since the *Orbit* sailed up to Olympia, few comparatively have been wrecked. I have mentioned the loss of the *Robert Bruce* by fire in Shoalwater Bay, and the brig *Una* on Cape Flattery, both in 1851. In 1852 the northern Indians reported the wreck of an unknown vessel on the coast of V. I., with all on board lost. *Hancock's Thirteen Years*, MS., 234–5. In the winter of 1852–3 the brig *Willimantic*, Capt. Vail, was driven ashore at Eld Island, at the entrance to Gray Harbor, but she did not go to pieces. After vainly attempting to launch her toward the sea, she was dragged across the island and launched on the other side. *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 43; *Davidson's Coast Pilot*, 171. In Sept. 1853 the brig *Palos* was wrecked on Leadbetter Point, at the mouth of Shoalwater Bay. Passengers saved, but the capt. drowned. In 1854 a Chilean bark was wrecked off Cape Classet by becoming water-logged; 14 persons drowned, 1 saved, but died of exhaustion at Steilacoom. *Or. Statesman*, April 11, 1854. In this year, also, the steamer *Southerner* was wrecked near the mouth of the Quillehuyte River. *Hist. Or.*, ii. this series. H. Y. Sewell, of Whidbey Island, went across the mountains to the wreck to save the mail, was taken prisoner by the Indians, and held for some time, but succeeded in his undertaking. He was the first white man to cross the Olympian range to the coast so far north. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii., 58. The schooner *Empire*, Capt. Davis, loaded with oysters, struck on a spit at the north entrance of Shoalwater Bay, where she remained fast and perished. Swan says that the *Empire* and *Palos* were both lost through carelessness, and were the only vessels wrecked at this entrance up to 1856. *Northwest Coast*, 365. The Hawaiian bark *Louika*, Capt. Willfong, went ashore on San Juan Island in July 1855. She was a total loss. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., iii., 73, 81. The *Major Tompkins*, wrecked off Esquimault harbor, Feb. 25, 1855, has been noticed. No lives lost. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, March 3, 1855. Also the *Fairy*, the first steamer in any trade on the Sound. She blew up at her wharf at Steilacoom. *Id.*, Oct. 23, 1857. The steamer

Sea Bird was burned on Fraser River, 14 miles above Langley, Sept. 10, 1858. The *Traveller*, a Sound steamer, was lost in 1858, with five persons on board, by foundering. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, March 12, 1858; *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., iv. 60. In 1859 the schooner *Caroline* was upset on her way into the Sound, near the Lummi Islands; no lives lost. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., vi. 126. In Jan. of the same year the brig *Cyrus*, at port San Juan, was wrecked in a gale, and became a total loss. *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 25, 1859. The ocean steamer *Northerner*, Capt. Dall, running between S. F. and the Sound ports with the mails, was lost by striking a sunken rock two miles below Blunt reef, opposite Cape Mendocino, Jan. 5, 1860, and 36 lives lost. *Steilacoom Herald*, Jan. 20, 1860; *Ebey's Journal*, MS., vi. 260. The American clipper ship *Northern Eagle*, valued at $60,000, was burned in Esquimault harbor in Sept. 1859. She was en route to Puget Sound to load with lumber for Melbourne. Loss from $100,000 to $150,000. *Steilacoom P. S. Herald*, Oct. 8, 1859. On the 10th of May, 1860, the ocean mail-steamer *Panamá*, Capt. Hudson, went ashore on Point Hudson, at the entrance to Port Townsend harbor. She was worked off at high tide, and continued to visit Sound ports as late as 1876. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., vi. 306. Says C. M. Bradshaw, in *Wash. Ter. Sketches*, MS., 69–70: 'Before the erection of the light-house it was not unusual to hear guns fired in the night as signals of distress, or to awake and find some good ship beating upon the beach, at the mercy of the remorseless surf. On such occasions the settlers would rally and assist in getting the seamen on shore, and saving property from the wreck for the benefit of its owners, or aid in getting the ship off, if possible, without fee or reward. Many is the ship-master who has had abundant reason to thank the Dungeness farmers for assistance in dire necessity.' In May 1859 the bark *Mary Slade*, from Steilacoom to S. F., was wrecked near Mendocino, and became a total loss; no lives lost. In March 1862 the schr *Tolo* was capsized in a squall near San Juan, and Capt. Maloney and all her passengers and crew, except two, drowned. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., vii. 81. The schr *Restless* soon after capsized and drifted on Maylor Point, Whidbey Island, where it was broken up. The sloop *Comet*, running between Penn Cove and Utsalady Mills, a distance of 10 miles, disappeared with all on board, supposed to have been sunk by ice. *Wash. Scraps*, 19, 131. A large British ship was wrecked on Race Rocks, in the Strait of Fuca, and a heavy cargo of goods lost, in the winter of 1862. *Or. Statesman*, Dec. 22, 1862. The British ship *Fanny* and Hawaiian bark *Rosalia* were wrecked on Discovery Island, at the entrance to the Canal de Haro, in the spring of 1868; no lives lost. *Seattle Intelligencer*, March 30, 1868. The schr *Growler* was wrecked in the spring of 1867, and such of the crew as escaped were slain by the northern Indians. *Portland Oregonian*, May 18 and June 30, 1867. The schr *Champion* was wrecked at Shoalwater Bay in April 1870. *Seattle Intelligencer*, May 2, 1870. The schr *Rosa Perry* was cast away at the entrance to Shoalwater Bay, Oct. 2, 1872. The crew were rescued by the light-house tender *Shubrick*. *Olympia Transcript*, Oct. 12, 1872. The *Walter Raleigh* was lost near Cape Flattery in the winter of 1872. *S. F. Call*, Dec. 14, 1872. The Nicaraguan ship *Pelican* was lost at the west end of Neah Bay in Jan. 1875; no lives lost. The American ship *Emily Farnum*, Austin master, struck on a rock off Destruction Island, Nov. 18th, and broke up. Two men were drowned. About the same time the schr *Sunshine* was found bottom up, off the mouth of the Columbia. She had 25 persons on board, all lost. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Dec. 11, 1875. The bark *David Hoadley* ran ashore on Rocky Point, in the Straits, Dec. 4, 1880, and was lost. The steam tug-boat *Resolute* exploded her boiler in North Bay, 15 miles from Olympia, Aug. 19, 1868; six lives lost. *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, Aug. 22, 1868. The most shocking calamity in the way of shipwreck which has ever happened in Washington waters occurred in the loss of the old and unseaworthy ocean mail-steamer *Pacific*, Nov. 4, 1875. She left Victoria in the morning, and in the evening, about 40 miles south of Cape Flattery, she collided with a sailing vessel and went down in less than an hour, with 275 souls on board. Two persons only were saved. The two saved, who were picked

up from floating débris 36 and 48 hours after the wreck, were a quartermaster, name unknown, and a Canadian, Henry Frederick Jelly. The loss of ship and cargo was estimated at $125,000, and the treasure on board at $88,000. *S. F. Call*, Nov. 9 and 11, 1875. Since this disaster three large steam-colliers, belonging to the Central Pacific R. Co., have been wrecked—the *Mississippi*, burned at Seattle; the *Tacoma*, going ashore at the mouth of the Umpqua; and the *Umatilla*, running on the rocks at false Cape Flattery, all within the years 1883–4. The two lost at sea were doubtless lost through the wrong policy of the company in employing captains unacquainted with the coast. The escape of vessels from shipwreck for many years on the Sound, where there was no system of pilotage established, and light-houses were wanting, is worthy of remark. Pilotage has never been deemed important, owing to the width of the straits and the depth of water; but light-houses have been urgently demanded of congress by successive legislatures. Pilotage was not established by act of the legislature until 1867–8. *Wash. Stat.*, 1867–8, 33–9. The chairman of the first board was E. S. Fowler, and the secretary James G. Swan. During 1868 9 pilots were appointed, 4 of whom resigned, and one was dismissed. The service was not considered remunerative, and was alleged to be unnecessary by many, who contended it was simply taxing commerce for the benefit of individuals. *Olympia Transcript*, March 28 and Oct. 3, 1868; *Port Townsend Message*, Oct. 8, 1868; *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1869, app. 21–7; *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Dec. 10, 1880. The organic act of Oregon territory appropriated fifteen thousand dollars for the construction of light-houses at Cape Disappointment and New Dungeness, and for buoys at the mouth of the Columbia. *U. S. Stat.* 1848–9, 323. Another act, passed a fortnight later, making appropriations for light-houses and for other purposes, appropriated money for the abovementioned lights, and for another on Tatoosh Island, off Cape Flattery, at the entrance to the Strait of Fuca. *H. Misc. Doc.*, vol. i. 57, 31st cong. 1st sess. Congress, in Aug. 1854, appropriated $25,000 for a light-house on Blunt or Smith Island, in the straits; the same amount for a light-house at Shoalwater Bay; and for the erection of the Tatoosh and New Dungeness lights, in addition to any balance that might remain in the treasury after the completion of the Cape Disappointment light-house, belonging to that appropriation, $39,000. Eight thousand dollars was also granted for placing buoys at the entrances of Shoalwater Bay and New Dungeness harbor. *Cong. Globe*, 2249, 33d cong. 1st sess.

The light house at Cape Disappointment was not completed as soon as expected, owing to the loss of the bark *Oriole* with the material on board in 1853. The contractors, Gibbons and Kelly, recovered $10,558 from the government for the loss of their material. *H. Ex. Doc.*, 113, 2–3. Lieut G. H. Derby was appointed to superintend the construction of light-houses on the Oregon and Washington coast in 1854, *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, July 22, 1854, when the work was finally begun at the mouth of the Columbia. It was completed about 1856, and orders issued to begin the work on the others; but the Indian war and other causes delayed operations for some time. The first light displayed at New Dungeness was on the 12th of Dec. 1857. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., v. 203; Light-house board rept, in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 3, 287, 35th cong. 2d sess. It was of the third order of Fresnel. Tatoosh Island light was displayed about the same time. These two light-houses were erected under the superintendency of Isaac Smith. Those on Blunt Island and at Shoalwater Bay were completed in 1858. In 1872 a first-class steam fog-whistle was added, the fog-bell in use being insufficient. Gov.'s mess., in *Wash. Jour. House*, 1858–9, 18. The Tatooshes were much disturbed by the light on the island; they said it kept away the whales, which did not come in their usual numbers that season. *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1858, 232, 236–8; *Davidson's Coast Pilot*, 179–80. A light-house was completed and light exhibited at Admiralty Head, or Kellogg Point, on Whidbey Island, in Jan. 1861, an appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars having been made in 1856 for this purpose. *Finance Rept*, 1861, 205; *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Jan. 26, 1861; *U. S. Statutes*,

1855–6. The light-house board in their report for 1872 represented that the rapidly increasing commerce of Puget Sound demanded an increase of lights, and asked for an appropriation of $25,000 each for light-houses at Point No-Point, between Port Townsend and Seattle, at West Point, entrance to Dwamish Bay, and at Point Defiance, nine miles north of Steilacoom. To erect a steam fog-whistle at New Dungeness, $8,000 was asked for. Congress in the following March appropriated the required sums for the fog-whistle, and for a light-house at Point No-Point. *Cong. Globe*, app. 271, 42d cong. 3d sess.; Gov.'s mess., in *Wash. Jour. Council*, 1871, app. 110; *H. Ex. Doc.*, 2, 549–50, 42d cong. 3d sess. A bell struck by machinery at interval of ten seconds was added in 1880. The legislature in 1858–9 petitioned for a light-house on Hood Canal, and another on Point Roberts, the most northern point of the straits leading into the gulf of Georgia. The next legislature memorialized congress on the need of a light at Gray Harbor; and the assembly of 1860–1 asked for one at the north-west point of Vashon Island, another at the entrance to Bellingham Bay, and a third at Point Hudson. The sum of $20,000 was appropriated in June 1860 for a light-house at Gray Harbor, but nothing having been done toward erecting one in 1865, the legislative assembly of that winter memorialized congress on the subject. The number of light-houses had not, however, been added to, notwithstanding periodical memorials, and suggestions as to Alki Point, Foulweather Bluff, and Cypress Island, in addition to those before prayed for, when in 1876 negotiations were in progress to purchase land at Point No-Point for the purpose of establishing a light at that place. A light has since been established there. There were in 1884 ten lights on the whole coast of Washington, including the Strait of Fuca and Puget Sound; on Cape Disappointment or Hancock, one of the 1st order, Shoalwater Bay one of the 4th order; Cape Flattery one of the 1st order; Ediz Hook (Port Angeles) one of the 5th order; New Dungeness one of the 3d order; Smith or Blunt Island, Admiralty Head, and Point Wilson each one of the 4th order; Point No-Point one of the 5th, and at West or Sandy Point one of the 4th order. A light of the 1st class can be seen about 20 miles, of the 5th half that distance. *List of Light-houses*, 1884, 66.

An act of congress approved June 20, 1874, authorized the establishment of three life-boat stations on the coast of Washington, with keepers at $200 a year. *Life-Saving Service Rept*, 1876, 55–7. The act, on account of many imperfections, was practically inoperative. To remedy this inefficiency, congress in 1878 passed another act organizing the service into a regular establishment under a general superintendent, whose powers and duties were defined by law, prolonging the period of active service from the first of Sept. to the first of May, increasing the pay of the keepers, and extending their functions so as to include those of inspectors of customs, and detailing officers of the revenue marine corps for the duty of inspecting these stations. The stations authorized in 1874 were at Neah Bay, on the Indian reservation; at Shoalwater Bay near the light-house landing; and at Baker's Bay, Cape Disappointment. These three life-saving stations were not completed until 1878, and cannot be regarded as of very great value, since they are dependent upon the services of volunteers, who might not be at hand in the moment of need.

From a memorial passed by the legislature of 1859–60, it appears that a marine hospital being necessary, I. N. Ebey, then collector of customs at Port Townsend for the district of Puget Sound, entered into a contract with Samuel McCurdy, April 2, 1885, to receive into his hospital all sick and disabled seamen, and provide for them the proper medical attendance, with board and lodging, for the sum of four dollars per day for each patient. In Nov. McCurdy joined the volunteer service as surgeon of the northern battalion, and remained with it until it disbanded in 1856, when he renewed his contract with Ebey's successor, M. H. Frost, at the price of three dollars per day for each patient, continuing to receive and provide for disabled seamen until July 1858, when the contract passed into other hands, McCurdy having received nothing for his services and outlay. *Wash. Stat.*, 1859–60, 503. McCurdy had several successors. P. M. O'Brien, who died a resident of San José,

Cal., was at one time medical director of the marine hospital at Port Townsend, but being in sympathy with rebellion, his resignation was desired and accepted. O'Brien was one of the organizers of the Hibernia Bank of S. F., and died wealthy. *Quigley's Irish Race*, 475–6. One of the most worthy and successful of the directors was T. T. Minor, who was for several years in charge, and made many improvements. Minor was born in Conn., and educated at Yale college, where he was studying medicine when the war of the rebellion began. Although but 17 years of age he enlisted as a private, and was assigned to the medical department in Higginson's 1st S. C. colored regiment. In 1864 he was promoted to be surgeon. At the close of the war he returned to his studies at New Haven. In 1868 he was appointed to visit Alaska and make a collection illustrative of the resources of that territory. On his return he settled at Port Townsend and took charge of the marine hospital, while also conducting a private hospital. *Portland West Shore*, Dec. 1876.

The chief article of export since 1851 has been lumber. The piles and squared timbers constituting the earliest shipments were cut by settlers and ship crews and dragged by hand to the water's edge. The skippers paid eight cents a foot for piles delivered alongside the vessel, and sold them in S. F. for a dollar a foot. Among the first vessels after the *Orbit* and the *George Emory* to load with timber was the *G. W. Kendall*. She was sent to Puget Sound toward spring in 1851 to get a cargo of ice by her owner, Samuel Merritt of S. F. When he returned the captain met Merritt with the announcement, 'Doctor, water don't freeze in Puget Sound!' But he had brought back a profitable cargo of piles, and the doctor was consoled for his disappointment. *Contemporary Biog.*, ii. 94. Getting out spars became a regular business before 1856. Thomas Cranney was one of the first to make it a trade, about 1855. He says he had 9 yokes of cattle, with ropes and blocks equal to 90 more, and with all this power was from 2 to 3 days getting out one spar. But after he had completed his expensive education, he could haul 2 in a day with a single block and lead. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 47–8. On the island of Caamaño, in 1858, a company of Irish Canadians were getting out masts for shipment to Europe. *Rossi's Souvenirs*, 165; *Stevens' Northwest*, 9–10. For this market the timber had to be hewed to an eight-sided form from end to end. For the China market they were hewed square to where they pass through the vessel's deck, and above that round to the end of the stick. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 48. Later they were made square to avoid import duties. A skidded road was prepared on which the spar was to run, a heavy block was made fast to it, and another to a tree ahead, the oxen slowly pulling it by the rope between, along the track, the forward block being shifted farther ahead as the spar advanced, until the chute was reached, which conducted it to the vessel. *S. F. Alta*, Oct. 20, 1862. In loading spars some space is necessarily left, which is filled in with pickets and lath from the mills. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 48. But previous to this, as early as 1855, the bark *Anadyr*, Capt. J. H. Swift, sailed from Utsalady with a cargo of spars, consigned to the French navy-yard at Brest. The shipment was made by Brennan and Thompson to fill a contract made by Isaac Friedlander of S. F. In 1857 the same ship took a cargo of spars from Utsalady to the English navy-yard at Chatham. The spars sent to France were subjected to rigid tests, and found equal to the best. Since 1856 spars have been regularly sent to these markets, and to Spain, Mauritius, China, and elsewhere. The Dutch ship *Williamberg*, in 1856, took out over 100 spars from 80 to 120 feet long, and from 30 to 43 inches diameter at the but, the largest weighing from 18 to 20 tons apiece. *S. F. Alta*, Dec. 29, 1856; *Sac. Union*, Nov. 13, 1857. The first vessel direct from China that ever arrived in Puget Sound was the *Lizzie Jarvis*, in Oct. 1858, to load with spars for that empire. In 1860 the first cargo of yellow-fir spars was shipped to the Atlantic ports of the U. S. in the *Lawson*, of Bath, Maine. These sticks were from 60 to 118 feet in length, and were furnished by the Port Gamble mill company. *Port Townsend Northwest*, Aug. 1860. In the following year

the ship *Indiaman* loaded with spars at Utsalady for the Spanish naval station near St Urbes, and the ship *True Briton* for London. *Id.*, Oct. 26, 1861; *Wash. Scraps*, 20; *Seattle Intelligencer*, Aug. 20, 1879. The annual shipment is about three cargoes. In 1869 2,000 spars were shipped, at a value of $2,067,000. Scammon, in *Overland Monthly*, v. 60.

Milled lumber, owing to the necessities of California, was early in demand on Puget Sound. From the date when Yesler first established a steam-mill at Seattle there has been a forward progress in the facilities and extent of this first of manufactures, until in 1879, a year of depression, the estimated product of the Sound mills was 120,500,000 feet. The pioneer lumbering establishment on Puget Sound was erected in 1847, by M. T. Simmons and associates, at Tumwater, as I have said. Its first shipment was in 1848, when the H. B. Co.'s str *Beaver* took a cargo for their northern posts. *Olympia Transcript*, May 23, 1868. The second saw-mill was erected by James McAllister, in 1851. It was a small gate or sash mill driven by water-power, cutting from 500 to 1,000 feet per day. *Wash. Ter. True Exhibit*, 1880, 59; *Dayton Dem. State Jour.*, Nov. 17, 1882. A. S. Abernethy erected a water-power mill at Oak Point on the Columbia in 1848–9. In 1872 it was turning out 4,000,000 feet of lumber annually. *Victor's Or. and Wash.*, 64. In the winter of 1852–3 Yesler put up a steam saw-mill at Seattle, which turned out from 10,000 to 15,000 feet per day. The sawdust was used in filling in marshy ground on the beach, where it forms a considerable part of the water-front of the city. The mill-waste and slabs were converted into a wharf. The mill was rebuilt in 1868. Ten years afterward the old machinery was in use in a grist-mill at Seattle. *Yesler's Settlement of Seattle*, MS., 1, 3, 7.

In 1852 a mill was erected at Shoalwater Bay by David K. Weldon and George Watkins. *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 64–5. In the spring of 1853 Nicholas Delin, M. T. Simmons, and Smith Hays formed a partnership to erect two mills, one at the head of Commencement Bay, and the other upon Skookum Bay, north-west of Olympia. The first was completed in May, and 2 cargoes of lumber were shipped on the *George Emory* to S. F.; but the mill proved to be badly situated, and was abandoned, even before the Indian war. Evans, in *New Tacoma Ledger*, July 9, 1880. A mill was built in the winter of 1852–3 at Whatcom, Bellingham Bay, by Roder & Peabody, but water failed in summer. Its capacity was 4,000 feet per day during high water. It was burned in 1873, and not rebuilt. *Roder's Bellingham Bay*, MS., 17; *Eldridge's Sketch*, MS., 4. At Port Ludlow, G. K. Thorndike, in 1852, began erecting a mill; in the spring following he was joined by W. T. Sayward of S. F., and a large steam-mill built. In 1858 it was leased to Arthur Phinney for $500 a month, who finally, in 1874, purchased the property. *Sayward's Pioneer Reminiscences*, MS., 34. Phinney died in 1887, and on the settlement of the estate the mill was bought by the Puget Mill Co. for $64,000. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xiii. 1–2; *S. F. Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1878. Another large mill was begun in 1852 by the Puget Mill Co., at Port Gamble, by Josiah P. Keller, W. C. Talbot, and Andrew J. Pope. A village sprung up, originally called Teekalet. These proprietors purchased large tracts of timber. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 43. The capacity of the Port Gamble mill in 1879 was 36,000,000 feet annually.

In 1852 Edmund Martin, J. J. Phelps, and Ware built a steam-mill at Appletree Cove on the west side of Admiralty Inlet. Martin was afterward a large liquor-dealer in S. F., and cashier of the Hibernia Bank. He died about 1880. Before this mill was fairly in successful operation it was sold to G. A. Meigs in 1853, who removed it to Port Madison the same year. In Dec. 1854 it was burned, but rebuilt, and in March 1861 the boilers of the new mill exploded, killing 6 men and stopping work for 2 weeks, when it resumed and ran until May 1864, when it was destroyed by fire, but was again rebuilt. In 1872 the firm was Meigs & Gawley. Owing to business complications and embarrassments from losses, it was not until 1877 that Meigs was able to clear the establishment, and to associate with himself others who formed the Meigs Lumber and Ship-building Company. Of all the

lumbering establishments none were more complete than this. Its capacity in 1880 was 200,000 feet in 12 hours, and it could cut logs 132 feet long. It has an iron and brass foundery, machine, blacksmith, and carpenter shops, and ship-yard. The village was a model one, with neat dwellings for the operatives, a public hall, library, hotel, and store. Masonic and good templar's lodges, with dancing assemblies, lectures, and out-door sports, were features of the place. About 300 people were employed, and no liquor sold in the place. Miegs was a Vermonter. *Yesler's Wash. Ter.*, MS., 5–6; *Murphy and Harned's P. S. Directory*, 1872, 147; *Seattle Pac. Tribune*, Aug. 17, 1877, Scammon, in *Overland Monthly*, v. 59; *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 44–6. Another of the early mills was that of Port Orchard. It was first put up at Alki Point, called New York, by C. C. Terry and William H. Renton in 1853-4, but removed after 2 or 3 years to Port Orchard, which had a better harbor. The mill was afterward sold to Coleman and Glynden, who rebuilt it in 1868–9, but became bankrupt, and the mill was burned before any capital came to relieve it. *Yesler's Wash. Ter.*, MS., 4–5; *Seattle Intelligencer*, March 11, 1869. After selling the Port Orchard mill, Renton & Howard went to Port Blakeley, 10 miles distant from and opposite to Seattle, and erected a large lumbering establishment, costing $80,000, and capable of turning out 50,000 feet a day. It began sawing in April 1864, cutting an average of 19,000,000 feet annually down to 1880, when its capacity was increased to 200,000 per day. Howard died before the completion of the mill, in 1863, and the firm incorporated as Renton, Holmes & Co., but in 1876 became again incorporated as the Port Blakeley Mill Company, with a capital of $600,000. *Wash. Ter. True Exhibit*, 1880, 60. This mill shipped, in 1883, 54,000,000 feet of lumber, and could cut 200,000 feet in 12 hours. It had 80 saws of all kinds; 19 boilers and 7 engines, with a united power of 1,200 horse. It was lighted by 16 electric lights, and was every way the most complete lumbering establishment in this, if not in any, country. In 1853 the frame of the Utsalady mill was hewn out for Grennan & Cranney, who began sawing in Feb. 1858. The sole owner in Dec. 1869 was Thomas Cranney. In 1873, Cranney & Chisholm owned it; but in 1876 it was sold to the Puget Mill Co. for about $35,000, and was closed for two years. It cut for 11 years an average of 17,000,000 feet annually, and afterward more than double that amount. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 43, 47–8. In 1858–9 S. L. Mastick & Co. of S. F. erected a mill at Port Discovery, which in the first 18 months cut 8,500,000 feet of lumber. It employed in 1871 50 men, and turned out 12,000,000 feet of lumber and 200,000 laths. This amount was increased in 1874 to 18,000,000 feet annually, but dropped to 12,000,000 from 1875 to 1879; since which time its capacity has been doubled. *Id.*, MS., xxiii. 2–3; *Portland Oregonian*, May 29, 1875. In 1862 a firm known as the Washington Mill Company, consisting of Marshall Blinn, W. J. Adams, John R. Williamson, W. B. Sinclair, and Hill Harmon, built a mill at Seabeck on Hood Canal, with an average capacity of 11,000,000 feet per annum, at a cost of $80,000. Blinn & Adams were the principal owners. In 1870 Adams was sole proprietor. The establishment owned two vessels, the *Cassandra Adams* and the *Dublin*. In 1865 J. R. Williamson and others built a mill at Freeport (now Milton), opposite Seattle, which was sold to Marshall & Co., about 1874. Its capacity was about 35,000 feet per day. In 1868 Ackerson & Russ of Cal. erected a mill at Tacoma (then called Commencement City). In 1877 the firm was Hanson, Ackerman & Co., and the mill was cutting over 81,000 feet per day. *New Tacoma Ledger*, May 7, 1880; *Olympia Transcript*, Feb. 15, 1870; *Portland West Shore*, Oct. 1877. Of local mills and those connected with other manufacturers, run by water or by steam, there were about 50 others in western Washington, on Gray Harbor, Shoalwater Bay, the Willopah, Chehalis, Cowlitz, and Columbia rivers, and scattered through the settlements.

In a review of the market for 1880 it was stated that the capacity of the Puget Sound mills was about two hundred million feet a year, and the shipments about eight million feet under that. *Walla Walla Statesman*, Jan. 27, 1883; *Commercial Herald*, in *La Conner P. S. Mail*, Feb. 12, 1881. The

capacity of these mills is given in 1883 as 1,306,000 feet daily, or over three hundred millions annually.

An interesting feature of the lumber business is that part of it known as 'logging,' which is carried on by companies, on an extensive scale. *Wilkeson's Puget Sound*, 13–14; *Rept of Com. Agriculture*, 1875, 332; *Evans' Wash. Ter.*, 41–2; *Dayton Dem. State Journal*, Nov. 17, 1882.

The second most important article of export from Washington is coal. The first discoveries were made in the Cowlitz Valley in 1848, whence several barrels were shipped to Cal. to be tested, but which was condemned as a poor quality of lignite. *Lewis' Coal Discov.*, MS., 8, 13; *S. I. Polynesian*, v. 2, 7; *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 57. About that time, or previous to 1850, a Frenchman named Remeau discovered coal on the Skookum Chuck, which created considerable interest at Olympia, and was the motive which inspired the first idea of a railroad toward the Columbia, a survey being made by J. W. Trutch in the autumn of 1852. In 1849 Samuel Hancock, while trading with the Lummi, was told that they had seen black stones at Bellingham Bay. Subsequently he found coal on the Stillaquamish, but was forbidden to work it by the Indians who told him of it. *Hancock's Thirteen Years*, MS., 145–9, 174; *Olympia Columbian*, Oct. 16, 1852.

In 1850 H. A. Goldsborough explored several affluents of Puget Sound and found croppings of coal on a number of them, of which an analysis was made in Feb. 1851, by Walter R. Johnson for the secretary of the navy. About this time the P. M. S. Co. employed agents to explore for coal in Oregon and Washington, one of whom, William A. Howard, afterward in the revenue service, together with E. D. Warbass, made an expedition from the Chehalis up the coast to a point north of Quinault. Meanwhile William Pattle, an English subject, who was looking for spar timber among the islands of the Haro archipelago, found coal at Bellingham Bay in Oct. 1852, and took a claim on the land just south of the town site of Sehome as subsequently located. Two other claims were taken adjoining by Pattle's associates, Morrison and Thomas. They succeeded in negotiating with a company called the Puget Sound Coal Mining Association. From 1860 to 1879 there was an average annual yield of thirteen thousand tons. Another coal deposit was discovered in 1862 on the Strait of Fuca not far from Clallam Bay, by J. K. Thorndike, and in 1867 was organized the Phœnix Coal Mining Co.

The earliest attempted development of coal west of Admiralty Inlet was by Dr R. H. Bigelow, who partially opened a coal vein on Black River, known as the Bigelow mine, lying about ten miles south-east from Seattle. There was no means of getting coal to navigable water without expensive improvements in roads and barges, and the mine was abandoned. About 1867. S. B. Hinds & Co. of Seattle purchased the claim, and sunk a shaft to the vein, a distance of 70 feet; but the mine never became productive of marketable coals.

East of Seattle several discoveries were made about 1859, some of which have proved valuable. David Mowery, a Pa German, found coal on his claim in the Squak Valley, fourteen miles east of the Sound. With W. B. Andrews, he took out a few tons, which were disposed of in Seattle. At a later date, William Thompson also mined in this coal to a small extent, when it was abandoned. *Lewis' Coal Discoveries*, MS., 1. A claim of 160 acres of coal land eleven miles south-east of Seattle was taken up in 1863 by Philip H. Lewis, and work begun upon it in the following year. Lewis was born in Ill. in 1828, and came to Or. from Cal. in 1851. His example was followed by Edwin Richardson, who took a claim next to him, while Josiah Settle claimed another quarter-section adjoining. Richardson changed his location more than once, finally fixing upon the one later worked by the Seattle Coal and Transportation Co. The original owners opened a road in 1867, and brought out one hundred and fifty tons in wagons, which was sold for ten dollars a ton at the wharf in Seattle, and burned on some of the steamers that plied on the Sound. The mine was then sought for, and a company consist-

ing of Daniel Bagley, George F. Whitworth, P. H. Lewis, Josiah Settle, and Salucius Garfielde, called the Lake Washington Company, was formed. Bagley purchased the Richardson claim and a portion of each of the other two, Whitworth owning a part of Lewis' claim. Clarence Bagley and Garfielde took up some additional land, which went into the company organization. The object of the new arrangement was to get a rail or tram road from the east side of Lake Washington to the coal beds. A company was formed, and an act passed by the legislature of 1866–7 incorporating the Coal Creek Road Company. *Wash. Stat.*, 1866–7, 202–3. The road company was composed of W. W. Perkins, John Denny, Henry L. Yesler, John J. McGilvra, C. J. Noyes, C. H. Hale, and Lewis C. Gunn. Capital stock $5,000, with power to increase to $500,000. In Aug. following the mining company incorporated as the Lake Washington Company, with a capital stock of $500,000, with the privilege of increasing it to a million. Lewis withdrew from the mining organization, after which it sold out, in 1870, to Ruel Robinson, Amos Hurst, and others, residents of Seattle, for $25,000, all the land that had been put in being included in the sale, the new organization styling itself the Seattle Coal Company. Under the new management there was a tramway built from the mine to Lake Washington, and a wooden road on the west side of the lake to Seattle. A scow was built for transportation across the lake; a small steamer, the *Phantom*, was constructed for towing. In 1872 Robinson sold to C. B. Shattuck and others of S. F. for $51,000, and capital put in; since which the Seattle mine has produced well, and been a profitable investment. The company had steam tow-boats on lakes Washington and Union, the *Clara* and *Chehalis*, connecting with the tramway from the mine across the isthmus between the lakes, and from Lake Union to the wharf in Seattle. The flat-boats were run upon trucks across the isthmus, and thence across the second lake, to avoid handling. *Meeker's Wash. Ter.; McFarlan's Coal Regions; Goodyear's Coal Mines*, 106–7; *Seattle Intelligencer*, Sept. 11, 1871.

The discovery next in point of time and importance to the Seattle coal was that of the Renton mine. David Mowery first made the discovery, but not thinking well of the coal, sold the claim to Robert Abrams about 1860. It was not until 1873 that it was again remembered, when E. M. Smithers, on his adjoining claim, found pieces of coal in a small stream on his farm, and following up the indications, tunnelled into the hill where they appeared, striking at the distance of 100 feet two horizontal ledges of pure coal extending into it. Having demonstrated the contents of his land, he sold it for $25,000 to Ruel Robinson, who also purchased the adjoining lands of Abrams and McAllister. A company was at once formed, with a capital of $300,000.

A number of mines have been prospected, and a great abundance of coal found to exist on the east side of the Sound. Among others was the Cedar Mountain mine, on the same ridge with the Renton; and near the junction of Cedar and Black rivers the Clymer mine was discovered at an early day on the land of C. Clymer. On the Stillaquamish, the Snohomish, and the Skagit rivers, coal was known to exist. *La Roque's Skagit Mines*, MS., 21. It had long been known by some of the early residents of the Puyallup Valley that coal was to be found there. *Eastwick's Puget Sound*, MS., 3. The first actual prospecting was done by Gale and two half-breeds named Flett. This small company took a mining claim in 1874, drifting in about sixty feet, on a vein discovered on Flett Creek, a tributary of South Prairie Creek, which is a branch of the Puyallup. During the same season E. L. Smith of Olympia, a surveyor, discovered coal about half a mile north of the Gale mine, on land belonging to the Northern Pacific R. Co., which led to an examination of the country over an area of twenty-five square miles in the coal district.

It is conjectured that the region about Steilacoom is underlaid with a coal deposit. But it is farther south than this that the actual discoveries have been made. In 1865 a vein was found upon the land of Wallace and P. W. Crawford opposite to and two miles above Monticello. The construction of the Northern Pacific railroad from the Columbia to the Sound revived the interest in the coal-fields of the region south of Olympia. J. B. Montgomery,

contractor upon that road, in 1872 purchased nine hundred acres of coal lands near the Chehalis River between Claquato and Skookum Chuck, and two miles west of the road. It was proposed to clear the obstructions from the Chehalis sufficiently to enable a steamer to tow barges from Claquato to Gray Harbor for ocean shipment, but this scheme has not been carried out.

In 1873 the Tenino mine, within half a mile of the Northern Pacific road track, was prospected by Ex-gov. E. S. Salomon and Col F. Bee of S. F. The Olympia and Tenino R. Co. took shares, and called it the Olympia Railway and Mining Co.

KING COUNTY COAL-FIELDS.

Another mine near Chehalis station on the Northern Pacific was opened in 1875 by Rosenthal, a merchant of Olympia.

A mine known as the Seatco, situated on land owned by T. F. McElroy and Oliver Shead of Olympia, near the Skookum Chuck station, was opened in 1877. In the autumn of 1879 it had a daily capacity of fifty tons.

Coal-oil has been discovered in some parts of these extensive coal regions. George Waunch, of pioneer antecedents, sent samples to Portland, in 1868, from the Skookum Chuck district. It was also found in the Puyallup Valley near Elhi in 1882. The annual production was estimated in 1880, for the whole of Washington, to be 161,708 tons.

Gold and silver mining is still carried on in Washington, although as an in-

dustry it is comparatively small. For the year ending in May 1880, the total value of the deep mine production was reported at $22,036, the principal part of this being from the Peshoston district in the Yakima country, and of placer mines $120,019. In 1881 the yield was not much if any more, and in 1883 the production of the precious metals had fallen off from former figures, not reaching to $100,000. This is not altogether from a poverty of resources, but is partly due to the more sure and rapid returns from other industries which have been enjoyed in eastern Washington for the last decade. The Yakima country was the first to give any returns from quartz-mining. The gold is free-milling, and it is believed will give place at a greater depth to silver.

EASTERN WASHINGTON.

The total amount of land surveyed in Washington down to June 1880 was 15,959,175 out of the 44,796,160 acres constituting the area of the state. For many years the fortunate combination of soil and climate in eastern Washington, whereby all the cereals can be produced in the greatest abundance and of the highest excellence, was not understood. The first settlers in the Walla Walla Valley went there to raise cattle on the nutritious bunch-grass which gave their stock so round an appearance with such glossy hides. The gold crusade carried thither merchants and settlers of another sort, and it was found that people must eat of the fruits of the earth in the country where

their tents were pitched. This necessity led to farming, at first in the creek valleys, then on the hill-sides, and lastly on the tops of the hills quite away from the possibility of irrigation, where to everybody's surprise wheat grew the best of all. It then began to be known that where bunch-grass would naturally grow, wheat especially, and the other cereals, would flourish surprisingly. The area of wheat land in eastern Washington has been estimated as capable of yielding, under ordinary culture, more than a hundred million bushels annually, 50 to 60 bushels to the acre being no uncommon return. *Message of Governor Ferry*, 1878, 4–6.

The soil which is so fruitful is a dark loam, composed of a deep rich alluvial deposit, combined with volcanic ash, overlying a clay subsoil. On the hills and southern exposures the clay comes nearer to the surface. The whole subsoil rests on a basaltic formation so deep as to be discoverable only on the deep watercourses. The climate is dry, with showers at rare intervals in summer, with fall rains and brief winters, during which there is usually some snowfall, and occasional hard winters when the snow is deep enough to fill all the streams to overflowing in the spring, which comes early.

The first wheat-fields of western Washington were those cultivated by the H. B. Co. in the Columbia and Cowlitz valleys, which yielded well, the Cowlitz farm producing from 30 to 50 bushels per acre of white winter wheat. The heavily timbered valleys about Puget Sound furnished tracts of open land well adapted to wheat-growing, but taken as a whole this region has never been regarded as a grain-producing country. The reclamation of tide-lands about the mouths of the rivers which flow into the Fuca Sea, opposite the strait of that name, added a considerable area to the grain-fields of western Washington.

The first settlers upon the tide-lands were Samuel Calhoun and Michael Sullivan, who in 1864 took claims on the Swinomish River or bayou, which connects with the Skagit by extensive marshes. Sullivan made his first enclosure in 1865, and three years afterward raised a crop of 37 acres of oats. He sowed five bushels of seed to the acre, intending to cut it for hay, but allowing it to ripen, obtained 4,000 bushels of oats. Calhoun raised 21 acres of barley in 1869 with like favorable results. From this time there was an annual increase of reclaimed land. Its productiveness may be inferred from the statement that on 600 acres at La Conner, belonging to J. S. Conner, about 1,000 tons of oats and barley were produced annually. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 13. There were in 1875 about 20 settlers on the Swinomish tide-lands, who had 100 acres each in cultivation, and raised on them 40 bushels of spring wheat, 80 bushels of winter wheat, 75 bushels of barley, and 80 bushels of oats to the acre. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxii. 15.

In 1881 the experiment was tried of shipping cargoes of eastern Washington and Oregon wheat by the way of Puget Sound, instead of via Portland, Astoria, and the mouth of the Columbia, to avoid the risk of the bar and a part of the expense of pilotage and lightering.

No climate in the world is more suited to the growth of nutritious grasses than that of Washington. The bunch-grass of the eastern division is, however, from being dry a large portion of the year, not so well adapted to the uses of dairymen as the lush growth of the moister climate of Puget Sound, where the rich bottom and diked lands yield from three to four tons of hay to the acre. Dairy products have not yet been counted amongst the articles of export, because farmers have preferred to engage in other branches of business. Up to 1877 there was no cheese in the markets of the territory except that which was imported. In that year two cheese factories were started, one at Claquato by Long & Birmingham, and another at Chimacum, in Jefferson county. The former made over 28,000 lbs the first year. The Northern Pacific cheese factory, at Chimacum, nine miles south-west of Port Townsend, was a gradual growth, William Bishop being a pioneer of 1856, who settled in the Chimacum Valley and cleared and improved a farm. When he had 60 cows he began cheese-making for the market abroad, producing 1,500 lbs of cheese and 50 lbs of butter per day. A third factory was established

in 1879 by Long & Birmingham on the Maddox farm, in White River Valley, the prospect being that the Puget Sound farmers would convert their grain-fields into hay-fields to a considerable extent, and that dairy-farming would become the chief business on the valley and tide lands.

The experiment of hop-farming was first tried in 1864 by Jacob Meeker, who planted a half-acre on his farm in the Puyallup Valley. The yield was 200 pounds, which sold for 85 cents per pound. Thompson & Meade established the first hop-yard in 1872. The following year Ezra and J. V. Meeker and J. P. Stewart followed. The desire to encourage agriculture has led to the formation of agricultural societies in several counties of the territory, Walla Walla taking the lead, by a few persons calling a meeting in Feb. 1865, to be held April 22d, for the purpose of organizing. It was not until 1867 that a fair was held, the address at the opening of the exhibition being pronounced by Philip Ritz. In 1869 the Washington Agricultural and Manufacturing Society was formed and incorporated under the laws of the territory. Land was purchased, buildings erected, and the first fair of the new organization held in Sept., from the 21st to the 25th, 1870. A pomological and horticultural society was also formed this year at Walla Walla. Clarke county organized, in July 1868, an agricultural and mechanical society, and held a fair the following Sept., the opening address being by Governor Salomon. Whatcom county organized an agricultural society in 1866, and Lewis county in 1877. This being the oldest farming region away from the Columbia, the society was prosperous at the start, and the first exhibit a good one. C. T. Fay was chosen president, and L. P. Venen delivered the opening address. *Vancouver Register*, Oct. 1, 1870; *Olympia Transcript*, Oct. 12, 1872; *Olympia Wash. Standard*, June 2, 1877. In 1871 a meeting was held in Olympia in the interest of agriculture by a mutual aid society, or farmer's club, which displayed specimens of productions. The meeting was addressed by Judge McFadden at the close of the exhibit, and steps taken to organize a territorial agricultural society, under the name of Western Washington Industrial Association, which held its first annual exhibition in Oct. 1872 at Olympia. The second annual territorial fair was held at Seattle, in the university grounds.

One of the great natural resources of western Washington which has been turned to account is the fish product, although as yet imperfectly understood or developed. The whale fishery is prosecuted only by the Indians of Cape Flattery and the gulf of Georgia. Among the species taken on the coast are the sperm whale, California gray, right whale, and sulphur-bottom. Up the strait of Fuca and in the gulf of Georgia hump-backs are numerous. Formerly the Indians took more whales than now, their attention being at present turned to seal-hunting. With only their canoes and rude appliances the Makahs of Cape Flattery saved in 1856 oil for export to the amount of $8,000. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, March 5, 1856; *Stevens' Northwest*, 10; *Wash. Topog.*, 15, 31; *Rept Com. Ind. Aff.*, 1858, 232. Cod of two or more varieties are found from Shoalwater Bay to Alaska and beyond. They are of excellent quality when properly cured. The climate of Alaska being too moist, and the air of California drying them too much in the curing process, rendering them hard, it is believed that in Puget Sound may be found the requisite moisture, coolness, and evenness of climate to properly save the cod for export, but no systematic experiments have been made. It was the practice as early as 1856–7 to pickle cod instead of drying, and for several years 200 barrels annually were put up. In 1861 cod were very plentiful in the strait of Fuca, so that the schooners *Sarah Newton*, the *Elizabeth*, and other Puget Sound vessels picked up several thousand pounds. In 1869 cod brought from $16 to $20 per barrel. In 1864 Thomas H. Stratton fitted out the sch. *Brandt* for the cod and halibut fisheries. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xvii. 47–8. In Jan. 1866 the legislature memorialized the president, asking that arrangements be made with Russia to enable U. S. fishing-vessels to visit the various ports in the Russian possessions to obtain supplies, cure fish, and make repairs; also to enable Puget Sound fishermen to obtain the same bounty paid to those of

the Atlantic coast, and that ships be sent to survey the banks to Bering Straits. The same year Crosby took the forty-ton schooner *Spray* to the fishing-grounds, leaving Port Angeles June 1st, and returned in October with nine tons of codfish taken in the Kadiak Sea, 1,000 miles north of Puget Sound. In 1869 two schooners, the *Ada M. Frye* and *Shooting Star*, arrived on the Northwest Coast from Rockland, Maine, with full crews, to engage in cod-fishing, other vessels following. Nineteen vessels sailed from S. F. the same season for the Okhotsk Sea on a fishing expedition, and returned with an average of 55,000 fish each. The ensuing year the catch amounted to 1,000 quintals. As late as 1878 Slocum, of the schooner *Pato*, advised the Portland board of trade concerning the existence of codfish banks off the coast of Washington, from Shoalwater to Neah bays, and solicited aid in establishing their existence.

Halibut grounds were known to be located nine miles west of Tatoosh Island, in 56 fathoms of water, and these fish abound in the Fuca Sea and Bellingham Bay, but are not found in the Sound or Hood Canal. Strong and Webster put up 100 barrels in 1857. In 1874 halibut was furnished to the S. F. market, packed in ice, and again in 1879, the fish arriving in good condition. The schooner *Emily Stephens* was built for this trade with ten ice compartments. *Port Townsend Argus*, Sept. 5, 1874; *Hesperian Mag.*, iii. 409; *Portland Oregonian*, April 5, 1879; *Hittell's Commerce and Industries*, 359. The average size of the halibut caught on this coast is 60 pounds, the largest weighing 200. They are taken with a hook and line from March to August.

Herring have for several years been an article of export from Puget Sound. E. Hammond and H. B. Emery established a fishery at Port Madison about 1870. The herring, though of good flavor, are smaller than those of the Atlantic, and are caught with a seine. A thousand barrels of fish have been taken at a single haul. This fishery has put up 10,000 boxes, of six dozen each, of smoked and dried herring in a season, and delivered them on the wharf for 30 cents a box. *Seattle Rural*, March 1877, 36. This establishment has pressed from herring 2,000 gallons of oil per month. Other herring fisheries were on San Juan Island and at various other points on the Sound.

The eulachan, or candle-fish, so called because when dried it burns like a candle, is another marketable fish of the coast from Cape Blanco to Sitka. It resembles smelt, is very fat, and of fine grain and delicate flavor. It appears in shoals, and is caught with a scoop-net or rake. The Indians formerly took them to make oil, but the H. B. Co. salted them down in kegs for eating. They are now dried like herring.

Sturgeon are plentiful in the Columbia and Fraser rivers, and in the interior lakes of British Columbia. They are superior in size and flavor to the Atlantic sturgeon, being less tough and less oily, and are found in the markets of Portland and S. F. The H. B. Co. manufactured isinglass from them for export.

Rock-cod and tomcod are taken in the Sound, and are regularly furnished to the markets; as are also smelts, sardines, flounders, perch, turbot, skate, chub, plaice, stickleback, and other varieties. A kind of shark, known as dog-fish from its long jaws and formidable teeth, visits the Sound in great shoals in the autumn, and is used by the Indians for food and oil. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., iii. 42. In 1871 S. B. Pardee made oil from dog-fish at Gig Harbor. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, April 8, 1871. In the following year a co. was incorporated under the laws of Cal. as the North Pacific Commercial Company, the principal object of which was the taking of dog-fish for oil. The works were located on Fox Island, ten miles from Steilacoom, the site taking the name of Castlenook. The daily catch by means of wears, pounds, seines, and trawls was from 3,000 to 4,000 large fish. One hundred and seventy-seven fish were taken at one set of the lines at Oyster Bay. *Olympia Transcript*, May 2, 1868.

As soon as spring opens, or whenever the weather will permit after the first of Jan., the Indians at Cape Flattery put out to sea in their canoes a distance of 10 or 15 miles to catch seals, which at this season of the year are

migrating north in myriads, and on a bright day may be seen for miles jumping, splashing, and playing in the water. When fatigued with this sport they turn over on their backs and go to sleep, at which time the Indians approach cautiously and dart their spears into the nearest. They catch eight or ten a day in this manner. Later they used the pilot-boat to go out and return, taking their canoes and cargoes on board. *Port Townsend Message*, Jan. 31, 1871. Occasionally they killed forty or fifty a day.

Ten vessels were employed in 1881, the catch being about 8,000 seal-skins, worth from $7 to $9 each. The number of Indians engaged was over 200, and their profit on the season's catch about $200 each for skins, besides 1,500 gallons of oil for food.

The sea-otter, which formerly was taken in great numbers at Point Grenville, 60 miles north of Snoalwater Bay, has become comparatively rare. The Neah Bay Indians monopolize the hunt on that part of the coast, while at Gray Harbor white men take them, using rifles, and perching themselves on ladders placed at intervals along the beach, from which they can discern the otter, which seldom comes nearer than 300 yards. It requires skill to shoot them swimming at that distance, but they have been killed at 800 yards. The average was about two otter-skins a month to each hunter, worth from $30 to $50 each. Land otter-skins were very rare; but about four thousand beaver pelts were annually shipped from Washington.

The first discovery of oysters on the Pacific Coast was made at Shoalwater Bay by C. J. W. Russell, between 1849 and 1851. In the autumn of 1851 the schooner *Two Brothers*, Capt. Fieldsen, came into the bay and loaded with oysters for S. F. They all died on the way, but another attempt by Anthony Ludlum, was more successful. A writer in the *Portland West Shore*, Aug. 1878, claims the discovery for Fieldsen; but as Swan was on the ground soon after, and knew all the persons concerned, I adopt his account. Natural oyster-beds stretched over a distance of thirty miles in length and from four to seven in width. These beds were common property. The first territorial legislature passed an act prohibiting the taking of oysters by any person who had not been a resident of the territory for one month, without a license. The next legislature prohibited their being gathered by non-residents. The use of dredgers was forbidden, the oystering season was designated, and all small oysters were to be returned to their beds. The legislature of 1864–5 granted Michael S. Drew and associates the exclusive privilege of planting, cultivating, and gathering oysters in Port Gamble Bay, and to Henry Winsor and L. D. Durgin the same exclusive right in Budd Inlet.

An act approved Oct. 31, 1873, granted to each person planting oysters in localities where no natural beds existed ten acres, to hold while the planting should be regularly maintained. Locations could be made in detached parcels, and in Shoalwater Bay 20 acres might be taken; but in no case might the beds interfere with the logging interest. Where marketable oysters were bedded a location was restricted to 20,000 feet superficial area. These privileges were to extend to citizens of the territory only.

In 1861–2 the oysters at Shoalwater Bay were nearly all destroyed by frost and low tides. Their enemies were the skates and drum-fish, to protect them against which it was sometimes necessary to surround the beds by a fence of closely set pickets.

In 1853–4 there were from 150 to 200 men on Shoalwater Bay and affluents who lived chiefly by oystering. Up to 1859 all the oysters shipped came from natural beds, but in that year planting began. The trade steadily increased until the opening of the first transcontinental railroad, when the shipment of eastern oysters began, which materially decreased the demand for the native mollusk. The shipments made from Shoalwater Bay in 1874 amounted to 120,000 baskets. *Portland West Shore*, Aug. 1878, 2. This locality had now to contend not only with the importation of eastern oysters, but with the beds of Totten Inlet and other parts of Puget Sound, which ship by railroad in any desired quantities, while the Shoalwater Bay oystermen must ship in large quantities, because they depend on vessels. Natural beds of oysters are found

everywhere in Puget Sound, the quality and size being affected somewhat by the locality and the density of the masses in which they grow, the better fish being where they are most scattered. Near Olympia they exist in banks several feet thick. They are abundant in all the tide-waters adjacent to the strait of Fuca, in Bellingham Bay, in Commencement Bay, and are found in Gray Harbor. The native oyster has a slightly coppery taste, which does not come from copper beds, but from the mud flats in which they grow, and it disappears with cooking. They are of a delicate flavor, not so rank as the eastern oyster. The Olympia beds are said to be superior to others. In 1880 $100,000 worth were shipped from the beds in the Sound to Portland.

Another shell-fish which is found in inexhaustible quantities in Washington is the clam, of which there are several species, from the immense quohog, the meat of which will weigh three pounds, to the small blue clam, preferred by some to the oyster, the white clam, also small, and the long razor-clam of the ocean beach. This testaceous fish has furnished many generations of Indians with a considerable portion of their food supply, and fed hungry white men as well in the early settlements of the country. *Narrative of B. F. Brown*, MS. In 1879 a company was formed in Olympia for the preserving of clams by the process of canning, similar to the method used in preserving beef and salmon, and from which a delicious chowder was quickly prepared for the table. The company consisted of E. N. Ouimette, N. H. Ownings, S. G. Ward, J. R. Hayden. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, April 2, 1880.

Salmon-fishing, one of the most important of the resources of both Oregon and Washington, I have treated of in my *History of Oregon*. There are many salmon taken in the Sound and its affluents, though not so easily caught, or of so uniformly good quality, as those of the Columbia. In 1873 V. T. Tull of Olympia established a salmon fishery at Mukilteo, principally for putting up fish in barrels. The first year 500 bbls were packed at Mukilteo, after which the fishery was moved temporarily to Seattle to take the late run up the Dwamish River, which is usually large. Fifteen hundred good large salmon have been taken at one haul of the seine in the Puyallup. *Olympia Columbian*, Sept. 10, 1853. In 1877 Jackson Myres & Co., formerly of Portland, erected a canning establishment at Mukilteo, and made of it a successful enterprise; but it had not, in 1880, been followed by any others. The catch of 1877 was estimated at 10,000 cases, and over 2,000 barrels, valued at $77,300. *Snohomish Northern Star*, Sept. 22, 1877; *Olympia Transcript*, Dec. 1, 1877. In 1874 Corbett & Macleay, of Portland, founded a fishery at Tacoma. Sixty barrels were packed in five days, only three men being employed. *New Tacoma Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1874. In 1876 John Bryggot, a Norwegian, founded another fishery at Salmon Bay, six miles north of Olympia. In 1878 a company of Puget Sound men established a fourth at Clallam Bay. They put up the first season 600 casks of salmon and 700 of halibut. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xviii. 17–18. In the following season D. H. Hume established a fishery near Steilacoom for the purpose of salting salmon. In 1880 H. Levy, of Seattle, went to London with 100 barrels to introduce Puget Sound salted salmon to that market. In 1882 a salmon-packing establishment was opened at Old Tacoma by Williams. Salmon ran in great numbers this year. One boat brought in a thousand fish. Queniult River, on the coast, produced salmon quite equal to the best Chinook or Columbia River fish, though they were small, averaging five pounds. The territory has by legislative enactment endeavored to save the salmon product, it being unlawful to place traps, or other obstructions, across streams without leaving a chute for the passage of fish. An act of 1868 also provided for an inspector of salmon in each county where it was put up for export. All packages marked bad by the inspector were condemned. No packages could be sold unbranded with the name of the packer and the year of the catch; and penalties were imposed for counterfeiting brands.

In February 1859 an act was passed prohibiting non-residents from taking fish on the beach of the Columbia, between Point Ellis and Cape Hancock. *Wash. Stat.*, 1858–9, 26. On the 26th of Jan., 1861, J. T. Lovelace and W.

H. Dillon were granted the exclusive right to fish in the Columbia for a distance of one mile along its banks, and extending from low-water mark half a mile toward the middle of the stream. An act of the legislature of 1865 gave C. C. Terry and Joseph Cushman the right to introduce into and stock the waters of lakes Washington and Union with shad and alewives, with the exclusive privilege for 30 years of taking all these fish in these lakes, and their tributaries and outlets, provided the lakes should be stocked within 5 years. This law was modified in 1869 by substituting the name of Frank Matthias for that of Terry, by the addition of white-fish, and by extending the time for planting, and also making the grant 30 years from that time.

The value of the salmon exported in barrels or cans is not given authentically in any published reports. During the season of 1880, 160,000 cases of canned salmon were shipped from the Washington side of the Columbia to foreign markets, each case containing four dozen one-pound cans, or 7,680,000 pounds of fish ready for the table. The price varied from year to year. Between 1870 and 1881 it ranged from $9.50 to $4 a case, averaging nearly $6 a case, making a total average for canned salmon of about $900,000 annually. Pickled or salt salmon sold at from $6 to $8 a barrel, and each cannery puts up from 300 to 800 barrels in addition to the canned fish. Giving a value merely conjectural but moderate for the salted salmon of the Sound from half a dozen fisheries, and that of the Columbia pickled salmon from eight or more factories, another $50,000 may be safely supposed to have been added to the sum total for salmon.

There is but one other source of wealth to be noticed in this place, which pertains principally to the eastern division of the territory, namely, live-stock. Two thirds of this part of the territory is excellent grazing land, and has raised immense herds of cattle and sheep, which have been a convenient means of income to the people. Nothing has been required generally, except to herd sheep and brand cattle, which fed at pleasure over the boundless stretches of unoccupied land. Great as has been the reputation of the Walla Walla Valley, from the time when Bonneville and Missionary Parker wondered at the riches of the Cayuses, represented by their hundreds of horses, the Yakima country eclipses it as a stock-range, both on account of pasturage and mildness of climate. The Palouse region, later converted into grain-fields, has also been a famous stock-range for many years; and for many years to come there will be enough unfenced land to support millions of dollars' worth of cattle, horses, and sheep. About one winter in five is severe enough to require the housing and feeding of cattle. It is then that the stock-raiser, grown careless and confident, has cause to lament his indolence in not providing for the protection of his property. Yet, with occasional severe losses, Washington has had from an early day a sure and easy means of livelihood, if not of wealth.

To what an extent the people of the Puget Sound country and the Cowlitz and Chehalis valleys depended upon their cattle for support was illustrated in 1863, when the government prohibited for a time the exportation of live-stock. The order was in consequence of Canada being made a field of operations for the leaders of the rebellion, and the danger that supplies might be shipped to them from the British provinces. It was not intended to affect Washington. *S. F. Alta*, July 30, 1863; *Portland Oregonian*, Sept. 3, 1863; *Or. Argus*, Aug. 17, 1863. Exports into V. I. from the Pacific United States in 1862 amounted to three millions of dollars. Of this amount about one million was in cattle from Oregon and Washington that were carried by the way of Portland and Puget Sound to Victoria. Those driven into B. C. east of the Cascades were not taken into the account. They were to stock the country, as well as for beef. A small proportion of them only were from Oregon, while they represented the ready cash of the farmers of Washington. The order from the department of state deprived them of this income, as well as the British colonies of beef. Victor Smith was then collector of the Puget Sound district; and although Governor Pickering was of opinion that the law was not applicable

to the territory, he insisted upon its observance. Much of the hostility felt toward the collector and his schemes came from this. Pickering visited Gov. Douglas to explain the embargo, and for a number of months much excitement and evident inconvenience prevailed on both sides of the straits. When at last the embargo was raised, there was a corresponding rejoicing. Instantly the H. B. Co. despatched a steamer for a cargo of live-stock, and the money market was relieved. But there had also been evasion of the law by the shipment of cattle to San Juan Island, then neutral territory, and thence to V. I. For a brief period the patriotic citizens of Puget Sound had cause to congratulate themselves that the boundary question was still unsettled.

The prices obtained for cattle in the early settlement of the country were great, as great almost as in Oregon when the Willamette Cattle Company was formed in 1838. I find several entries in *Ebey's Journal*, MS., which throw light on this subject. In volume v. 26, he says that his brother, I. N. Ebey, sold, in 1857, four Spanish cows with calves for $80 each. The following year, at a sale of cattle on Whidbey Island, by W. S. Ebey, 49 head brought $2,324. At another sale in 1859, at the same place, 25 cows and heifers brought $959, or an average of over $38 each, common stock. In 1863, when the embargo was raised, beef cattle on foot, for shipment, brought from 3 to 6 cents per pound, showing the gradual decline in prices with the increase of numbers.

Notwithstanding this decline, the value of live-stock exported from Puget Sound in 1867–8 was $106,989 for 9,476 animals of all kinds. In the following year there were exported over 13,000 animals at an aggregate value of nearly $200,000. The total value of live-stock in the territory in 1870 was $2,103,343; in 1873 there were 23,000 neat-cattle owned in Walla Walla county alone, and 20,000 sheep. For a number of years cattle and sheep were driven from the plains of eastern Washington to Nebraska to be shipped to eastern markets. Sheep were sometimes two or three years on the road, notwithstanding the first Oregon importations overland came through from the Missouri in one season. Sheep-raising both for mutton and wool became a most profitable industry in all parts of the territory, but particularly in the eastern division. Large tracts of land on the Cowlitz prairie, the Nisqually plains, the islands of the Haro archipelago, and Whidbey Island are peculiarly adopted to sheep-farming, while the whole of eastern Washington is favorable both in climate and natural food to the production and improvement of sheep. Inferior breeds average five pounds of wool per annum, and the finer breeds as much as in any country of the world. It was estimated that in 1865, 50,000 pounds of wool were shipped from Washington to Cal., which brought the highest average price in the market because cleaner than the Cal. wool. Yet sheep were comparatively scarce considering the demand, and worth $4 each by the drove. In 1870, according to the census report, nearly 200,000 pounds of wool were exported. Since that time large numbers of sheep have been driven out of the territory.

Historically speaking, the H. B. Co. introduced the first sheep, both common from Cal. and Saxony and merino from Eng. Watt and other Oregon stock-farmers followed later with various improved breeds. The first wool shipment of Washington was 15,000 pounds from Puget Sound in 1860 by William Rutledge, Jr, for which he paid from twelve to sixteen cents per pound. *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, July 27, 1860. The wool was of good quality and neatly put up. A legislative act was passed in Jan. 1860 incorporating the Puget Sound Woollen Manufacturing Company of Tumwater, but nothing ever came of it except the name, which was suggestive of what ought to be done, if no more. Again, five years later, the Washington Woollen Manufacturing Company of Thurston county was incorporated, with like results. There was an attempt made by A. R. Elder and Clark to establish a woollen-mill on Steilacoom Creek. The carding-machine was purchased by Elder in North Andover, Massachusetts, with the design of putting it up in Olympia, but Clark selling out to Elder, it went to Steilacoom. A building 50 by 80 feet was erected, four stories high. The factory had a capacity for carding 250 pounds a day, three spinning-jacks of 240 spindles each, and

four looms of different sizes. The cost was over $33,000, and it was completed, together with a boarding-house for operatives, in the spring of 1870. It was bid off at auction for $16,050 in June 1871, when it stopped running. *Olympia Pac. Tribune*, April 11, 1868; *Olympia Commercial Age*, Jan. 8, 1870; *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Oct. 29, 1870; *Olympia Transcript*, June 17, 1871. Alfred Ridgely Elder was born in Lexington, Ky, Aug. 16, 1806. He removed to Springfield, Ill., where he was a neighbor and friend of Lincoln. He came to Oregon in 1849 and settled in Yamhill county, where he farmed and preached, being a presbyterian. In 1862 he was appointed Indian agent at the Puyallup reservation, where he resided for 8 years. He was subsequently elected probate judge of Thurston county. He died Feb. 14, 1882, at Olympia. Three sons and 4 daughters survived him. *Olympia Courier*, Feb. 17, 1882. The first successful woollen company was one organized in Dayton, Columbia county, of which S. M. Wait was president and Reynolds of Walla Walla a large owner. The foundation was laid in 1872, the capital stock being $40,000. Over $30,000 was paid out in 1878 for raw wool.

The natives of eastern Washington found horse-raising a profitable pursuit, and white breeders are equally prosperous. They are raised with little expense, which enables the owner to sell them cheap at home, while they bring a good price abroad for speed and endurance. Hog-raising, especially adapted to the coast counties, has been neglected, although hogs will thrive on clover and grasses, and could be cheaply fattened on pease, to which the soil and climate are peculiarly favorable. Corn, upon which farmers east of the Missouri depend for making pork, does not produce a good crop in the moist and cool climate of western Washington, but grows and ripens well in the eastern portion of the territory, and, together with the waste of the wheat-fields, should furnish the material for much of the meat consumed on the coast. Bees were introduced into the territory about 1858 from southern Oregon, but little honey has been furnished to the markets. That which is made in the Columbia River region, and sold in Portland, is of great excellence, white, pure, and of a delicate flavor.

Of manufactures from native resources, flour is one of the most important. The first flouring-mill in the territory was erected at Vancouver in 1830 by the H. B. Co., and was a set of ordinary mill-stones run by ox-power. In 1832 a mill was erected seven miles above Vancouver, on Mill Creek, to run by water-power. Whitman built a small flouring mill at Waiilatpu, which was in use about 1840. The first American colony on Puget Sound erected a rude grist-mill at the falls of the Des Chutes, in the village of Tumwater, in 1846. This sufficed to pulverize the wheat, but not to bolt the flour. In 1851-2 a good grist-mill was erected by Drew at Cowlitz landing, and later in the same year a larger one on the Chehalis by Armstrong. In 1854 Ward & Hays of Tumwater built a complete flouring mill at that place, which superseded the pioneer mill of Simmons and his neighbors. The next flouring mill was put up by Chambers at the mouth of Steilacoom Creek, in 1858. In 1860 there were, according to the U. S. census, no more than six mills in the territory. *Langley's Pacific Coast Directory* for 1871-3 gave a table of 23, all run by water-power except Yesler's, at Seattle, and erected at an aggregate cost of over $300,000, two thirds of that amount being invested in Walla Walla county, at that time recently settled. Several were erected in that county between 1864 and 1867, among them a mill by S. M. Wait on the Touchet, in 1865, this being the initial point in the settling of Waitsburg. Wait's mill had a capacity of 100 barrels a day, being exceeded only by one other mill in the territory at that time, that of the Lincoln mill at Tumwater, which could grind 150 barrels daily. The average capacity of all the mills was about 40 barrels, or a little over 900 barrels daily. S. M. Wait was the first man to export flour from the Walla Walla Valley. Having a surplus, he sent a cargo to Liverpool, realizing a profit of $1 a barrel, which, considering the then high rates of transportation to Portland to be shipped aboard a vessel, was a noteworthy success. H. P. Isaacs of Walla Walla was one of

the first millers in the valley, and became proprietor of the North Pacific Mills at that place. In 1880 there were 16 grist-mills east of the Cascades, against 11 in 1873.

Lime was first made in 1860 on the west side of San Juan Island, by Augustus Hibbard. He was killed by N. C. Bailey, his partner, in a quarrel about an Indian woman, June 17, 1868. The works remained closed and in possession of the military authorities from that time to 1871, when Hibbard's heir came from the east and reopened them. Two years afterward he died. Before his death Bailey returned and took possession of his interest. James McCurdy held a mortgage on the works, taken in 1866, and when Bailey died in 1874 he came into possession of the whole. The San Juan Island lime-works are the largest north of Cal., and of great value to the country. The average sales for several years prior to 1879 were from 1,200 to 1,500 barrels per annum. The capacity of the kilns was 26,400 barrels. There were ten acres of limestone at the McCurdy works. It was of a light gray color, very compact, and suitable for building stone if not too costly to work.

New lime-works were opened on the north end of the island in 1879 by Messrs Ross & Scurr, who had as much limestone as McCurdy. The same year McLaughlin & Lee opened a third kiln on the east side of the island, with a capacity of 275 barrels, and burned about one kiln a week. This ledge was first worked by Roberts, who was drowned about 1863. La Name of Victoria then claimed it, but failed to perfect his title subsequent to the settlement of the boundary question, and it was taken by the present owners.

On Orcas Island was the Port Langdon lime-kiln, situated on the east side of Buck's Bay, first worked about 1862 by Shottler & Co. It was sold to Daniel McLaughlin, of the last-named firm, and R. Caines in 1874, Caines subsequently buying out McLaughlin. Between 1874 and 1879 more than 20,000 barrels of lime were sold from this quarry, which covered but two acres. The kiln had a capacity of 175 barrels, and burned forty per day.

In 1878 a quarry was opened on land leased from the Northern Pacific R. Co., situated in the Puyallup Valley near Adlerton station. Two furnaces were running in Nov., owned by Crouk & Griffith, having an aggregate capacity of 275 barrels. An extensive quarry was discovered in 1882 on the Skagit River; and limestone was reported as found near Walla Walla in 1872. The production of lime in 1880 was 65,000 barrels, worth $84,500.

A kindred industry was the manufacture of cement from nodules of a yellowish limestone found on the banks of the Columbia about the mouth of the river. This manufacture was commenced in 1868 by Knapp & Burrell of Portland, at Knappton opposite Astoria. The works yielded in the beginning 35 barrels daily.

Taking into consideration that both Oregon and Washington are stock-raising countries, little attention is paid to the manufacture of leather. Three small tanneries, at Tumwater, Olympia, and Steilacoom, complete the list. The first was erected by James B. Biles and Young, in 1857, and was still in operation in 1885.

Soap was first made at Steilacoom in March 1862 by the Messrs Meekers. The manufacture was discontinued.

The manufacture of tobacco, from plants grown by himself, was begun at Elhi, Pierce county, by T. E. Patton, in 1877.

Fruit canning and drying was first engaged in by an organized company in 1883, at Walla Walla.

Brooms have for several years been manufactured at Olympia, and broom-corn raised in Yakima county.

Gloves were first made at a factory established in Olympia in 1880 by Weston & Swichart.

A sash, door, and blind factory was established at Tumwater in 1871 by Leonard, Crosby, & Cooper. Cooper soon became sole manager.

A chair factory was erected at Seattle in 1879 by Newell & Cosgriff.

The Seattle lumber mills run machinery for manufacturing sash, doors, and blinds, and scroll and ornamental work for house-building.

Water-pipe was first manufactured in 1868, at Tumwater, by W. N. Horton. In 1870 C. H. Hale and S. D. Howe were admitted to a partnership, and the company called the Washington Water-Pipe Manufacturing and Water Company. It subsequently passed into the hands of D. F. Finch. The capacity of the works was from 2,500 to 3,000 feet per day of finished pipe. The material used was wood, bored, bound with iron hoops, and soaked in asphaltum. In 1877 a new company was organized in S. F., under the title fo American Water-Pipe Company, with a capital of $250,000, for the purpose of manufacturing wooden pipe at Tumwater for both gas and water service.

Two stave, box, and excelsior mills are operated on a large scale at Seattle and Puyallup by the S. F. Mattullath Manufacturing Company. The buildings at Seattle cover four acres, 200 persons are employed, and the staves and heads for 5,000 barrels a day turned out. The waste is used to make boxes. This company have patented several machines, and have a process of their own for making barrels. The sides are made of a single sheet, which takes the place of separate staves. These sheets are cut from a large log by revolving it against a large knife. Another patent of this company is a petroleum-barrel, which is a tin cask inside a wooden one, the intervening space being filled with cement. *Hittell's Commerce and Industries*, 624–5.

The Puyallup factory employs sixty men, and turns out 1,500 barrels per day, the staves and heads being sent to S. F. to be set up. Excelsior is made at this establishment from the cottonwood trees of the bottom-lands.

Wagon-making is carried on to some extent. The first stage-coach, Concord make, ever built north of S. F. was manufactured in Walla Walla in 1867.

The first brick was made in the territory by Samuel Hancock, on the Cowlitz prairie. Good brick were scarce as late as 1867, and brought twenty dollars a thousand.

The largest brewery in Washington is at Seattle, owned by Schaffer & Howard.

Until quite recently no iron-works of any extent existed north of the Columbia. The Port Madison Mills had a machine-shop attached to their lumber establishment previous to 1870. In 1877 Lister & Burse opened work in an iron-foundery at New Tacoma, employing twenty men. In 1878 the North Pacific Foundery and Machine-shop, Seattle Coal Company's machine-shop, and the Williamson Machine-shop were all running at Seattle. The North Pacific Company put up new works the following year. There was also a foundery at Walla Walla.

In 1880 the Puget Sound Iron Company, Cyrus Walker president, erected a furnace for smelting iron near Port Townsend. The place was called Irondale, where work was commenced in January 1881. The first iron was made on the 23d of that month. Ore used was obtained from the iron-beds which underlie the dairy farm of William Bishop at Chimacum, and from Texada Island in the gulf of Georgia. The Chimacum mine was a stratum of bog-ore twenty-two inches thick, lying two feet beneath the surface, and extensive enough to keep a forty-ton furnace running for twenty years. The Texada mine was found in a fissure vein eighty feet wide, containing 62 per cent of metal, the quantity of which is inexhaustible, and the quality excellent, although the ore has to be desulphurized by roasting. The ores, delivered at the furnace, cost about two dollars a ton, including a royalty to the owners. The Chimacum iron being soft and the Texada hard, they are mixed to obtain the proper density. Charcoal is made from the timber at hand; lime is brought from San Juan and Orcas islands at a dollar and a half a ton—all of which greatly cheapens and facilitates the production of the iron, which is worth in the market thirty dollars per ton. The experiment being successful beyond expectation, the works are being enlarged.

COUNTIES AND TOWNS OF WASHINGTON.

Of the three judicial districts into which Washington is divided, the first comprises the counties of Walla Walla, Whitman, Stevens, Spokane, Columbia, Yakima, Lincoln, Garfield, Kittitass, and Klikitat; the second, Skamania, Clarke, Cowlitz, Wahkiakum, Pacific, Thurston, Lewis, Chehalis, and Mason; the third, Pierce, King, Snohomish, Whatcom, Island, San Juan, Clallam, Jefferson, and Kitsap. Walla Walla co. in 1880 had an area of 1,600 square miles, a population of 6,212, and taxable property to the amount of $2,971,560. *New Tacoma N. P. Coast*, Feb. 1, 1880. Whitman co. was established by setting off the southern portion of Stevens, Nov. 21, 1871. It was named after Marcus Whitman, its first American settler. Recent settlement began in 1870. Its area was 4,300 square miles; population 7,014; taxable property $1,237,189. The first county commissioners were G. D. Wilbur, William R. Rexford, and Henry S. Burlingame; sheriff, Charles D. Porter; treasurer, W. A. Belcher; auditor, John Ewart; probate judge, John Denny; supt. of schools, C. E. White; coroner, John Fincher; commissioners to locate the county seat, William Lucas, Jesse Logsdon, and J. A. Perkins. The county seat is Colfax. *Wash. Stat.*, 1871, 134–5. Henry H. Spaulding, son of the missionary Spaulding, was born at Lapwai, in Idaho, Nov. 24, 1839. He settled at Almota in 1872, and opened the first road to Colfax. In 1875 he married Mary Warren, and has several children. L. M. Ringer, born in Washington co., Ind., in 1834, immigrated to Or. in 1870, settling at Eugene. In 1872 he took a land claim 3 miles from the present town of Colfax. Five years later he removed to Almota and erected a flouring mill, half of which he sold to Adams Bros & Co., forming a partnership with them in merchandising, subsequently purchasing their interest. He married, in 1859, Sophie W. Owen, and had in 1875 six children. Stevens co. had a remaining area of 3 or 4 times that of Whitman, and in 1879 Spokane co. was set off from it with a pop. of 4,262. Its valuation in 1885 was over a million and a half. County seat, Spokane Falls. Daniel F. Percival, born in Bangor, Me., in 1839, immigrated to Montana in 1866, whence he went to San Diego, Cal., and thence, after a residence of 2 years, to Or., where he spent 2 years. In 1872 he settled in Spokane co., at farming and stock-raising. He was elected county commissioner in 1876, and was a member of the legislative assembly in 1877 and 1879. He married Lizzie Blythe in 1871. Residence at Cheney. Elijah L. Smith, born in Jefferson, Iowa, in 1842, came overland to Or. with his father, Elijah Smith, a resident of Salem, aged 80 years, having a numerous family. Of 11 children of the elder Smith 3 sons resided in Washington, and the remainder in the Willamette Valley. Elijah L. married Julia Tate in 1871. In 1862 he went to the Florence mines, and followed the Rocky Mountains from Kootenai to Arizona, working in every camp of importance. In 1873 he came to the Spokane country to engage in stock-raising, where he remained permanently, with the exception of 4 years spent in Or. In 1879 he took up a body of land surrounding Medical Lake. William Bigham, born in Amsterdam, N. Y., in 1831, came by sea to Cal. in 1852, where he mined for 6 months, going to Or. in the autumn, and residing there until 1859, when he removed to the Walla Walla Valley, having married, 2 years previous, Jane Ann Kelly. In 1870 he removed to Butte Creek in Wasco co., where he remained until 1878, when he returned to Washington and settled at Cheney in Spokane co., where he engaged in the business of stock-raising. Vroman W. Van Wie, born in Cayuga co., N. Y., in 1833, came overland to Cal. in 1852. Mined on the upper Sacramento until the following spring, and then drove a freight team to Shasta. He soon returned to San Francisco and supplied milk to customers for 5 years, after which he farmed in the vicinity of San José for some time. In 1861 he came to the Walla Walla Valley, going hence to the Florence mines, and to Montana, following the Rocky Mountains south to the Colorado River, then going to Pahranagat and White Pine, Nev. He built the first house in Shermantown. Afterward he returned to Washington with the N. P. R. R. party which first broke sod at Kalama, and remained

in the Puget Sound country 3 years. In 1872 he settled in Stevens co. (later Spokane) and engaged in stock-raising. In 1884 he went into merchandising at Medical Lake, the firm being Campbell & Van Wie. His farm was 3½ miles from the lakes. He married, in 1871, Mrs M. L. Harris. Columbia co. was set off from the eastern portion of Walla Walla, Nov. 11, 1875. County seat, Dayton; pop. in 1880, 6,894; taxable property, $1,948,050; area, 2,000 square miles. S. L. Gilbreth, born in Knox co., Tenn., in 1825, immigrated to Oregon, and settled in Yamhill co., in 1852. In 1859, or as soon as the Walla Walla Valley was opened for settlement, he removed to his residence 4 miles from Dayton, and was the first sheriff of the county. He married, in 1859, M. H. Fanning, and had in 1855 3 sons and 6 daughters. His brother, Joseph Gilbreth, who came to Or. with him, died in Yamhill co.

Yakima co., established in 1865, area 9,224 square miles; had a population in 1885 of about 2,000, and a valuation of about $1,000,000. County seat, Yakima City. Among the settlers of Yakima co. was L. H. Adkins, who was born in Syracuse, N. Y., in 1838, and came to Honey Lake Valley, Cal., in 1860. Thence he went to Nevada, and in 1862 started to the Salmon River mines in Id., but stopped in the Powder River Valley, Or., being one of the first California company which came overland to these mines. Adkins went to driving a freight wagon between Cañon City and The Dalles, or Boisé City, and was so occupied 3 years. In 1865 he opened a photograph gallery in Umatilla, and subsequently a livery-stable, but failed, and went next into the dairying business. In 1867 he was appointed postmaster at Umatilla, and had a contract to carry the mail to the Yakima country for 6 years. In 1872 he settled in Yakima City at hotel-keeping, having married Flora Markham of the former place.

George S. Taylor, born in Fountain co., Ind., in 1832, at 20 years of age removed to Iowa, where he resided 12 years, immigrating to Umatilla co. Or., in 1864, and removing to Yakima co., Washington, in 1866. He settled in the Selah Valley, 8 miles from Yakima City, on a stock farm, when there were but 2 families in the valley, those of Alfred Henson and William McAllister. Taylor was married in 1857 to Rebecca McLaughlin.

H. M. Benton was born in New Haven, Conn., in 1836. He came to Cal. by sea in 1859, around the Horn in a sailing vessel. He sailed for 3 years between San Francisco and China and Japan, then came to the Columbia River and was employed by the O. S. N. Co. to run their steamers, until 1869, when he settled in the Ahtanam Valley, Yakima co., which was then without towns except the small settlement of Moxie, the county seat, opposite the present Yakima City. He was elected auditor in 1872, to succeed C. P. Cook, the first auditor of the county, and served 5 years. He was first clerk of the district court, when 1 clerk was allowed for each court, and deputy clerk when only one was allowed in a district. There being no county buildings, he carried the county records about with him, until the district court was established. Judge J. R. Lewis organized the first court, and first sunday-school, in what was known as Schanno's Hall, the only public room in the county. The first grand jury met in a small school-room outside the limits of the town. Previously justice had been loosely administered. James Cathrell was justice, in a case of assault, and there not being a sufficient number of men for a jury, put the sheriff on the panel. The man was bound over to appear at the next term of court at Colville—Yakima being, it was believed, joined to Stevens co. for judicial purposes, whereas it belonged to Walla Walla. Such was pioneer law. Benton married, in 1869, Mary A. Allen, a native of Oregon. They had 2 children, the eldest of whom was the first white native of Ahtanam Valley.

A. J. Splawn, born in Holt co., Mo., in 1845, immigrated to Linn co., Or., with his mother and family in 1852. He settled in the Yakima Valley in 1861, when only 2 other men, Charles Splawn and M. Thorp, were in that part of the country, the former being the first sheriff of the county. Two other brothers settled in Yakima Valley. A. J. Splawn married Melissa Thorp in 1868; and again in 1873 married Mary A. Davison.

Garfield county was established in 1881 out of the eastern portion of Columbia co. County seat, Pomeroy.

George W. James, born in Muskingum co., Ohio, in 1836, immigrated to Cal. overland, in company with 1 brother, Preston James, in 1856, remaining in Honey Lake Valley 3 years, when he went to Virginia City, Nev., and from there to Sacramento Valley in 1862, taking a farm near Marysville, where he resided 7 years. In 1878 he left Cal. for the Walla Walla Valley, settling in Columbia co. (now Garfield), near Ilia. He married Rosanna Sharp in 1856, and had 4 sons and 3 daughters.

Moses Wright, born in Franklin co., Va, came to Cal. overland with the Tornado Train in 1851. He went to Siskiyou co. and engaged in packing, which he followed until 1857, when he removed to Benton co., Or., with his brother John, who resided near Corvallis. In 1864 he returned to Cal. with horses and cattle, remaining there 3 years, settling in Walla Walla Valley in 1867, near Ilia, in what is now Garfield co. He married Louisa Spawr in 1863, by whom he has 3 sons. She died, and in 1884 he was married again to Mrs Huldah Lewis.

Ransom Long, born in Kanawha co., West Va, in 1812, immigrated overland in 1852 to the Willamette Valley, Or., with his brother Gabriel. In 1872 he removed to Walla Walla Valley, settling near the present town of Pomeroy, in Garfield co. He was married, in 1833, to Rosette Clark, and had 5 sons and 2 daughters.

William C. Carns, born in Niagara, province of Ontario, C. E., in 1835, came to Cal. in 1858 by sea. He resided in Cal. until 1865, when he went to Montana, remaining there until 1878. In that year he settled in Garfield co., 8 miles from Pomeroy.

N. C. Williams, born in Surrey co., N. C., in 1824, came overland by rail in 1873, settling near Pataha City. He married, in 1848, Catherine B. Martin, and had 5 sons and 6 daughters, all of whom, with one exception, settled about him.

George W. Burford, born in Lloyd co., Ind., in 1832, immigrated overland, in Mason's Train, to Yamhill co., Or., in 1852, with his father and family, consisting of 8 children. In 1854 he went to Yreka, Cal., to work in the mines, and in 1858 returned to Polk co., Or. In 1862 he married S. E. Cullough, by whom he has 3 daughters, and 3 years afterward went to reside at The Dalles, whence he came to Ilia in 1877.

Kittitass county was organized out of Yakima county in 1884. County seat, Ellensburg. It is rapidly filling up with farmers and stock-raisers. Some of the pioneers are the following: Samuel C. Miller, born in Ashland co., Ohio, in 1828, came to Cal. in 1852, overland, and settled in Nevada co., where he resided 9 years, less 1 spent east. In 1861 he removed to Umatilla, Or., engaging in the business of packing freight to the mines of John Day, taking two partners, so extending his lines in 1864 as to have trains running in all directions where packing was required. In 1872 the firm removed to the Wenatchee Valley, then in Yakima co., bringing a train load of goods, buying out another trading firm, Ingraham & McBride, and setting up as merchants, where there was but one other white man, John Goler. One of his partners, Frank Freer, died in 1878, leaving David Freer and Miller to continue the business. The Freers were also from Ohio, and came out in 1855 and 1857. There were in 1885 11 families in Wenatchee Valley and 44 voters, the first settlers being single men. This valley, says Miller, is 800 feet lower that the Kittitass Valley, after which the county is named, which recommends it to fruit-growers and farmers.

Thomas Haley, born in Onondaga co., N.Y., in 1847, came to Washington in 1869, and settled in Kittitass Valley, engaged in farming and stock-raising. Married, in 1878, Vancha Hackett, a native of Or.

Charles B. Reed, born in Indiana town and county, Penn., in 1838, went to Pike's Peak in search of gold in 1860, and thence to Montana in 1863. He discovered the Snow Shoe Gulch mines of Butte district, with Joseph Bowers and Jack Swartz, in the winter of 1864–5, and went from there to Deer Lodge,

where he remained until 1869. Starting for Puget Sound, he was attracted by the advantages of Kittitass Valley for stock-raising, and remained here, where in 1883 he was appointed postmaster. He married Mary Ebey, a native of Penn., at Deer Lodge, in 1865, and had 4 sons and 1 daughter. His second son was the first boy born in Kittitass Valley. Reed, with F. D. Schnebly, Charles S. Schnebly, Charles Kenneth, and John Catlin, constituted a party who went out to capture the Yakima murderers of the Perkins family in 1878. William Splawn headed another party which joined Reed's, and they with the assistance of chief Moses effected the capture, and prevented a war.

David Murray, born in Maine in 1831, came to Cal. in 1852 by sea, and went to the mines at Auburn, but returned to the ship which brought him out, *Queen of the East*, Capt. Bartlett, and helped to unload the dry-dock, which she had in her hold, at Mare Island. For 3 or 4 years he mined and worked at the navy-yard alternately, and in 1859 purchased a farm near Mare Island, where he resided until 1862, when he went to the British Columbia mines, remaining in that country 10 years, when he returned to Cal. and the east. In 1870 he settled in Yakima co., Washington, of which he was a commissioner, but in 1883 removed to Kittitass Valley, and resided at Ellensburg. His business was stock-raising. He married Minnie May of Ill. in 1878, who died in 1885.

Charles P. Cooke, born in Erie co., Ohio, in 1824, was brought up in Sandusky City. He came to Cal. overland in 1849, and after 1 year in the mines of the south fork of Feather River removed to Independence, Polk co., Or. On the establishment of a post-office at that place in 1851, and the appointment of Leonard Williams postmaster, Cooke was made his deputy, until 1853, when he was appointed postmaster, which office he held until 1867. He was also a justice of the peace from 1851 to 1867, when he removed to the Yakima country, settling in Moxie Valley, across the river from the present Yakima City. On the 17th of March, a few days after his arrival, the county was organized, only 17 voters being present. In June 1868 he was elected auditor for 2 years, and was chosen county commissioner several times. In 1870 he removed to Kittitass Valley. In 1873 he was elected joint assemblyman for Yakima and Klikitat counties; and in 1875 was again elected from Yakima co. The legislature of 1883 appointed him one of the commissioners of the new county of Kittitass, which he helped to organize the following year, when he was elected joint assemblyman for Yakima and Kittitass counties. Cooke says that in 1870 there were only 6 other white settlers in what is now Kittitass co., viz., F. M. Thorp, Charles Splawn, Mathias Baker, S. R. Geddes, Tillman Houser, and P. Doveran, all with families. There were about as many single men. Cooke married Susan E. Brewster, born at Saratoga, N. Y., but brought up in Ohio, a descendant of the Vandercooks of the old Dutch colony of N. Y. They had 6 sons and 4 daughters. This is the same Cooke family which furnished Jay Cooke, Henry D. Cooke, and in Or. E. N. Cooke.

Thomas Johnson, born in Prescott, Canada West, in 1839, immigrated to Vancouver, V. I., in 1862, and settled in Klikitat co., on the north side of the Columbia, the following year, running a ferry between Rocklin and The Dalles for 3 years. In 1871 he surveyed the town of Goldendale, erected the first house and store, and opened trade, and also built the first flouring mill, destroyed by fire in 1875.

The first organization of Klikitat co. in 1859 having been practically abandoned, but three families residing there, viz., Parrott, J. S. Bergen, and Doty, in 1867 the legislature again appointed county officers. H. M. McNary and A. Schuster were chosen commissioners, A. H. Simmons sheriff, William Connell treasurer, and Johnson auditor, which office he held for 3 years, after which he was elected probate judge, and again treasurer. In 1882 he removed to Kittitass Valley, having a contract with the N. P. R. R. to furnish lumber. He erected a large mill and opened a store, which property was destroyed by fire in 1883, entailing a loss of $26,000. Johnson married Ann Connell of Spruceville, C. W., in 1866.

John A. Shoudy, born in Rock Island co., Ill., in 1840, served in the U. S. army during the civil war, and in 1864 immigrated to the Pacific coast via Panamá, spending 1 year in Cal. In 1865 he removed to Seattle, on Puget Sound, and in 1871 to the Kittitass Valley, where he purchased the small stock of merchandise of A. J. Splawn, and settled down to trade with the 12 or 14 other settlers, where in 1885 there were 4 general merchandise stores, carrying each a stock of from $25,000 to $40,000. Shoudy took a preëmption claim, a soldier's homestead claim, of 160 acres each, and having purchased another 160 acres, laid out the town of Ellensburg, naming it after his wife, Mary Ellen Stewart of Ky, whom he married in 1867. Shoudy was in 1882 elected to represent Yakima co. in the legislative assembly.

James H. Stevens, born in Beaver co., Penn., in 1842, immigrated via Seattle in 1873, and settled at once on a farm in the Kittitass Valley, where he raised wheat, which he used to fatten hogs, with a profit. He married Mary C. Rego of Ind. in 1870, and had 2 children.

John P. Sharpe, born in Harrison co., Ohio, in 1842, came to Or. overland with his parents in 1852, and settled in Lane co. In 1862 he removed to the neighborhood of The Dalles, and in 1874 again removed to Kittitass Valley, for the purpose of raising stock. In 1865 he married Nancy J. Roland, a native of Or., and had 8 children.

John M. Shelton, born in Wythe co., Va, in 1841, went to Pike's Peak for gold in 1860, revisiting his home and returning to Denver in 1865, where he remained until 1882, when he came to Kittitass Valley to reside. He married Carrie C. Jones of Mo. in 1866, and has 4 children.

Klikitat county, which was established Dec. 20, 1859, has an area of 2,088 square miles. The county seat was first temporarily located on the land claim of Alfred Allen. First co. com., Alfred Allen, Richard Tartar, and Jacob Halstead; probate judge, Willis Jenkins; sheriff, James Clarke; auditor, Nelson Whitney; assessor, Edwin Grant; treasurer, William Murphy; justice of the peace, John Nelson. *Wash. Stat.*, 1859–60, 420–1. The boundary of this county was changed in Jan. 1861 by extending the west line north to the north-east corner of Skamania co., and thence east to a point due north of the mouth of Rock Creek, thence to the Columbia, and back through the middle of the river to the place of beginning. The county seat was then located 'upon the land of G. W. Phillips,' until fixed by a majority of the legal voters of said county at a general election. Nelson was then appointed probate judge, Jenkins treasurer, Phillips auditor, W. T. Waters sheriff, James H. Hermains, A. Waters, and A. Davis co. com., C. J. McFarland, S. Peasly, and W. T. Murphy justices of the peace. In Jan. 1867 the county seat was located at Rockland by legislative enactment, but subject to be changed by a majority of votes at the next election. A new set of officers were appointed to hold until others should be elected. Rockland remained the county seat until it was removed to Goldendale. This county contains the Yakima Indian reservation. It had a population in 1871 of 2,898, and taxable property to the amount of $732,737. *New Tacoma N. P. Coast*, Feb. 1, 1880.

Skamania, which embraces the mountainous region of the Cascades, was established in 1854 by the first territorial legislature, can never be a populous county. Its area is 2,300 square miles, pop. 495, and taxable property $143,793. Co. seat Lower Cascades. Clarke co., whose history has been often referred to, has an area of 725 square miles, pop. 4,294, taxable property $924,100. County seat Vancouver. Cowlitz, set off from Lewis in 1854, has an area of 1,100 square miles, a pop. of 1,810, and taxable property to the amount of $938,170. Co. seat Kalama. Wahkiakum co., established in 1854, has an area of 360 square miles, population 504, taxable property $158,606. County seat at Cathlamet. Pacific co., organized in 1851 by the Or. legislature, has an area of 550 square miles, pop. 1,315, taxable property $379,258. Co. seat Oysterville. Thurston co., established in 1852 by the Or. leg., has an area of 750 square miles, a pop. of 3,246, and taxable property amounting to $1,628,108. Co. seat Olympia. Lewis co., established in 1845 by the Or. leg., has an area of 1,800 square miles, pop. 2,095, taxable

property $743,571 County seat Chehalis. *Id.* Chehalis co., established in 1854, has an area of 2,800 square miles, pop. 808, taxable property $304,801. County seat Montesano. Mason county, organized as Sawamish in 1854, has a present area of 900 square miles, pop. 560, taxable property $570,331. Co. seat Oakland. Pierce co. was organized by the Or. leg. in 1852. It has an area of 1,800 square miles, a pop. of 2,051, and taxable property to the amount of $1,669,444. Co. seat Steilacoom, later changed to New Tacoma. King co., established in 1852, has an area of 1,900 square miles, pop. 5,183, taxable property $1,997,679. Co. seat Seattle. Snohomish co. was established in 1861. The first com., E. C. Ferguson, Henry McClurg, and John Hervey; sheriff, Jacob Summers; auditor, J. D. Fowler; probate judge, Charles Short; treasurer, John Harvey. The co. seat was located at Point Elliot, or Mukilteo, until it should be changed by election of the voters of the county. Its present county seat is Snohomish City; area of the county 1,000 square miles, pop. 1,080, taxable property $390,354. Whatcom co. was first organized in March 1854 out of a portion of Island co. The next leg. located the co. seat at the land claim of R. V. Peabody until the com. should select a site. *Wash. Stat.*, 1854, 475. Area 3,840 square miles, pop. 2,331, taxable property $735,003. Co. seat Whatcom, on the Peabody claim.

The earliest settler in Whatcom co. was William Jarman, an Englishman formerly in the service of the H. B. Co., who located himself on the Samish River in 1852. To Whatcom co. belong certain islands of the Haro or Fuca archipelago, one of which is Lummi Island, 9 miles long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles wide, the south end being a bold eminence rising 1,560 feet, and the north end level forest land. There is also an island, or delta, formed by the two mouths of the Nootsack River, on which is the reservation of the Nootsacks. Christian Tutts was the first permanent settler on Lummi. Samish Island is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, lies east and west, and varies in width from 25 rods about the middle to 260 rods at the western, and a mile at its eastern end. It was settled first in 1870, by Daniel Dingwall, followed by a number of farmers. *Bellingham Bay Mail*, April 6, 1875. Fidalgo Island contains about 25,000 acres, and combines a remarkable variety of scenery, soil, and climate. The eastern portion, fronting on Swinomish Slough, is connected with the main island only by a narrow peninsula, and is occupied as the reservation of the Swinomish Indians, containing about 7,000 acres. The first white settlement was made on Fidalgo Bay, probably, by William Monks. The island has a number of bays offering attractions for settlement—Simelk, Fidalgo, Padilla, and Squaw bays. Mount Erie, 1,250 feet high, rises about 2 miles south-west of the head of Fidalgo Bay. Lake Erie, and several small lakes, add diversity to the landscape. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xvi. 25–6. Guemes Island, first settled in 1862 by J. F. Mathews, contains about 7,000 acres, most of which is occupied. There is a post-office and steamboat landing on Ship Harbor channel. There is a copper mine on this island, discovered by Hugh D. O. Bryant, born in Georgia, one of the Or. pioneers of 1843. He removed to Puget Sound in 1853, residing first at Olympia, but settling on Guemes Island in 1866. The copper mine is on his farm, and was located and tested in 1875. It is in the hands of a stock company at present. Cypress Island was settled in 1869, by J. M. Griswold. It is about five miles long and three miles wide, has a mountain 1,525 feet high, with lakes and diversified scenery. Only a small portion of the land is tillable. Secret Harbor, Strawberry Bay, and Eagle Harbor are the settlements. Sheep-raising and fishing are the industries of the island. Sinclair Island, sometimes called Cottonwood, lies between Cypress and Lummi islands, containing an area of 1,050 acres, of which 1,000 are cultivable. It was settled by A. C. Kittles in 1868. Kittles went from Cal. to the Fraser mines, thence to Orcas and Fidalgo islands, and finally here. He keeps cattle and sheep. There were no white women on Sinclair or Cypress islands in 1885. The first settlement on Skagit River was made in 1859 by William H. Sortwell, formerly of Snohomish. On the Nootsack the first resident was Patterson, who cut the first cattle-trail from where Renton now stands. There are many Swedes and Norwegians on the Skagit and Swinomish, who make excellent farmers.

Island co. was established in Jan. 1853, just before the organization of the territory. Its first limits were very indefinite, and Whatcom county was taken off from it. Its present area is 250 square miles, embracing Camano and Whidbey islands. The area of the latter is 115,000 acres, of the former 30,000. Pop. 633; taxable property $372,821. Co. seat Coupeville.

San Juan county was established October 1873, being constituted of the islands of the Haro archipelago, containing an area of 280 square miles, population of 838, and taxable property to the amount of $182,147. Co. seat San Juan.

THE HARO ARCHIPELAGO.

San Juan co. was in dispute between Eng. and the U. S. when, during the Fraser River excitement, it received a first rapid accession of American population. Many of these settlers will hardly come under the Washington Pioneer Society's rule for pioneers, yet to all intents and purposes belong to that class, and deserve mention. C. Rosler was a soldier in Co. D, 9th U. S. infantry, under Captain Pickett, from 1855 to 1860. After his discharge he settled on the island of San Juan. Robert Frasier settled in November 1859. He came to the coast in 1856, and went to Fraser River in 1848. D. W. Oaks, a native of Maine, went to the Fraser mines in 1858 from Cal., and returning settled on the island three weeks before Pickett landed with Am. troops, and helped to raise the first Am. flag. McGarry was another settler of 1859, whose widow remained on the island. S. V. Boyce, a returned miner of 1859, erected the first building in the town of San Juan. Charles McKay and Henry Quinlan also selected homes on the island the same year.

Frederick Jones came to Puget Sound in 1854, left in 1856, returned in 1858, and settled on the east side of San Juan Island, south of Friday Harbor. He is a sheep-farmer and fruit-grower. Rev. Thomas J. Weeks, the first protestant minister to settle on San Juan, acquired title after the abandonment of Camp Pickett to the quarters formerly occupied by the officer in command, and he and Robert Firth secured possession of this historic ground. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xv. 36–42. Morse gives many other names from 1862 to 1870. The part of the settlement has been made since 1870.

Clallam co. was organized by the first ter. leg. in April 1854. Its area is 2,050 square miles, population 469, taxable property $154,351, co. seat New Dungeness. *New Tacoma, N. P. Coast*, Feb. 1, 1880. Jefferson co. was established in 1852 by the Or. leg. Its area is 2,500 square miles, population 1,427, taxable property, $469,161, co. seat Port Townsend. Kitsap co. was established in Jan. 1857, under the name of Slaughter, in memory of the gallant officer of that name who defended the firesides of the early settlers against the hostile chief whose name the com. finally adopted, and whose home was on the peninsula which constituted the co. between Admiralty Inlet and Hood Canal. The first board of co. com. were Daniel S. Howard, G. A. Meigs, and Cyrus Walker; sheriff, G. A. Page; auditor, Delos Waterman; assessor, S. B. Hines; treasurer, S. B. Wilson; justices of the peace, William Hubner, William Renton, and M. S Drew. *Wash. Stat.*, 1856–7, 52. A supplementary act provided that the legal voters of Slaughter co. should at the next annual election decide upon a name for the county, which they did. A third act appointed Henry C. Wilson probate judge for the county. The area of Kitsap is 540 square miles, pop. 1,799, taxable property $1,044,673, co. seat Port Madison. Quillchyute co. was created in Jan. 1868, out of that portion of the coast south of the Quillchyute River, north of Chehalis co., and west of the Olympic range; but there being not pop. enough to fill the co. offices, the act was repealed the following year. *Wash. Stat.*

Taking the population and wealth of the first district, which is purely an agricultural one, and comparing it with that of the other two, which are largely commercial, it appears, according to the statistics for 1879, furnished by the co. officers, that eastern Washington had at that time a pop. in its six counties only five thousand less than western Washington with its eighteen counties, and had taxable property to the amount of $8,185,774, against $12,761,080 on the west side of the mountains. Four counties were organized since 1879 in the eastern division. The growth of the country on both sides of the Cascades has been rapid, almost doubling its population in five years, and adding 50 per cent to its capital, which in a new country is a large increase.

Seattle, the metropolis of Washington, in 1880 had 7,000 inhabitants, and property valued at something over four millions. Its manufactures comprised three ship-yards, three founderies, two breweries, one tannery, three boiler-shops, six sash and door factories, five machine-shops, six saw-mills, three brick-yards, three fish-packing factories, one fish cannery, one barrel factory, one ice factory, one soda-water factory, besides boot and shoe shops, tin-shops, and other minor industries. The commerce of Seattle with the coast line of settlements was considerable; but the chief export is coal from the mines east of Lake Washington. There were few public buildings except churches, of which there were ten, besides the hall and reading-room of the Young Men's Christian Association. The university, whose early history has been given, was in as flourishing a condition as an institution without a plentiful endowment could be. In connection with the university there was a society of naturalists numbering 23 young men, whose cabinet was valued at $3,000. The building occupied by their cabinet was furnished by A. A. Denny, to be enlarged as required. The officers were: W. Hall, president; E. S. Meany, vice-president; H. Jacobs, secretary; F. M. Hall, assistant secretary; C. L. Denny, librarian; A. M. White, treasurer; and J. D. Young, marshal. *Seattle Evening Herald*, Dec. 22, 1883. The lesser towns of King county are: Newcastle, Renton, Dwamish, Black River, Fall City, Slaughter, White River, Snoqualimich, Squak, Quilleyute, and Quillicene.

The second town in size on Puget Sound in 1885 was New Tacoma, population 4,000. Old Tacoma, become a suburb of its younger rival, was a pretty village facing the bay around a point a little to the west of the new town. The first to project a town on Commencement Bay was Morton M. McCarver, who belonged to the Oregon immigration of 1843. In 1868 he visited Puget Sound in search of the probable terminus of the Northern Pacific railway, and fixed upon Commencement Bay. Together with L. M. Starr and James Steele he purchased the land of Job Carr and laid off the town of old Tacoma, built a house, and induced Ackerson and Hanson to erect a mill there. He gave 200 or 300 acres to the railroad company, and purchased several thousand more for them, the terminus being located, as it was believed, on this land July 14, 1873. He died April 17, 1875. Letter of Mrs Julia A. McCarver, in *Historical Correspondence*, MS. McCarver was born in Lexington, Ky, Jan. 14, 1807. He settled in Galena, Ill., in 1830. He took part in the Black Hawk war, founded the town of Burlington, Iowa, had a stake in Chicago and Sacramento, but lost heavily by fire in Idaho, and suffered by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co. *Pacific Tribune*, April 23, 1875; *Portland Welcome*, March 28, 1875; *Olympia Courier*, April 24, 1875; *Or. City Enterprise*, April 23, 1873; *Gilbert's Logging and R. R. Building.* Tacoma was called by Ackerson after the Indian name of Mount Tokomah, meaning greatness. *Wash. Scraps*, 230. New Tacoma was laid out principally on the donation claim of Peter Judson of the immigration of 1853, while old Tacoma site was purchased from Job Carr, a more recent settler. New Tacoma owes its first rapid growth to the promise of the manipulators of the Northern Pacific railroad to make it the terminus. It was laid out by Ex-surveyor-general James Tilton and Theodore Hosmer on the heights overlooking the bay, about two miles south-east of the old town, and was divided into 500 blocks of six lots each, and planned by Olmstead, modelled after Melbourne. The site is fine. being high above the water, with the Puyallup Valley at its door and Mount Tacoma rearing its triple crest high above the Cascade range directly to the east, and seeming not an hour's journey away. The first municipal election of New Tacoma was held on Monday, June 8, 1874. Job Carr, A. C. Campbell, J. W. Chambers, A. Walters, and S. C. Howes were elected town trustees. It was chosen the seat of Pierce county in 1880. *Tacoma Tribune*, June 12, 1874.

Olympia in 1885 was next to New Tacoma in point of population, numbering 3,500. The first land claim taken on the site was located in 1846 by Levi L. Smith, and held in partnership with Edmund Sylvester. First custom-house established at Olympia Nov. 10, 1851. First weekly mail to the Columbia from this place in 1851; first mail from here down the Sound carried in 1854. First newspaper published here Sept. 11, 1852. First store or American trading-house opened here by M. T. Simmons in 1850. There had been a trading-house on the east side of Budd Inlet previously, at the catholic mission. The first child born in Olympia was a son to S. P. Moses, the first collector of customs. The first marriage of Americans in the territory was at Tumwater, a suburb of Olympia, in 1848, between Daniel D. Kinsey and Ruth Brock, M. T. Simmons officiating. First school in the territory taught in 1852, in a small building on the site of the present post-office, by A. W. Moore. First term of court held on Puget Sound—except the extraordinary one of 1849—was held at Olympia Jan. 20, 1852. The first session of the legislature was held in the building now occupied by Breckenfield as a tobacco-store. First town incorporated on Puget Sound was Olympia, in 1859. First trustees were George A. Barnes, Joseph Cushman, James Cushman, T. F. McElroy, and Elwood Evans. First marshal, W. H. Mitchell. *Wash. Standard*, Jan. 13, 1872. First hotel put up in 1851, the Columbian, was torn down in 1872. *Olympia Transcript*, March 9, 1872. Swanton, a suburb of Olympia, separated from it only by a creek, and a thriving village, was named after John M. Swan, its original proprietor, and a nurseryman. *Sylvester's Olympia*, MS., 11; *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 22; *Olympia Club*, MS., 1–20. The first brick building erected in Olympia was the banking-

house of George A. Barnes, one of its earliest settlers, the plan being furnished by R. A. Abbott, and the structure completed in 1870. Other brick buildings followed in the business portion of the town, but wood is still the material chiefly in use for architectural purposes, from which circumstance the place has been subjected to loss by several devastating fires.

RAILROADS OF EASTERN WASHINGTON.

Previous to the location of the railroad the people of Olympia had expected that their city would be the terminal point, founding their expectations upon the natural advantages of the place, the importance of Tumwater Falls to manufactures, and nearness to the Columbia and Portland, to which place the company's charter compelled them to build their road. But as steam had rendered manufactures comparatively independent of water-power, railroad companies preferred to select town sites for themselves, and there was the certainty that whenever a railroad should be constructed over the Cascade Mountains it would seek a terminus nearer the strait of Fuca. These and other considerations caused the company to fix upon Tacoma, whence at any time they could withdraw to a still more northern terminus.

The location of their line fifteen miles east of Olympia, and the depression in business to which this action led, left the town almost stationary for several years. *Ellicott's Puget Sound*, MS., 7–8. In the mean time a grant was obtained from congress by the Olympia Branch Railroad to 1,300 or 1,400 acres

of tide-flats at the south end of Budd Inlet, and connection made with the Northern Pacific, in 1878.

Samuel Holmes, who came to Puget Sound in 1852, died at Swanton Nov. 5, 1873, aged 56 years. F. K. Perkins, a settler of 1852, died at Susanville, in Cal., after 20 years' residence in Olympia, July 22, 1872. Levi Shelton, a native of North Carolina, immigrated to Puget Sound in 1852, residing at Olympia and taking part in public affairs. He died in August 1878, aged 62 years. James Allen, who settled in Washington in 1852, died at Olympia in Nov. 1868, aged 74 years. Dr Uzal G. Warbass, born in New Jersey April 4, 1822, came to Washington in 1854, settling in Olympia in 1858. He served as surgeon in the Indian war of 1855–6, was a representative in the legislature, and territorial treasurer, besides practising medicine. He died in July 1863. Dr G. K. Willard was born in New York, and came to the Pacific coast in 1852, settling in Olympia. He was surgeon-general under Stevens in 1856. His death occurred in Dec. 1866. H. R. Woodward, born in N. Y., emigrated from Mich. in 1852, settling near Olympia. He was a scientific agriculturist. He died in Nov. 1872. Joseph Shaw came to Puget Sound at the age of 21, and settled on the east side of Budd Inlet, about 4 miles below Olympia. He was accidentally killed in July 1869. G. W. Dunlap, born in Maine, was educated at Bowdoin college, from which he graduated in 1845. He shipped before the mast on a whaler from New York in 1847, cruising in the Pacific two years, and residing for a period in Honolulu as bookkeeper to a mercantile firm. In 1854 he came to Puget Sound as agent for this house, but remained and went into business for himself at Olympia. For a few months he was clerk of the Indian department under Kendall. He died June 16, 1862, aged 36 years, and every business house in Olympia closed its doors on the day of his funeral. Silas Galliher immigrated to Olympia from the western states in 1854 with his family. He built the Tacoma House and conducted it for 19 years. His death occurred in April 1873, at the age of 46. His wife and six children survived him. J. H. Kellet, another pioneer of Olympia, died in April 1873. He was for many years sheriff of Thurston co., and a successful tradesman. Gideon Thompson, born in Ohio in 1829, came to Washington in 1857, settling 3½ miles from Olympia; died in October 1861. Isaac Wood, who settled in Olympia in 1857, died April 16, 1869. Thomas James, born in England in 1838, emigrated thence to the U. S. in 1842, and to Washington in 1851, settling near Olympia with his parents after a temporary residence in Victoria. He died in Feb. 1872. William F. O. Hoover, a settler of 1852, died suddenly of heart disease in Oct. 1875, aged 59 years. Charles Graham, born in N. Y., came to the Pacific coast in 1850, and in 1852 to Puget Sound, residing in Thurston and Mason counties down to the time of his demise in Feb. 1877, at the age of 78 years. Jared S. Hurd, born in N. Y., came to Olympia in 1852 or 1853 from Cal. He was a civil engineer and surveyor. In the Indian war of 1855–6 he served as maj. of vol. He died in May 1873. Edwin Marsh, a native of Conn., came to Olympia about 1851 and took a claim on the west side of the inlet, which was sometimes called Marshville. He was employed for a short time in 1862 on the Queniult reservation, but with that exception resided constantly in Olympia. He was appointed register of the land-office by President Lincoln, which office he held until 1868. He was afterward incumbent of several municipal offices, and was justice of the peace in 1879, when he mysteriously disappeared, and it was conjectured that he might have committed suicide in a despondent mood occasioned by ill health. A pioneer of Thurston co. was Steven Hodgdon, who was born in Portland, Maine, in 1807. He came to Cal. in 1849, and in 1851 to Washington, where he was industriously employed as a carpenter, and took a donation claim of 640 acres at the present site of Tenino. He lived on his land most of the time until his death, Sept. 26, 1882. His only child was married to J. H. Long of Chehalis. Asher Sarjent was an immigrant of 1850, accompanied by his sons E. N. and A. W. Sarjent. In 1852 he returned to the east and brought out his wife and remaining children—a son and two daughters—being captain of a company of 25 families in 1853. Nelson

Sarjent met them on the new immigrant road through the Nachess Pass and piloted them through. Sarjent took up a claim on Mound prairie, where he resided during the remainder of his life, except a brief period when he was on the Queen Charlotte Island expedition and a prisoner among the northern Indians. He was born in Maryland, but when young removed to Indiana. *Olympia Standard*, Feb. 16, 1883. Other immigrants settled on Mound prairie in 1854; namely, Van Warmer, Goodell, and Judson. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., ii. 108. An examination of the map in the sur.-gen.'s office shows claims to have been taken under the donation law on Budd Inlet, or near it, by D. E. Bumtrager, E. L. Allen, John Butler, G. W. French, B. F. Brown, M. Hurd, T. B. Dickerson, E. W. Austin, W. Dobbins, S. Percival, Waison, S. Hays, Nelson Barnes, R. M. Walker, E. H. Wilson, L. Offut, J. C. Head, G. Agnew, D. R. Bigelow, C. H. Hale, Pascal Ricard, Hugh P. O'Bryant, G. Whitworth, D. Hays, W. Billings, A. Moore, W. Lyle, and Dofflemeyer, in addition to the pioneers above named.

Tumwater, the initial point in the history of the settlement of Puget Sound, was incorporated in Nov. 1869. In time it numbered more manufactories than any other town on the Sound.

Vancouver was the fourth town in size in western Washington, having in 1880 about 3,000 inhabitants. It was made the county seat of Clarke co. by the first legislative assembly of Washington, in March 1854, its pioneers, both English and American, long retaining their residences. Among the early settlers were James Turnbull, born in England, came to Washington in 1852, and with him William Turnbull, his nephew, long known in connection with steamboating on the Columbia. Both died in 1874. P. Ahern, born in Ireland, came to Vancouver with troops in 1852. Was elected co. auditor in 1855, and representative in 1857. Stephen P. McDonald, born in Ill., came with the immigration of 1852 to Washington. Engaged in printing, and was publisher of the *Vancouver Register* for a time. He represented Clarke co. in the legislature in 1869, after which he was city recorder and clerk of the city council. He died Oct. 24, 1876. J. S. Hathaway, a native of N. Y., removed to Mich. when young, married in that state in 1847 and came to Clarke co. in 1852. He was active in the volunteer service during the Indian war, and was afterward co. judge. He died Jan. 12, 1876, at the age of 52 years. Levi Douthitt, born in N. C., immigrated in 1852, settling near Vancouver, where he resided until 1870, when he removed to Marion co., Or., where he died in Dec. 1872, aged 61 years. A. G. Tripp, a native of R. I., immigrated to the Pacific coast in 1849. He was employed in government service at Benicia, California, The Dalles, Oregon, Sitka, Alaska, and Vancouver. He settled at the latter place in 1857. He was chosen to represent Clarke co. in the legislature, but did not serve owing to absence in service of the government. He was mayor of Vancouver for several years. His death occurred Sept 17, 1875, at the age of 64 years. William Kelly came to the Pacific coast as sergeant in Co. G, 4th U. S. inf., and was transferred from Cal. to Fort Vancouver, where he remained until discharged in 1854, when he settled in the town. In 1866 he was made a capt. in the 8th U. S. cav., and was stationed in Arizona and New Mexico. He died at Denver, Colorado, while en route to Vancouver to visit his wife and children. Charles Proux, a Canadian voyageur, had resided near Vancouver since 1833 and acquired a handsome property. He died Jan. 10, 1868. Ingersoll Stanwood and his wife, Matilda, came from Ill. to Or. in 1852, settling near Vancouver. Mrs Stanwood died in April 1882, leaving 11 children with their father. Thomas Nerton, born in Eng. in 1822, married Eliza Lakin in 1852, and immigrated to Or. the same year. He settled in Washington in 1855, residing in Clarke co. until his death in Sept. 1882. He left a wife and 13 children. H. Martin, a veteran mountain man, a North Carolinian by birth, settled north of the Columbia in or about 1840. He planted 8 orchards in Washington, and ate of the fruits of each successively. He died in June 1862, aged 85 years. Frederick Shobert, a native of Penn., came to Or. in 1851, settling in Clarke co. He died in Sept. 1871, aged 65 years. Two pioneers of 1848, Felix Dodd and Henry Beckman, residents of Clarke co., died in April 1879, penniless.

Port Townsend, situated on Quimper peninsula, ranked fifth in point of population among the towns of western Washington. It was incorporated in 1860, the act being amended in 1871 and 1873. Occupying a commanding position, it was regarded as the key of Admiralty Inlet as well as Port Townsend Bay. There is a tradition that had the original owners of the town site been more liberal they might have benefited themselves. *Brigg's Port Townsend*, MS., 26–8. Loren B. Hastings, came to Or. in 1847 and settled at Portland, and was a member of the 1st municipal council of that city. On the 20th of Oct. 1851 he set out for Puget Sound, travelling by canoe to Cowlitz landing, and on foot from there to the Sound. Hastings was successful in business, and filled the various offices of justice of the peace, county treasurer, and representative in the legislature. He died in June 1881, and was buried with masonic ceremonies. *Port Townsend Puget Sound Argus*, June 17, 1881. Thomas Stimpson, a settler of Port Townsend, and a native of Maine, was swept overboard from the deck of the fishing schooner *Shooting Star* September 15, 1870, and drowned. He was the pioneer captain of the fishing fleet, and much regretted by the people among whom he lived. His wife and 2 children survived him. Frederick A. Wilson, born in Providence, R. I., came to Puget Sound about 1856, and was collector of customs for several years. He removed to Cal. about 1866, and died at San Rafael, Dec. 28, 1876. *Seattle Pac. Tribune*, Jan. 26, 1877. Edward Lill, a native of Eng., came to Puget Sound in 1853, and settled on Colseed Inlet. He died at Port Townsend, June 1876, aged 48 years. *Olympia Transcript*, June 10, 1876. D. C. H. Rothschild, merchant, settled in Port Townsend in 1858. He came to Cal. in 1849. *Portland West Shore*, Dec. 1876, 64. Henry L. Tibbals also settled in 1858. He died in Jan. 1883. Oliver Franklin Gerrish settled in 1863, too late to be a pioneer, but was identified with the affairs of Jefferson co., and had attained the highest degree of free-masonry. He was a native of Portsmouth, N. H., born April 14, 1830, and died at Victoria, B. C., Oct. 2, 1878. *Port Townsend Argus*, Oct. 3, 1878.

Steilacoom, the contemporary of Olympia, is most beautifully situated. Lafayette Balsh erected the first house, having brought the materials from the east in his vessel. The first house built out of native wood was put up by John Collins, a discharged soldier. Collins was a native of Ireland, born in 1812, emigrated to the U. S. in 1840, was in the Mexican war, in which he won a medal. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 111–15. William Bolton, a deserter from the English ship *Albion* in 1850, located a claim two miles north of Steilacoom, where he had a ship-yard and built several of the early sloops which traversed the waters of the Sound. *Evans' Notes*, MS., v. Lemuel Bills, a native of Vt, came to Puget Sound about 1851 and settled at Steilacoom soon after. He died in August 1875, aged 73 years. *Steilacoom Express*, Aug. 12, 1875. Bills' claim joined Balch's on the east. Abner Martin, native of Va, immigrated in 1852, settling in Pierce co. the same fall. He died in April 1880, at the age of 80 years. Hill Harmon came to Puget Sound in 1850, engaged in various enterprises, was in charge of the insane asylum at one time, owned a logging camp, built the Harmon hotel at Steilacoom and resided there, and had an extensive acquaintance with the most prominent men in this country. His wife was the first white woman at Port Gamble, her daughter Emma being the first white child born at that place. Mrs Harmon died in Dec. 1876, soon after returning to Steilacoom from her former home in Maine. Mason Guess, an immigrant of 1853, and a volunteer in the Indian war, resided at Steilacoom, and carried the mail from that place. John Walker came to the Pacific coast from Newark, N. J., in 1849, and settled in 1851 or 1852 in Pierce co. He died in 1869 in the Puyallup Valley. William M. Kincaid, born in Lexington, Ky., who belonged to the immigration of 1853, with his 7 children, 4 boys and 3 girls, his wife being dead, settled in the Puyallup Valley, and was driven out by the Indian war, but returned after several years. His death occurred in Feb. 1870, at the age of 71 years. John R., Joseph, and Christopher Kincaid are his sons. *Seattle Intelligencer*, Feb. 21, 1870. J. B. Webber, E. A. Light, James Hughes,

Samuel McCaw, and Rodgers were among the early settlers of Steilacoom. The donation claimants in the immediate vicinity were, after L. Balch, C. Chapman, and L. Bills: Thomas Chambers, J. Van Buskirk, W. Wallace, M. Byrd, John Rigney, W. P. Dougherty, L. Reach, James H. Minson, M. Faley, G. Gibbs, Peter Smith, J. Faucett, I. Talentire, W. P. Melville, Henry Johns, W. D. Bushaker, C. Mahan, W. Downey, W. N. Savage, T. Sears, H. Barnes, W. Northover, H. M. Percy, J. Thompson, Jesse Dunlap, E. Meeker, J. Montgomery, Frederick Mayer, G. Brown. Other towns of Pierce county were Puyallup, in the hop-growing region of that valley, Franklin, Alerton, Orting, Wilkeson, Lake View, Sumner, Elhi, and Nisqually.

Of towns that once had the promise of a great future, Whatcom is one. It was named after a chief of the Nooksacks, whose grave is a mile above the Bellingham Bay coal mine. For a short time during the Fraser River furore it had 10,000 people, and a fleet of vessels coming and going. The order of Douglas, turning traffic to Victoria, caused all the better portion of the buildings to be taken down and removed thither. The single brick house erected by John Alexander remained, and was converted to the use of the county. *Eldridge's Sketch*, MS., 31–2; Coleman, in *Harper's Magazine*, xxxix. 796; *Waddington*, 8–9; *Rossi's Souvenirs*, 156–7. After this turn in the fortunes of Whatcom it remained uninhabited, except by its owners and the coal company, for several years, or until about 1870, when the N. P. R. Co. turned attention to Bellingham Bay as a possible terminus of their road, and all the available land fronting on the bay was bought up. In 1882 the agent of a Kansas colony, looking for a location, fixed on Whatcom county and town, and made arrangements for settling there 600 immigrants. The owners of the town site agreed to donate a half-interest in the town site to the colonists, but refused after the latter had complied with the stipulations. New Whatcom was thereupon laid off on the opposite side of the creek, and also a town called Fairhaven west of that, while other colonists settled at Sehome, named after a chief of the Samish tribe, and laid off by E. C. Fitzhugh, James Tilton, and C. Vail, on the land claim of Vail and De Lacy, in 1858. Another town to which the mining rush gave birth was Semiahmoo, on the beautiful land-locked bay of that name, ten miles east of Point Roberts, and just below the southern boundary of B. C.

Of the towns founded since the pioneer period in this region, La Conner was for some years the chief. It was founded by J. S. Conner, and named after his wife, Louise Agnes Conner, the first white woman who settled on the flats. The post-office was established in 1870, a school in 1873, a catholic church in 1874, and a grangers' hall in 1875, which served for all public uses and county offices. Conner was born in Ireland in 1838, and came to the U. S. in 1840. He married Miss L. A. Seigfried in 1863, and came to Wash. in 1869, purchasing a small trading-post and some land from his cousin, J. J. Conner, and taking a pre-emption claim on the tide-lands. He soon became wealthy, but died in 1884, his wife and 9 children surviving him; Ida R., who married W. H. Talbot; Herbert S., who managed the estate; Lillian J., Mary V., Francis J., Louisa A., Guy W., Martin E., and William.

Another of the thriving modern northern towns is Snohomish City, situated at the head of navigation on the Snohomish River, in the midst of an extensive tract of agricultural and timbered country. Its founder was E. C. Ferguson, who, assisted by other progressive citizens, imparted to the place a character for enterprise unusual in towns of its size and age which have been planted in a new agricultural and lumbering country. Ferguson was born in N. Y. in 1832. He came to Cal. in 1854, and went to Fraser River in 1858. Returning unsuccessful, he tarried a while in Steilacoom, and labored at carpentering until 1860, when he, with E. F. Cady, located upon the land where Snohomish City now stands. They were successful from the first in their undertakings. Ferguson has been a merchant, has held several county offices, has served four terms in the legislative council of the territory, and one in the lower house. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., xxi. 13–14; *Portland*

West Shore, Dec. 1876; *Seattle Tribune*, Oct. 22, 1875. Then there were Clark and Theron Ferguson, Isaac Cathcart, a native of Ireland; A. C. Folsom, born in N. H. in 1827, a man of travel and numerous adventures in the service of the government; J. H. Plaskett, George G. England, L. Wilbur from Michigan, the Blackburn brothers and J. H. Hilton from Maine, Henry F. Jackson, W. H. Ward, William Whitfield from England, H. A. Gregory, and C. A. Missimer. Mr Morse, from whom I obtained a valuable series of manuscripts on Washington in 23 vols, was a resident of Snohomish City, where he published the *Northern Star* newspaper in 1876–9. He was born in Ct, April 14, 1847. At the age of 18 he enlisted in the battalion of engineer troops, U. S. A., and was discharged at the end of 3 years in S. F., whence he returned to Ct and removed to Iowa. In 1870 he graduated from the law school of the Michigan university, and practised in Albia, Iowa, until 1872, when he came to Snohomish City and engaged in law practice there, starting the first newspaper. After discontinuing his paper he travelled extensively about the Sound, picking up every species of information, a portion of which I have embodied in this history. Morris H. Frost was a pioneer at Mukilteo. He was born in N. Y. in 1806, removing to Mich. in 1832, and to Chicago, Ill., in 1849, immigrating thence in 1852 to Or. and settling at Steilacoom the following summer. In 1856 he was appointed collector of customs in place of I. N. Ebey, which position he occupied until 1860. It is claimed that he erected the first brick building on Puget Sound in 1857 for a custom-house, the same later occupied by N. D. Hill for a drug-store. In 1861 he removed to Mukilteo with Jacob D. Fowler, another New Yorker, where they were engaged in merchandising, fishing, beer-brewing, and hotel-keeping. With the selfish policy which hindered other new settlements, they refused to sell real estate; hence when other towns sprang up which competed for the trade of the country, they had no settlers near them to sustain business. About 1880 they consented to sell, and quite a settlement sprang up at Mukilteo, which, lying in the path of all the steamboats that ply east of Whidbey Island, caught considerable trade. Besides Mukilteo, on the Sound, was Lowell, nine miles up the Snohomish River, Tulalip Indian agency, at the mouth of that river, Qualco, at the mouth of the Skikomish, and Stamwood, on the tide-flats of the Stillaquamish, which in 1884 were all the towns in Snohomish county. The last-mentioned settlement is largely Norwegian. That people have a neat church, lutheran, at Stamwood, erected in 1879, and a pastor of their own nationality. The main Norwegian settlement was made between 1876 and 1880, both on the tide-flats and up the river. Martin and Christian Tafteson immigrated to the U. S. from the north of Norway in 1848, and to Puget Sound in 1851, settling at Oak Harbor, near the mouth of the Skagit. Christian Tafteson was born in 1816 and married in 1840. From 1833 to 1845 he was a trader at Alten Parish, 50 miles south of Hammerfest, west Lapland. He afterward resided in east Lapland, and was a landsman, or sheriff, as well as municipal chairman and court interpreter of the Tapish and Finnish languages, with which, and the Swedish and English, he was well acquainted. A thriving agricultural settlement was pioneered by H. D. Morgan and sons, millmen, on the Pill Chuck Creek, a stream flowing into the Snohomish just above Snohomish City. H. D. Morgan was Indian agent at Tulalip. He was of service in the Indian war in controlling the neutrals, and established the reservation on Squaxon Island in Nov. 1855. *Morse*, MS., iv. 116. He was not one of the earliest settlers of the co., but located there about 1874. W. B. Sinclair, formerly of Port Madison, was ten years earlier, and Mary E., his wife, was the first white woman who settled in the county. She was a daughter of J. N. Low of Seattle, pioneer of Alki Point. Sinclair was the first regular merchant of Snohomish. He died about 1870 or 1871; Mrs Sinclair continued to reside at Snohomish City.

The Snoqualimich prairie, which is in King county, above the Snoqualimich Falls, was first settled in 1859, by J. Borst, Spencer Kellogg, O. E. Kellogg, and A. C. Kimball. About the same time Frederick Dunbar, R. Bizer,

Patterson, and one other man located themselves on Griffin prairie, below the falls; and the following year Peter Peterson, M. Peterson, Robert Smallman, Joseph Ferris, and his wife Lucinda, on Snoqualimich prairie. Mrs Ferris was the first white woman in the Snoqualimich valley. Fall City is the name of a settlement two or three miles below the cataract of the Snoqualimich river. Other post-office stations to the number of ten or a dozen were all to be found in King county in 1884.

In Clallam county were Neah bay, New Dungeness, and the remains of Port Angeles. Jefferson co., besides Port Townsend, had the ports of Ludlow, Discovery, and the new mining town of Irondale. Island co. had Coupeville, founded by Thomas Coupe, who settled on the south side of Penn Cove in 1853, and Coveland, on the west end of the Cove, both on Whidbey island, and Utsalady, on the north end of Camafin island. Kitsap co. had four milling towns—Port Madison, Port Blakeley, Port Gamble, and Seabeck. Mason, besides the county seat, had but Arcadia, Kamilchie, Skokomish, and Union City, none of them of any commercial importance. Thurston co. had, besides Olympia and Tumwater, Tenino, Oakville, Beaver, and Tenalquot, all insignificant places. Lewis co. had not a single town of any consequence. After Chehalis, the county seat—which was laid off in 1873, on the donation claim of S. S. Saunders and wife, and called Saundersville until recently—come Claquato, Skookum Chuck, Mossy Rock, Napavine, Newaukum, Silver Creek, Winlock, Glen Eden, Boisfort, Little Falls, and Cowlitz, all without interest in this history, except Claquato, which, being a prettily situated place, the earliest American town in the county, and for a long time the county seat, deserves more than a passing mention. It was the centre of an agricultural district, and before the completion of the Olympia and Tenino railroad was upon the mail route from the Columbia to Puget sound, as well as at the head of navigation on the Chehalis, and had several roads radiating from it. Julien Bernier, native of Quebec, died June 8, 1871, at Newaukum prairie, aged 87 years. He came to Astoria with the Astor co. in 1812, and remained in the service of Astor's successors. He went to Red river, married, and resided there a few years, but returned to Washington to settle permanently. His son Marcellus became a resident of Newaukum prairie. *Olympia Transcript*, June 17, 1871. Lewis H. Davis, a native of Vt, crossed the plains in 1851 from Ind., and settled in Claquato. He died Nov. 18, 1864, aged 72 years. He had prospered greatly in his new home. *Olympia Standard*, Nov. 26, 1864. Turner Richerson Roundtree was the oldest son of Dudley Roundtree of Green River, Ky, where he was born in 1795. He served under Harrison in the war of 1812, and took part in the battles of Thames, Malden, etc. He married Miss Ferguson, a Scotch woman, a cousin of Patrick Henry. In 1830 he removed to Ill., serving as a lieut in the Black Hawk war. He was frequently tendered nominations for office, but invariably declined. On coming to Washington in 1853 he settled on Boisfort prairie, where he amassed a comfortable fortune, besides expending his means freely upon public works, and in hospitalities. His family consisted of 7 children, 35 grandchildren, and 10 great-grandchildren. He died March 21, 1868, on board the steamer *Carrie Davis*, en route to his home from Claquato. Other early settlers were H. Buchanan 1852, A. F. Tullis 1853, John Hague 1852, George Hague 1854, C. F. White 1852, Albert Purcell 1859. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 70–1.

Montesano became the principal town in Chehalis county. At Gray Harbor resided Alexander C. Smith, who was a native of Jacksonville, Ill., and came to Or. in 1852. He finally settled in Pacific co., but was at one time associate justice of the sup. ct of Idaho. He died at Kalama, May 9, 1875. *Walla Walla Union*, May 22, 1875. Cosmopolis, Elma, Satsop, Sharon, Cedarville, and Hoquiam were the other settlements in this county.

Oysterville was made the county seat of Pacific county. The original owner was J. A. Clark, who located it in 1854. The other settlements were Willopah, Bruceport, Centreville, or Bay Centre, South Bend, Riverside, Woodard Landing, Ilwaco, Chinook, Knappton, Gray River, and

Brookfield. Bruceport was the oldest settlement. I have given elsewhere some names of the first comers. John Briscoe, from Newtown, settled on Shoalwater Bay in Sept. 1852. B. Loomis, from N. Y., arrived in Cal. in 1849, and came to Pacific co. in 1850. G. Y. Easterbrook, from R. I., brought the ship *Pacific* to S. F. in 1849. In 1850 he came to Or., and settled in 1853 at West Beach, Shoalwater Bay, giving up the sea in 1859. J. L. Stout, born in Ohio in 1822, came to Cal. in 1850, and the same year to Or., but did not settle at Oysterville till 1859. Other settlers were Benjamin Hutton, Osborne Goulter, Espy, and Albert Fisher. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., ii. 85–7. Mrs Gilbert Stevens was the first white woman who settled at Oysterville. She died March 1, 1877, aged 55 years. *Olympia Transcript*, March 7, 1877.

Kalama was made the county seat of Cowlitz. It came into existence in Feb. 1870 as the initial point of the Northern Pacific railway on the north bank of the Columbia in western Washington, and after a brief period of prosperity fell into decay. The other towns of Cowlitz co. were Martin's Bluff, Carroll, Monticello, Freeport, Mount Coffin, Oak Point, Cowlitz, Pekin, Silver Lake, and Olequa. Seth Catlin, a pioneer of Freeport, was a member of the first territorial legislature, and was elected to the Oregon legislature in 1852 to fill a vacancy in the council caused by the resignation of Lancaster. He was president of the council of Washington in 1855 and 1856. His son, Robert Catlin, was appointed to West Point by delegate Stevens, and graduated with honor, receiving his commission as lieut of the 5th art. in 1863. In 1871 Seth Catlin, while en route to Texas, was drowned in the Arkansas River. *Olympia Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1871; *Bancroft's Hand-Book*, 1864, 354; *W. W. Statesman*, Oct. 17, 1863.

Cathlamet, county seat of Wahkiakum county, built upon a bench of land on the north bank of the Columbia thirty-five miles from its mouth, had few inhabitants, and little business besides Warren's fishery. James Birnie, one of the oldest H. B. Co.'s men, lived here many years. James Allen, also of the company, lived some time with the family of Birnie. Here died George B. Roberts, whose biography forms an interesting portion of the history of western Washington. Eagle Cliff was a fishing establishment and village, Skamokawa a farming settlement on a creek of that name, and Waterford, the most eastern river settlement of the county. Salmon-canning and butter-making were in 1885 leading industries in all these places. Hapgood and William Hume planted the pioneer salmon cannery at Eagle Cliff.

William Hume came to Cal. in 1850 from Augusta, Me, and engaged in salmon-fishing in the Sacramento River, and was joined in a year or two by his brothers, George W. and John. George W. returned to Maine, and meeting an old schoolmate, Andrew S. Hapgood, who was a tinner, and who had some knowledge of canning fish, they together formed a plan for fish-canning on the Sacramento should it meet William Hume's views, who found it satisfactory, and who sent for Hapgood and his brother, Robert D. Hume, in 1864. For various reasons, it was found unprofitable canning salmon at Sacramento. They then determined to try the fish and climate of the Columbia River, sending William Hume in 1866 to spy out the land. The only fisheries on the Washington side of the Columbia at this time were three, which put up fish in barrels: one owned by Reed & Hodgkins at Oak Point, one by Fitzpatrick at Tenas Illihee, and another by Welsh. William was joined by George W. Hume, and an establishment was erected in 1866 at Eagle Cliff, which in the following year put up 4,000 cases of salmon, which found a ready sale. In 1867 George W. retired from the business at Eagle Cliff, and built a second factory one fourth of a mile below the first, William and Hapgood carrying on the business of Hapgood, Hume, & Co., and Robert D. soon after withdrawing from the firm to join his brother George W. at the lower fishery. In 1870 Hapgood and Hume sold their establishment to Robert D. Hume, who subsequently also sold it, and built another at Bay View, and also one on Rogue River. The Humes, who were the pioneers in salmon-canning, have made half a million dollars each in the business. *From a dictation by Robert D. Hume*, MS.

The principal town of eastern Washington in 1887 was Walla Walla. From its first settlement it was the business centre for the region east of the Cascades, whence radiated routes to the mines, and later to all the other points in that division of the country. The place was laid out on the land claim of A. J. Cain, and first called Steptoe City, after Col Steptoe, in command of Fort Walla Walla, but was incorporated as Walla Walla City by an act of the legislature passed Jan. 11, 1862. Cain, who was born in Ind., came to Washington as one of Stevens' secretaries, and was afterward Indian agent. He practised law at Walla Walla, and was prosecuting attorney for the district. He was connected with several newspapers, and started the *Umatilla Press*, the Walla Walla *Real Estate Gazette*, and *Dayton News*, the latter in 1874. He died, aged about 50 years, in July 1879. *Walla Walla Union*, July 12, 1879; *Waitsburg Times*, July 10, 1879; *Columbia Chronicle*, July 12, 1879. The officers appointed by the legislature to hold until the first election were B. P. Standerfer mayor, James Gailbreth recorder, H. C. Coulson, B. F. Whitman, D. S. Baker, and Schwabacker members of the council, George H. Porter marshal. *Wash. Stat.*, 1861-2, 16-24. As Walla Walla was a distributing point for the mines from 1860, its early history was marked by scenes of disorder. Walla Walla county had few towns. Wallula, founded on the site of the Fort Walla Walla of the H. B. Co., was laid off by J. M. Van Sykle, who kept a ferry at that place in mining times. It became the landing of the O. S. N. Co.'s boats. Whitman, or Frenchtown as it is sometimes called, was a settlement formed near the Waiilatpu mission by the catholic, French, and half-caste population, between 1847 and 1855, situated on the Walla Walla and Wallula railroad a few miles west of Walla Walla City.

Van Sykle was a native of Ohio who came to Cal. in early mining times, and was employed as express agent. From Stockton he went to Portland, and served in the same capacity there until he went to Wallula. He engaged in general business at that place, where he remained from 1859 to 1861, when he removed to Walla Walla. He represented his district in the legislature as councilman for one term, and was a writer of good abilities. He died March 4, 1875. *Walla Walla Union*, March 6, 1875; *Walla Walla Spirit of the West*, March 5, 1875.

Dayton, now the county seat of Columbia, was founded by S. M. Wait, the former proprietor of Waitsburg, some time between 1870 and 1875, when the new county was set off. It had the only woollen factory in Washington. Beside Colfax, the county seat, there were in 1887 in Whitman co. Grange City, Texas Landing, Panawawa, Almota on Snake River, Leitchville, Owensburg, Ewartsville, Union Flat, Palouse, Lincoln, Cedar Creek, Steptoe, Walton, and Rosalia. Spokane Falls became the county seat of Spokane county by reason of its great water-power and prospective importance. There were also in Spokane co. Deep Creek Falls, Fair View, Larene, Marshall, Miles, Plaza, Rock Creek, Rockford, Sedalia, Spangle, Sprague, Crab Creek, Four Lakes, and Pine Grove. Colville, not the H. B. Co.'s fort at Kettle Falls, nor the United States post at a few miles distance east of that spot, formerly called Pinkney City, but a little town near by the latter—all having the same appellation—was chosen the county seat of Stevens co. A settlement was formed at Walker's prairie, the place of the former presbyterian mission. Goldendale in Klikitat county was the seat of justice, besides which there were in this co. Klikitat City and Columbus. Yakima City was made the co. seat of Yakima co. The Kittitass and Ahtanam and upper Yakima valleys contained several settlements in 1887, among which were Pleasant Grove, Kittitass, Namun, and Ellenburg. Half a dozen small quartz-mills were in operation in the Fehastin district, seventeen miles from Ellenburg, in 1878.

Seven new counties were created by the Washington legislature of 1883: Skagit, cut from Whatcom, with Mount Vernon as co. seat; Assotin, cut from Garfield, with Assotin City as co. seat; Lincoln, cut from Spokane, with Davenport as co. seat; Douglas, also cut from Spokane, with Okanagan as co. seat; Kittitass, cut from Yakima; Franklin from Whitman, and Adams from Whitman. *S. F. Chronicle*, Dec. 3, 1883; *S. F. Bulletin*, Dec. 3, 1883.

CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, AND NEWSPAPERS OF WASHINGTON.

When the first American immigrants to Puget Sound arrived in 1845 at the head of Budd Inlet, they found the methodist mission at American Lake, near Nisqually, abandoned. The catholics, however, still held their ground among the natives and H. B. Co.'s servants; and there was the mission church of St Francis Xavier at Cowlitz farm, and what was claimed, for preëmption purposes, to be a chapel, on Whidbey Island. At Vancouver in 1846 the church of St James, begun the year previous, was completed, by which the catholic church subsequently endeavored to hold the town site of Vancouver, and the garrison grounds with property which was worth a million of dollars. This claim, as well as the one on Whidbey Island, failed after long litigation. East of the Cascades in 1846 were already established the mission of St Ignatius in the Flathead country, the chapel of St Paul near Fort Colville, while St Francis Regis in the Colville Valley was projected. These were the works of the jesuits under De Smet. In the Stillaquamish Valley Hancock in 1849 found the Indians making the sign of the cross. *Hancock's Thirteen Years*, MS., 160. The year previous Pascal Ricard of the Oblate fathers, with some lay brethren, established the mission of St Joseph on the east side of Budd Inlet a mile north of Olympia, on the 14th of June, securing by a continuous residence a donation claim for his church. At the same time or a little earlier the same order established the Ahtanam mission in the Yakima country. The Cayuse war and other causes operated against missionary work among the Indians; but Blanchet, bishop of Walla Walla, remained for some time in the Cayuse country and stationed a priest in the valley when he left it to go abroad. Father Lionnet took up his residence among the Chinooks in 1851, accompanied by an associate, Le Pretre. According to Swan, they made little progress beyond baptizing their so-called converts. Near the forks of the Chehalis river the church secured 640 acres of land, and the claim formerly occupied by Thibault, at Monticello.

After the close of the Indian war on Puget Sound, in 1857, the diocese of Nisqually being divided into four districts, Blanchet appointed the abbé Rossi cure of Puget Sound, to minister to those of his denomination whom he might find there, and to act as vicar of the lay brethren established among the natives. He established himself near Fort Steilacoom, where was erected for him a rude chapel and residence, and where he could enjoy the society of the officers of the garrison, as well as endeavor to restrain the intemperance of the soldiers. During the six years of his residence in Washington half his congregation were non-catholic. During his stay he baptized 400 or 500 native children, performed 20 marriages, erected six churches, and received the abjurgation of three protestants. The church at Port Townsend, for which 5,000 francs had been collected, called Etoile de la Mer, was erected in 1859–60. The church at Olympia was small, but must have been sufficient for the congregation, which numbered but fifteen parishioners, including children learning the catechism. Six lay fathers had an establishment an hour's ride south-west from Olympia, where the superior had taken a claim of half a section of land, and where there was a dwelling-house, chapel, huts for the Indians, a garden, and orchard. In 1858 the superior of this community returned to Europe, and two others established a mission on the Snohomish River, another opened a mission at Esquimault, and the youngest two joined the two priests at Olympia. The Snohomish mission was but a hut of bark, with a few boards, and straw thatch.

Rossi—see *Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Orégon et en Californie*—appears to have been industrious, and to have preached whenever occasion offered, to catholics and protestants alike. In 1859 he prevailed upon the legislative assembly to incorporate the Sisters of Charity at Vancouver, where they had established an orphanage, and it was greatly through his influence that the care of the insane of the territory was committed to them. He left Washington for Cal. in 1860, but did not abandon the territory definitely until 1863.

In the latter year J. B. Brouillette purchased forty acres of land from E. H. Barron near Walla Walla, and erected on it St Vincent's Academy for girls, which was opened in 1864. A chapel was also erected on the land of William McBean on the Walla Walla River at or near the site of the modern Whitman. St Joseph's school for boys was opened at Walla Walla about the same time, and in 1865 a church was dedicated at that place, fathers Holde and Delahunty officiating. Father Cherouse, who was formerly at Walla Walla, was in 1868 conducting an Indian boys' school at Tulalip reservation. A building was subsequently erected for girls, who were instructed by Sisters of Charity.

The first catholic church dedicated in Olympia was in 1870; the first in Seattle in 1871, the latter being built under the superintendence of Father Prefontaine. *Seattle Times*, April 2, 1871.

In 1852 the methodist conference of Oregon assigned Benjamin Close to a pastorate at Olympia. He preached his first sermon on the 26th of Dec. in a school-house just erected in that place. The congregation had but just left it when the roof fell in from the weight of accumulated snow. *Olympia Columbian*, Dec. 25, 1852, and Jan. 1, 1853; *Roder's Bellingham Bay*, MS., 18. The snowfall of 1852–3 was excessive, being about 4 feet in depth. A meeting-house was erected in the following April, services being held in the mean time in any rooms which could be obtained. The same month Close and an associate, Morse, made a tour of the settlements down the Sound, and Morse was assigned to duty. A methodist church was dedicated at Steilacoom in Feb. 1854, the pastor being J. F. Devore, who preached the dedication sermon, an address being delivered also by I. I. Stevens, the newly arrived governor. Devore, politician as well as preacher, arrived by sea in August 1853. At the same time arrived D. Blain, who was stationed at Seattle.

In the spring of 1854 George F. Whitworth arrived at Olympia, having immigrated from Ind. the previous autumn, and wintered at Portland, where the Or. presbytery had assigned him to Puget Sound as the first missionary of the presbyterian church since the destruction of the mission in the Cayuse country, and the abandonment of those of Lapwai and Chemakane. He began preaching in the hall of representatives in July, organizing a sabbath-school, and dividing his time between Olympia, Grand Mound prairie, and Claquato, until the Indian war interrupted travel between these points and forced the settlers into block-houses. *Olympia Echo*, July 31, 1873; *Whitworth's Statement*, MS., 1–3. The first presbyterian church of Olympia was organized by Whitworth in 1854, and according to Edward R. Geary, who wrote a centennial history of the Oregon presbytery in 1876, Mr Goodsell of that organization formed the church at Grand Mound prairie. Whitworth continued preaching and teaching, being at one time in charge of the territorial university at Seattle, and engaging subsequently in various enterprises more profitable than those pertaining to his profession in a new country.

The first presbyterian church incorporated by legislative enactment was that of Chambers' prairie—the Presbyterian Church and School of Chambers' Prairie—Feb. 1, 1858, with A. J. Chambers, Joseph White, A. W. Stewart, Marcus McMillan, David Chambers, and Abijah O'Neal as trustees. *Wash. Stat.*, 1857–8, 46–7—and the second that of Olympia in 1860—trustees T. M. Reed, W. G. Dunlap, R. L. Doyle, J. K. Hall, and Butler P. Anderson. In 1858 the presbytery of Puget Sound, embracing all Washington, was erected, the members being Goodsell, Whitworth, and G. W. Sloane. Goodsell died in 1860, and about this time Mr Evans arrived at Olympia from Pa and took his place, but he too soon sank under the hardships of pioneer life. Before 1866 the Puget Sound presbytery had lapsed, and the churches coming under the care of the Oregon presbytery, Anthony Simpson was assigned to Olympia in this year. In 1868 John R. Thompson, a native of Prince Edward Island, and educated in Scotland, succeeded to the ministry of the church in Olympia, where he remained. In 1873 this church was repaired, refurnished, and rededicated, a tower and spire being added. In 1875 H. P. Dunning began preaching to a congregation of presbyterians at Seattle, and a church edifice was later erected.

In May 1854 Thomas F. Scott, missionary bishop of the episcopal church for Oregon and Washington, visited Olympia, holding services in the hall of representatives. But it was not until about 1865 that he was able to send a clergyman to take charge of the episcopal society in the capital of Washington, when P. E. Hyland resigned the rectorship of Trinity church, Portland, to assume this duty. In the mean time the bishop and occasional missionary clergy had ministered, the communicants numbering ten at Olympia. When Hyland settled here a church edifice was already completed by this small number, none of whom were rich. The consecration of St John's Episcopal Church of Olympia took place September 3, 1865. There was at the same time at Seattle a lay reader, C. Bennett, who also superintended a sunday-school. At Port Townsend a church that had been three years in building was completed in 1865. After the death of Scott, which occurred in 1867, little advancement was made until the arrival of the newly elected missionary bishop, B. Wistar Morris, who displayed much energy in founding churches and schools. The number of episcopal churches and chapels in 1880 was as follows: St Luke's church of Vancouver, communicants 35; St John's church of Olympia, com. 37; Trinity church of Seattle, com. 77; St Paul's church of Port Townsend, com. 21; St Paul's church of Walla Walla, com. 26; St Peter's chapel of old Tacoma, com. 11; St Luke's church of New Tacoma, com. 4; St Andrew's chapel of Kalama, congregation small; Upper Columbia mission, com. 17; other communicants 100.

The fourth denomination in Olympia to erect a house of worship to the same deity was the baptist society, which, although somewhat numerous, did not file articles of incorporation until the 15th of March, 1872. The board of trustees were William H. Mitchell, Bennett W. Johns, M. E. Traver, F. W. Fine, and Roger S. Greene. *Olympia Standard*, Dec. 28, 1878. Two years afterward a church was erected and paid for, the pulpit being successively filled by Joseph Castro, Roger S. Greene, and J. P. Ludlow; one was also built at Seattle. In 1877 the baptist association of Puget Sound proposed to place a gospel-ship on the waters of the Sound—a floating missionary establishment, propelled by steam, which could visit all the out-of-the-way places on the Sound and in B. C. waters. 'We would thus have work for our pastors, gospel bands, or general missionary, the readiest, cheapest, and most practical conveyance for years to come,' said the circular. Ludlow, Greene, and Wirth were appointed a committee to present the matter to the churches. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Dec. 29, 1877. In time the little steamer was built and furnished—and used as a tug-boat.

There were several preachers, chiefly methodists, who followed the mining exodus from the Willamette Valley in 1862–4, and who held services weekly wherever a congregation could be had. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., 8, 77. The first minister settled in eastern Washington, not of the Roman church, was P. B. Chamberlain, who in the spring of 1864 purchased a building known as Ryan's Hall and fitted it up as a church, where he made war on wickedness with a singleness of purpose rare in modern times. Chamberlain founded the first congregational church in Washington. Nine years afterward a church of this denomination was organized at Olympia, which purchased the lot and building formerly owned by the catholic church on Main street for a few hundred dollars, and in Sept. 1874 repairs had made the edifice fit to be again dedicated to religious worship. Services were kept up to 1876 by volunteer preaching, C. A. Huntington, George H. Atkinson, and Cushing Eells officiating. The first regular pastor was G. W. Skinner, who remained but six months, when he returned to Kansas, and David Thomas succeeded him.

In 1885 there were in Olympia seven churches, including the modern Roman catholic and the unitarian, the latter in charge of D. N. Utter. Seattle had six, Port Townsend three, and the whole number for western Washington was about thirty. The whole number in eastern Washington was given at nineteen, seven of these being at Walla Walla, namely, the methodist, cumberland presbyterian, episcopal, congregational, catholic, seventh-day adventists, and united brethren.

A school was opened in Olympia, Nov. 22, 1852, by A. W. Moore, first teacher and postmaster on Puget Sound after its settlement by American colonists. Moore died in 1875, aged 55 years, having always labored for the best interests of society. The first school-house, it is claimed, was on the Kindred farm, on Bush prairie, and was erected by the Kindred family and their neighbors. Phillips first taught in this place. During the winter of 1852-3 a tax was levied on the Olympia precinct, and money collected to erect a public school-house, which was demolished by the heavy snow of that winter, as before related. The *Columbian* of July 16, 1853, remarks that it had known of only three schools north of Cowlitz landing, one in Olympia, taught by E. A. Bradford, one at the house of William Packard, taught by Miss White, and one near the house of S. D. Ruddell, taught by D. L. Phillips, probably the one above mentioned.

About this time the owners of the Seattle town site offered a liberal donation of land to the methodist church if they would erect an institution of learning, to be called the Seattle Institute, within 2 years. The matter was laid before the conference by Benjamin Close, but the offer does not appear to have been accepted. Meantime the common school at Olympia was continued, Moses Hurd, C. H. Hale, and D. R. Bigelow being trustees.

In May 1854 Bernard Cornelius, from Victoria, V. I., and graduate of Trinity college, Dublin, took charge of the Olympia school, and seems to have been a competent and industrious educator. He proposed to establish a 'classical, mathematical, commercial, and training school,' and conducted the public instruction of the youth of the district for one year satisfactorily, when he set up a private school, with what success I know not. In Dec. 1856 the methodists incorporated the Puget Sound Wesleyan Institute, located on a point of land midway between Olympia and Tumwater. The school opened that year under the charge of Isaac Dillon and wife. The trustees were D. R. Bigelow, G. A. Barnes, C. B. Baker, F. A. Chenoweth, A. A. Denny, G. M. Berry, R. H. Lansdale, A. S. Abernethy, James Biles, W. S. Parsons, William Wright, J. S. Smith, W. D. Van Buren, T. F. Berry, B. F. Yantis, W. N. Ayres, Edward Lander, W. W. Miller, J. F. Devore, John Briscoe, G. K. Willard, Isaac Dillon, L. A. Davis, W. Rutledge, Morris Littlejohn, R. M. Walker, C. H. Hale, and Elwood Evans. In *Ebey's Journal*, MS., iii. 45, I find mention of a school-house erected at Port Townsend in 1855, where a Mr Taylor had opened a school; and I find that the public school of Seattle was closed in Oct. 1860, owing to the mining excitement having carried off the teacher, while other schools at Port Madison, Teekalet, Whidbey Island, Port Townsend, and Olympia were in a flourishing condition.

As there was no school fund from the sale of the 16th and 36th sections until the same should be surveyed, and the commissioner of the land-office having decided that the grant was not available until the territory should become a state, the common schools were supported by a tax annually levied, and by fines arising from a breach of any penal laws of the territory.

County superintendents were provided for by the law of 1854, to be elected at the annual elections. In 1861 it was enacted that a territorial superintendent should be chosen triennially by the legislature, whose duty it should be to collect such information as might be deemed important, reporting annually to that body, and supervising the expenditure of the school fund. An act approved Nov. 29, 1871, provided that the territorial superintendent should be elected in joint convention of the legislature during that and every subsequent session, his duties being to disseminate intelligence in relation to the methods and value of education, to issue certificates to teachers, call teachers' conventions, consolidate the reports of county superintendents, recommend text-books, and report to the legislative assembly, for all of which he was to receive $300. Nelson Rounds was the first sup. under the this law, and gave an elaborate report. He was a graduate of Hamilton university, and was in the methodist ministry nearly 40 years. During this time he was connected with several schools, and was four years editor of the *Northern Christian Advocate*. He came from Binghampton, N. Y., to take the presi-

dency of the Willamette University in 1868, but resigned in 1870 and removed to Washington. He died at Union Ridge Jan. 2, 1874. *Olympia Standard*, Jan. 10, 1874. Congress passed a special act in 1873 providing that the ter. supt should be appointed by the gov. and confirmed by the council. In a synopsis of the reports of the public schools of Washington by G. H. Atkinson for the centennial of 1876, it is stated that the number of school-houses reported was 283, the number of pupils enrolled 7,116, the amount paid to teachers about $55,000 in 1875, and other minor facts.

Eastern Washington was in a somewhat more chaotic state with regard to education. Walla Walla, however, being the historic battle-ground of sectarianism, derived a benefit from it in the way of schools. Whitman Seminary was chartered in 1859–60, and built in 1867, to commemorate the labors and tragic death of Marcus Whitman, missionary to the Cayuses.

The first private school taught in Walla Walla was opened in 1864, by P. B. Chamberlain and wife. There was also a public school of 63 pupils. The catholic schools for boys and girls were well sustained. There was also St Paul's episcopal seminary for young women, and two other private institutions of learning, besides the three free schools of the city. The catholics established the hospital of St Mary's, with accommodations for about 70 patients.

Vancouver had a greater number of academies in proportion to its population in 1885 than any other town in Washington. The Sisters' House of Providence, established in 1856, was the oldest academy then in the territory, besides which the methodists and episcopalians had a seminary, and the catholics a boys' school, in addition to the public school. The Ellensburg Academy, located at Ellensburg, Kittitass co., was founded in 1884, by James H. Laurie. It had a good attendance from the start. By act of congress approved July 2, 1862, 30,000 acres of land for each senator and representative to which the states were respectively entitled was granted for agricultural colleges. Under the provisions of this act the legislature of 1864–5 passed an act establishing Washington College at or near Vancouver, and vested its government in a board of trustees, of which the governor was ex officio a member. Trustees—E. S. Fowler, M. Wintler, John Sheets, S. W. Brown, Gay Hayden, and John H. Timmons. *Wash. Stat.*, 1864–5, 32–6. At the following session congress was informed by memorial of the selection of a site, the purchase of which was contracted for, and the lands selected, but that upon attempting to enter this land the trustees had been notified by the commissioner of the general land-office that the act of congress was only applicable to states. The memorial prayed for the extension of the benefits of the act to Washington territory. This gift was, however, withheld until the state should become entitled to it under the act.

Of libraries, the territorial was the first, being a part of the endowment of the general government on the establishment of the territory of Washington. The books were purchased by Gov. Stevens, and numbered about 2,000, including unbound documents, with a pair of globes, and five mounted maps. B. F. Kendall was appointed first librarian, and held office until Jan. 1857, when Henry R. Crosbie was elected. At this session of the legislature the librarian was made territorial auditor, the joint salary amounting to $325. This arrangement lasted till 1862. Urban E. Hicks succeeded Crosbie in 1858, followed by A. J. Moses in 1859, and J. C. Head in 1860, who was reëlected in 1861. In 1862 Thomas Taylor was chosen librarian, and R. M. Walker elected auditor. In Feb. 1858 an act was passed incorporating the Steilacoom Library Association. The incorporators were: A. B. Deelin, A. F. Byrd, E. A. Light, W. H. Wallace, W. R. Downy, W. P. Dougherty, William Lane, S. McCaw, B. Pierce, Frank Clark, Sherwood Boney, O. H. White, E. M. Meeker, William N. Savage, and Nathaniel Orr. *Wash. Stat.*, 1857–8, 47–8. In 1860 a library of 300 vols was established at Port Madison. At Seattle, in 1862, the university library was established. It numbered in 1862 800 vols. The Temperance Tacoma Lodge of Olympia established a library in 1869 of 700 vols. A catholic library was organized at Vancouver in 1870

which in 1872 numbered 1,000 vols. In the following year at a meeting of the citizens of Vancouver a library association was formed, and in 1872 Tumwater followed with a collection of 200 vols. Walla Walla organized a library association and free reading-room, which was supported by citizens for the benefit of strangers, and had a literary and lecture society, to which the officers from the garrison gave much time. The literary society was established as early as 1865.

The first printing done in this section was at the missionary station of Lapwai, in what was then Oregon, and was afterward Washington, and finally Idaho. The printer was Edwin O. Hall of the Honolulu mission, subsequently editor of the *Polynesian*. Accompanied by his wife, he visited Lapwai in the spring of 1839, bringing with him a small press and material, to the value of $500, a present from the Honolulu converts. With this he instructed Smith and Rogers of Lapwai in the printing art, remaining until 1841, during which time translations of a part of the book of Matthew, some hymns, and school primers were printed in the Nez Percé language for Spalding's use in teaching. The historic press was placed among the public relics of Oregon.

The earliest newspaper published in Washington was the *Columbian*, first issued at Olympia, Sept. 11, 1852, by J. W. Wiley and T. F. McElroy. The press on which it was printed was the one on which the first number of the *Oregonian* was printed. It was an old Ramage, and was discarded by Dryer after a year or two, purchased for Olympia, sent to Port Townsend, and thence on L. B. Hastings' schooner to its destination. In March 1853 Wiley retired from the *Columbian*, which had remained neutral in politics, devoting itself to the establishment of the territory, and was succeeded by J. J. Beebe, who remained in the firm only four months, retiring July 13th.

On the 17th of Sept. McElroy retired, and Matt. K. Smith took charge of the paper. This proprietorship lasted until Dec. 3d, when J. W. Wiley and A. M. Berry appeared as publishers, Wiley being editor, and the *Columbian* was changed to the *Washington Pioneer*, 'a straight-out, radical democratic journal.' In Feb. 1854 the name was changed to *Pioneer and Democrat*, which it retained during the most interesting portion of territorial history. At the same time R. L. Doyle joined the publishing firm, and Berry, going east to attend to the printing of the territorial statutes, for which they had taken a contract, died in Aug. at Greenland, N. H. Doyle had issued a prospectus of a journal to be called the *Northwest Democrat*, in Nov. 1853, but was induced to come into the arrangement with Wiley as above. On Dec. 16, 1854, George B. Goudy became associated with the publishers of the *Pioneer and Democrat*, and in Aug. 1855 became sole publisher, Wiley remaining editor; but in Aug. 1856 retired, and C. Furste became publisher in connection with Wiley. The latter soon drew out of the publishing business, leaving Furste to conduct it alone, who also joined the editorial staff in Feb. 1857. In May 1858 Furste became sole editor and proprietor. He sold the paper to James Lodge in Nov. 1860 who assumed the entire control, but the paper was discontinued in the spring of 1861. Wiley died March 30, 1860, at Olympia, in his 40th year.

The second newspaper published in Washington was the *Puget Sound Courier*, a whig journal issued at Steilacoom May 19, 1855, by William B. Affleck and E. T. Gunn for about one year. The *Courier* was revived in Olympia in Jan. 1871, and issued weekly by the Puget Sound Printing Co. Bagley and Harned published it from June 1 to Nov. 15, 1873, when the firm became C. B. Bagley & Co., and in Nov. 1875 C. B. Bagley alone. The first number of the *Puget Sound Daily Courier* was issued in Jan. 1872, and in Dec. 1874 it suspended for lack of support, but reissued as the *Daily Courier* early in 1877, having consolidated with the *Olympian*, which had a brief existence. The *Washington Republican* was first published at Steilacoom April 3, 1857, Frank Balch editor, and W. B. Affleck printer. It was designed to promulgate the principles of the then new republican party, and advocate the election of W. H. Wallace to the office of delegate to congress. When it had served its purpose it suspended. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., v. 16.

The *Puget Sound Herald*, published by George W. Lee and Charles Prosch at Steilacoom, March 12, 1858, was printed on the press which had served for the *Courier* and *Republican* in turn. It passed entirely into the hands of Prosch the second month of its existence, who undertook the somewhat difficult task of publishing an impartial and politically independent newspaper. That he succeeded, by laboring for the material interests of the Puget Sound region, in keeping his journal alive through several years of the most depressing period of its financial history, proves his ability as a journalist. The *Northern Light* was started at Whatcom about the 1st of July, 1858, by W. Bausman & Co., but suspended in Sept. when that place was deserted. The *Port Townsend Register*, conducted by Travers Daniels, was first issued at that place Dec. 23, 1859. It was devoted to news, literature, and local interests. In March 1860 Daniels returned to Va and Mr Whitacre took charge. The paper did not long survive, being suspended in August. It was, however, subsequently revived by P. M. O'Brien and H. M. Frost as publishers, and H. L. Sutton editor, with democratic politics. The *North-West* began its precarious existence early in July 1860 at Port Townsend. It was conducted by E. S. Dyer in the beginning, who was independent in politics. He issued but one or two numbers, however, before John F. Damon, the publisher, took the editorial chair, who conducted a republican paper for a time with no very encouraging prospects, when it expired in Dec. 1861. The *Vancouver Chronicle* was started in July 1860 by L. E. V. Coon and John M. Murphy, and devoted to the material interests of the territory. In the following Sept. Murphy retired from the *Chronicle*. H. G. Struve edited it until about the close of 1861, when the name was changed to *Vancouver Telegraph*, and Urban E. Hicks assumed editorial control. The *Register* was subsequently revived and is still published.

The *Olympia Washington Standard* was founded by John Miller Murphy Nov. 17, 1860. In March 1861 was founded the *Weekly Pacific Tribune* of Olympia, a republican paper, which at first appeared without individual sponsors, but which, having the territorial patronage, took a longer lease of life than many of its predecessors. In 1866 R. W. Hewitt had charge of the paper, followed in 1867 by Charles Prosch & Co., in 1868 by Charles Prosch, later by Charles Prosch & Sons, in 1870 by Charles Prosch & Son, and in 1872 by Charles Prosch again, and in 1873 by Thomas W. Prosch. In Dec. 1867 an attempt was made to establish a daily, which was not successful; but on the 4th of Oct., 1869, a daily was published, the first of the *Olympia Daily Pacific Tribune* regular issues. The *Daily Pacific Tribune* appeared in Tacoma in 1874, with Thomas W. Prosch editor, and in Seattle in 1875 with the same editor, who was succeeded in 1878 by E. A. Turner, Charles Prosch remaining publisher. The *Overland Press* was next started at Olympia by Alonzo M. Poe, publisher and editor, presumably to fill the place of the *Pioneer and Democrat* with the democratic party. It was first issued in July 1861, and survived for a year or two, being edited by B. F. Kendall at the time of his death in Jan. 1862, soon after which it suspended. In the mean time, the eastern portion of Washington being rapidly settled, a paper was started at Walla Walla called the *Northern Light*, in September 1861, by Daniel Dodge, who had contemplated setting up his establishment at Seattle. It had a brief existence.

The *Washington Statesman* followed on the 29th of November, published by N. Northrup, R. B. Smith, and R. R. Rees. It was subsequently purchased by W. H. Newell, formerly connected with the *Dalles Mountaineer*, who used it in support of democratic principles down to the time of his death, twenty years later. It was ably conducted, and prospered, its name being changed to *Walla Walla Statesman* after a few months. Nehemiah Northrop was a native of New York. In 1853 he, in company with his brother Henry and Alonzo Leland, published the Portland *Democratic Standard*. In 1859 he was one of the proprietors of the San Francisco *Evening Journal*, but sold his interest in 1860, and the following year removed to Walla Walla. He died in Feb. 1863 of consumption, at the age of 27 years. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Feb. 28, 1863.

The *Golden Age* was first published at Lewiston, then in Washington territory, August 11, 1862, by A. S. Gould, who had been connected with a Portland paper, and was subsequently engaged in journalism in Utah. It passed into the hands of Alonzo Leland, who has conducted it for many years. In politics it was republican under Gould and democratic under Leland. The *Walla Walla Messenger* was started at that place by R. B. Smith and A. Leland in Aug. 1862, but was not long published. On the 15th of August, 1863, the first number of the *Washington Gazette* appeared without the names of editor or publisher. On the 10th day of Dec. it reappeared as the *Seattle Gazette*, with W. B. Watson editor, and ran until June 1864, when it suspended, Watson being elected to the legislature on the republican ticket. The *Washington Democrat* was next started at Olympia in Nov. 1864, which, as its name indicated, was devoted to anti-administration politics, its editor being U. E. Hicks. It had but a brief existence. The *Far West* was a magazine published by E. W. Foster at Olympia, devoted to morals, religion, health, education, and agriculture. Like all other such publications, it failed because it could not compete with better ones received daily from older communities. It was first issued in 1865. The *Olympia Transcript* first appeared November 30, 1867, published by E. T. Gunn and J. N. Gale. The following year T. F. McElroy and S. D. Howe were principal owners, but about 1870 it passed entirely into the hands of Gunn, who owned and conducted it to the time of his death in 1885. In politics it was independent.

The *Weekly Message* was first published at Port Townsend by A. Pettygrove in May 1867. It was a small sheet, with only a local interest. It was succeeded by the *Argus*, also edited by Pettygrove, and later by C. W. Philbrick. The *Territorial Republican* issued its first number Aug. 10, 1868, published by J. R. Watson. As its name implied, it was in the interest of republicanism. After running one year the Republican Printing Co. became its publishers, but it was extinct before 1872. The *Weekly Intelligencer*, of Seattle, published its initial number on the 5th of Aug., 1867. It was neutral in politics, and issued by S. L. Maxwell. It began publishing a tri-weekly Aug. 9, 1870, and a daily in Sept. following. The *Walla Walla Union*, the first republican paper published in the Walla Walla Valley, issued its initial number on the 17th of April, 1869, being published by an association of citizens. In May, R. M. Smith & Co. were announced as publishers. It continued, with P. B. Johnson editor, as an able country journal. The *Walla Walla Watchman* was a denominational paper. The *Alaska Times*, conducted by Thomas G. Murphy, was first issued at Sitka, April 23, 1869, but owing to lack of support and changes in the military department, was removed to Seattle October, 23, 1870, where it was published weekly as a Sunday paper for a year or two longer, when it suspended. The *Puget Sound Dispatch* was founded in 1869 by C. H. Larrabee and Beriah Brown. Brown was from Wisconsin, and had been editor of a republican paper at Sacramento, Cal., and of a democratic paper at San Francisco, and was what was known as a copperhead in war times. Though an able writer, Larrabee soon dropped out of the journal, and Brown conducted it alone in the interests of democracy. In 1878, after several changes, it was merged in the *Intelligencer*. It was the first paper to publish a daily. The *North Pacific Rural*, a farmer's journal, and the *Post* were both started in 1878. The *Post* was soon consolidated with the *Intelligencer*. The *Seattle Evening Herald* was first issued July 5, 1882, by a company consisting of W. G. C. Pitt, T. H. Bates, and Thaddeus Hanford. It was printed with the material of the old *Pacific Tribune*. The *Mirror* was issued as a temperance journal, the *Sunday Star* a society paper, both of Seattle. The *Temperance Echo* was published at Olympia by J. H. Munson, in 1872, as the organ of the grand lodge of the good templars, devoted to temperance, education, and morality. The *Kalama Beacon*, issued first in May 1870, was owned and controlled by the Northern Pacific railroad company, and published in its interest. It was suspended when the railroad work was temporarily discontinued in Washington territory. The *North Pacific Coast*, a semi-monthly journal devoted to the dissemination of informa-

tion concerning Washington, was first published at New Tacoma, Dec. 15, 1879, presumably in the interest of the land department of the Northern Pacific railroad company. No names of publishers or editors appeared. The *Weekly Ledger*, an independent journal, 'devoted to the development of the resources of Washington,' began publication at New Tacoma by Radebaugh & Co. in April 1880. Then there was the *Tacoma News;* also the *Bellingham Bay Mail*, edited and published by James Powers, republican in politics; the *Vancouver Independent*, W. Byron Daniels editor; the *Spirit of the West*, Walla Walla, B. M. Washburne editor, independent in politics; *Olympia Northwest Farmer;* the *Dayton News*, founded in 1874 by A. J. Cain; the *Waitsburg Times;* and *Columbia Chronicle*, of eastern Washington; and the weekly *Puget Sound Express*, Steilacoom, Julius Dickens editor.

WASHINGTON INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

The Indian reservations of Washington occupy land as follows: There were five reserves belonging to one agency, the Puyallup, covering altogether about 29,000 acres. The reservation situated on this river contained over 18,000 acres, for the most part heavily timbered. The aggregate of land under cultivation was in 1885 less than 1,000 acres, though over 150 homesteads had been taken, chiefly in forty-acre lots. Nisqually reservation, on that river, contained 4,717 acres. The Chehalis reservation, half of which was good agricultural land, contained 4,224 acres. On Shoalwater Bay were reserved 340 acres. The Squoxin reservation covered an island in Mason co., containing about 1,500 acres, little of which was improved. Tulalip agency embraced the reservations of Tulalip Bay, Muckleshoot prairie, Port Madison, Swinomish River, and Lummi delta, at the mouth of the Nooksack River, comprising 52,648 acres. The headquarters for these various reservations was at Tulalip Bay, where there were between 15,000 and 20,000 acres of the richest land. This agency was in charge of the catholics, who had a chapel on each of the reservations. Schools were taught, and about three fourths of the Indians cultivated gardens or farms. The Indian town was built in a triangular form around a flag-staff and crucifix. Neah Bay agency, located in the extreme north-west corner of the county of Clallam, contained 23,000 acres for the use of the Makahs, who numbered between 500 and 600. The land was chiefly mountainous and heavily timbered, and the Indians, who were a sea-going tribe and lived by seal-hunting and otter-fishing, had not adopted a civilized mode of living to any extent. These Indians had a methodist teacher. The Queniult agency comprised the Queniults, Queets, Hohs, and Quillcliutes, none of them numerous tribes, and only the first two living upon the reservation, which contained 224,000 acres of heavily timbered land, inaccessible for half the year. Only about twenty acres were cultivated in 1885, but these people, like the Makahs, lived on the products of the ocean fisheries, and were by no means poor, their houses being comfortable and themselves well-fed. Little progress was made in changing their mode of life. The Skokomish agency on the Skokomish River comprised something over 5,000 acres, of which about 1,300 were suitable for tillage and pasturage, the remainder being either in heavy forest or valueless. The tribes located here were the Sklallams and Twanas, later making considerable progress toward comfortable living. The Twanas resided on the reservation and sent their children to school, also clearing and planting, and cutting sawlogs for sale to the mills. But the Sklallams lived in a number of villages some 50 or 75 miles from the agency, often near milling establishments. At Jamestown, the largest of their towns and the residence of the chief, the Indians had purchased the land—200 acres—and erected a school-house and church. Their habits were temperate and industrious.

East of the Cascade Mountains the Yakima agency extended over a reservation containing nearly 900,000 acres, with a population of 3,600, which would give to every man, woman, and child belonging to the agency some 250 acres. The actual amount under any kind of improvement was about 5,000.

Large herds of cattle and horses roamed over the remainder, all of which was good farming and grazing land. The Colville agency had nominal control of eight different tribes, aggregating over 3,000 persons, including the Colville, Okanagan, Spokane, Kalispel, Sanpoil, Mithow, Nespilem, and Lake Chelan, bands mainly of non-treaty Indians, and some of them refusing to admit the authority of the U. S., though peaceably disposed. During mining times in the following years the Yakima war, the supt made use of the officer in command as a local agent to regulate their intercourse with the white population and preserve the peace. It was not until April 9, 1872, that a reservation was set apart for them by executive order, including the Colville Valley, and with which they were pleased. Against including this valley, in which there were about sixty white settlers, there was an immediate protest, which led the president to issue an order on the following 2d of July confining the reservation to the country bounded on the east and south by the Columbia, on the west by the Okanagan, and north by B. C. *Olympia Transcript*, July 27, 1872; *H. Misc. Doc.*, 1873-4, 122, 43d cong. 1st sess. This caused a counter-protest from agents and Indians. The change was, however, adhered to, but the Colville Indians continued to occupy that valley in common with white settlers, the jesuits taking charge of their spiritual affairs, as they had done since 1842. A further grant was made on the west side of the Okanagan in April 1879, whereby the reservation was extended on the west side of the Okanagan to the Cascade Range, making the reserved land comprise all the country in east Washington west of the Columbia and north of about 48° 30′, containing about 4,000 square miles, or between two and three million acres. On the 6th of March, 1880, a tract bounded on the east by a line running south from where the last reservation crossed the Okanagan to the mouth of said river, and thence down the Columbia to the junction of the stream which is the outlet of lake Chelan, following the meanderings of that lake on the west shore to the source of the stream which feeds it, thence west to the 44th degree of longitude, and north to the southern boundary of the reserve of 1879, containing about 600,000 acres, was allowed for a reservation for the non-treaty Indians under Chief Moses, who claimed it by virtue of services rendered the U. S. in preventing an Indian war. *Walla Walla Statesman*, April 10, 1880; *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1879, i. 80. There were in all about four and a half million acres of land set apart for the use of some 14,300 men, women, and children remaining in 1879, giving 323 acres to each individual, tuition and other benefits being free. Of this land some was very poor, more particularly the Colville reservation, but there was much good land.

EXPLORATIONS, ROADS, AND RAILROADS.

Frequent reference has been made in the narrative of Washington history to the opening of roads to give the Puget Sound region land communication with other parts of the country, and open a way for the mails. In 1852 the only means of access from the Columbia River was by a cattle-trail, while immigrants and their luggage were conveyed in canoes up the Cowlitz River, after which they were compelled to take to the rude trail cut by the immigrants of 1845. Warbass & Townsend, storekeepers at Monticello, advertised in Dec. 1852 to forward passengers and freight, saying that the mail-boat would leave for Cowlitz landing every Tuesday morning at 6 o'clock. They had some 'very large bateaux running on the river capable of accommodating 8 or 10 families and their plunder, including wagons, yokes, chains,' etc. A bateau managed by 8 or 9 expert Indians would reach Cowlitz landing in about three days, the distance from Fox's landing, or Rainier, on the Columbia being 34 miles. *Olympia Columbian*, May 14, 1853. Five days were oftener required for the passage, and the charges were heavy. Subscriptions were taken in Dec. 1852 to raise money to construct a wagon-way up the east side of the Cowlitz to connect at the landing with this road. A petition was also circulated for signatures praying the Oregon legislature for an appropriation to aid the citizens of northern Oregon in surveying and completing a

territorial road from the Columbia to the head of Puget Sound, a distance of eighty miles. This road was put under contract in 1853. A movement was at the same time set on foot to open a road over the Cascade Mountains toward Walla Walla. In the summer of 1852 R. H. Lansdale explored a route up the Snohomish River via the Snoqualimich fork to the great falls, and thence eastward to the base of the mountains, where it followed up the south fork of the 'Dewamps or Black River' to the summit of the mountains. The trail then turned directly toward the head waters of the middle fork of the Yakima, and thence down the mountains towards the Columbia. This appears to have been the first survey of the Yakima pass by citizens of the U. S. A portion of this route was an old Indian trail which could then have been traversed by pack-trains without serious inconvenience. Lansdale, who resided on Whidbey Island, proposed to begin the construction of a road over this route in the following spring, which would have brought the immigration to the lower portion of the Sound. Ebey, the member of the Oregon legislature from that region, failed, however, to obtain the approval of that body to establish a territorial road from Snohomish falls to Fort Walla Walla, the assembly preferring to memorialize congress for a military road. But he secured instead a road law for the counties on Puget Sound, which partly accomplished the object desired. This law provided for the accumulation of a road fund out of a tax of four mills on the dollar, which, with the assistance of subscriptions by persons interested, would be sufficient to construct a good wagon-road from the mouth of the Cowlitz to Olympia, and of another across the Cascade Mountains. Before work could be begun in the spring, news was received that congress had appropriated $20,000 for a military road from Fort Steilacoom to Fort Walla Walla. Fearing government delay in furnishing the money for its construction, and wishing to have a road opened for the next immigration to come direct to Puget Sound, the people undertook the work themselves, and endeavored to bring the road to Fort Steilacoom, thus inviting congressional aid, and securing a terminus near Olympia. A survey was therefore made of the Nachess pass, and the road brought down the valley of White River to the junction of Green River, where it turned south across the Puyallup to Fort Steilacoom. The road company proceeded to its task, about fifty men enlisting for the work on the promise of some 150 subscribers to the fund that they should be paid. Before its completion government surveyors were in the field under McClellan at the head of the western division of the Stevens exploring expedition. McClellan's instructions from the secretary of war, dated May 9, 1853, were to use every exertion to open a road over the Cascade Mountains in time for the fall emigration; but as McClellan did not arrive at Fort Vancouver until past the middle of June, nor leave it until July 27th, whence he proceeded northward, dividing his party, and examining both sides of the Cascade range, he could do nothing more than guarantee the payment of $1,300 earned by the men working on the last division of the road west of the mountains, promise to recommend the payment by congress of $5,700 still due the citizens' company, and give his approval of the pass selected.

The road was so far completed that a small immigration passed over it with wagons and cattle, reaching their destination with less suffering than usual. Had it been more numerous, it would have been better for the next immigration. But congress never reimbursed the road-makers. In the following summer Richard Arnold exhausted the $20,000 appropriation without much improving the route, making but a single change to avoid the steep hill on the Puyallup, where wagons had to be let down with ropes. This, like all the military roads on the coast, was a miserable affair, which soon fell into disuse, as the people were unable to complete it, and the Indian wars soon practically put a seal upon it.

Early in 1854 F. W. Lander undertook at his own cost the survey of a railroad route from Puget Sound by the valley of the Columbia to the vicinity of the South pass, or Bridger's pass, of the Rocky Mountains, with a view to connecting Puget Sound by rail with a railroad to California, Lander's idea

being that a direct line to Lake Superior would be exposed to severe cold, injurious to the material and the service of the road. He objected, besides, that, in the event of a war with England, it would be too near the frontier, and also that a railroad on a frontier was not in a position to develop territory. *Lander's Railway to the Pacific*, 10–14. Lander made his reconnoissance, of which I have given some account in my *History of Oregon*, the territorial legislature memorializing congress to make an appropriation compensating him for the service. *Wash. H. Jour.*, 1854, 167. His report was published, and congress appropriated $5,000 to defray the expense of the survey. *U. S. Stat. at Large*, 1854–5, 645; Gov. Stevens without doubt having influenced both the territorial and congressional action. The legislature, at its first session, enacted laws for the location of territorial roads from Steilacoom to Seattle, from Steilacoom to Vancouver, from Seattle to Bellingham Bay, from Olympia to Shoalwater Bay, from Cathlamet to the house of Sidney S. Ford in Thurston county, from Shoalwater Bay to Gray Harbor, and thence to intersect the road to Olympia, from Puget Sound to the mouth of the Columbia, from Seattle to intersect the immigrant road, and from Olympia to Monticello. *Wash. Stat.*, 1854, 463–70. These various acts were intended to provide a complete system of communication between the settlements as they then existed. Others were added the following year. They were to be opened and worked by the counties through which they passed, the costs to be paid out of the county treasury in the manner of county roads.

George Gibbs and J. L. Brown undertook to explore a route from Shoalwater Bay to Olympia in Dec. 1853, and had proceeded a part of the way, when they were compelled to return by stress of weather and scarcity of provisions. The exposure and hardships of the expedition resulted in the death of Brown. In the following July, E. D. Warbass, Michael Schaffer, Knight, and Geisey set out from Cowlitz landing to locate a road to Shoalwater Bay, which resulted in opening communication between the settlements on the coast, and points along the route inviting settlement. By this route, also, Astoria, the distributing point for the mails, could be reached. The first legislative body had memorialized congress relative to establishing a mail-route between Astoria and Olympia, but by the course marked out for the territorial road to Cathlamet. Subsequently, in 1866, $10,000 was asked for to open a wagon-road from the Columbia at Cathlamet to the Boisfort prairie, to there intersect the road to Olympia. Neither request was granted, though the latter was repeated in 1873. The legislature of 1854 also required their delegates in congress to endeavor to procure an appropriation of $50,000, and a section of land in each township along the different territorial roads, to be located by the road commissioners, to aid in the construction of these highways and the necessary bridges. It asked, moreover, for $30,000 to be expended in opening a practicable wagon-road from Vancouver to Steilacoom; for $25,000 for a military road from The Dalles to Vancouver; and for $25,000 to complete the military road over the Cascades, and to pay the people the amount expended by them in opening it. *Wash. Jour. House*, 1854, 163–6. To the propositions for roads connecting the military stations, congress lent a willing ear and granted the appropriations asked for, but gave no heed to the appeal to complete and pay for the road to Walla Walla, for which the legislature continued to petition year after year. During the summer of 1855 a reconnoissance was made of a line of road from The Dalles to Vancouver, and from Vancouver to Steilacoom. The first was completed Nov. 23, 1856, but in the following winter was so injured by heavy rains as to require ten thousand dollars to repair it, which was expended on it in 1857. The road to Steilacoom was begun at Cowlitz landing, on the west side of the river, and constructed as far as Steilacoom by Nov. 1, 1857.

Upon petition from the legislature of 1855–6, $35,000 was appropriated for a road from Steilacoom to Bellingham Bay, and a reconnoissance was made the following year. In 1863 a franchise was granted to complete the military trail to Whatcom, followed by another petition in 1864 to congress to continue the road to its northern terminus.

In Jan. 1858 an appropriation was asked to construct a road from Fort Townsend down the west side of Hood Canal to intersect the road to Cowlitz landing and Vancouver, which was refused. The legislature of 1859–60 combined two rejected projects in one, and asked in vain for a military road from Baker Bay, at the mouth of the Columbia, via Shoalwater Bay and Gray Harbor, to Port Townsend. Again a military road was asked from Port Townsend to False Dungeness, where the town of Cherbourg was located, afterward called Port Angeles, with a like failure. Another memorial in 1866 prayed for an appropriation for a military road from Port Angeles to Gray Harbor, upon the ground that the character of the Indians in Clallam co. deterred settlement and improvement; and also that in the event of a blockade of the straits by a foreign power a road to Gray Harbor would be useful in transporting military stores to any point on Puget Sound. But as no foreign war threatened, the other reasons were found lacking in cogency.

By act of congress approved Feb. 5, 1855, $30,000 was appropriated, at the recommendation of Stevens and others connected with the Northern Pacific railroad survey, for the construction of a military road from the great falls of the Missouri to Fort Walla Walla, a distance not far short of 700 miles, John Mullan being the officer assigned to the survey. See *Mullan's Military Road*, in which he relates the inception of this project. Mullan was a member of Stevens' exploring party. His report contains a great deal of information, and the topographical map accompanying it, the work of T. Kolecki, is the best in the whole series of transcontinental explorations. This expedition determined the existence of an atmospheric river of heat, varying in breadth from one to a hundred miles, giving mild winters in the lofty regions of the Rocky Mountains. This work was interrupted by the Indians. In the success of this road the people of Washington saw the realization of their dream of an immigrant highway from the east direct to Puget Sound, the northern location being peculiarly acceptable to them for the reason that it made necessary the completion of a route over the Cascade Mountains.

No difficulty seems to have been experienced in procuring appropriations for this road, which was looked upon as the forerunner of a Pacific railway, besides being useful in military and Indian affairs. As to its use in peopling the Puget Sound region, it had none. A few troops and one small party of immigrants entered the territory by the Mullan road previous to the coming of the gold-seekers, who quickly peopled two new territories. Next to the original immigrant road, it has been a factor in the history of the north-west. Mullan was assisted in his surveys by A. M. Engell and T. H. Kolecki topographers, C. Howard civil engineer, B. L. Misner astronomer, J. Mullan physician and geologist, Talalem and Smith general aids, and E. Spangler wagon-master. *Or. Statesman*, May 10, 1859. His escort consisted of 100 men of the 9th infantry under N. Wickliffe. Lewis Taylor was assistant surgeon, George E. Hale private secretary, Augustus Sohon and Kolecki topographical engineers. David Williamson superintended the advance working party. *S. F. Bulletin*, May 26, 1861. The cost of the road was $230,000. Mullan's rept, in *Sen. Doc.*, 43, 37th cong. 3d sess.; *Bancroft's Hand-Book*, 1863, 321.

In Jan. 1859 the legislature memorialized congress relative to a military road from Seattle via the Yakima pass to Fort Colville. The merits of this pass had long been understood. Its repute among the Indians had determined the location of Seattle. *Bell's Settlement of Seattle*, MS., 7. McClellan, in 1853, had surveyed it and pronounced it practicable for a wagon-road or railroad. In the summer of 1859 the citizens of King co. had expended about $1,300 in opening a wagon-road from Snoqualimich prairie to Rattlesnake prairie, but failed to receive an appropriation for their work. In the summer of 1860 some settlers of the Snohomish Valley explored a route through the Cascade Mountains between the sources of the Skihomish River and the Wanatchee. Snoqualimich pass was explored in 1862 through the efforts of Robert Smallman, who circulated a petition and obtained the means to open a horse-trail by this route to the east side of the mountains, an appropriation of two townships of land being asked for the following year to construct a

wagon-road from Seattle to Walla Walla, the petitioners averring that the Snoqualimich pass was of less elevation than any yet discovered. As in the other instances, some work was done upon this route by the county of King and by the territory, amounting in 1869 to $13,000, the road being still 'almost impassable by reason of its incompleteness.' Still other attempts were made to secure roads over which wagons could pass between some point on Puget Sound and the open country east of the mountains, where, with the exception of some grading and bridging, natural roads existed in any direction. A memorial setting forth the need of a post-road from Bellingham Bay to Fort Colville, and declaring Parke pass of the Cascades the best heretofore discovered, was addressed to congress in Jan. 1861, with the usual failure to gain the end desired. In Jan. 1862 the Nisqually Road Company was incorporated by the legislature, with the object of constructing a wagon-road from a point on the Nisqually River near the mouth of the south fork, in an easterly direction, to the junction of the head waters of the Cowlitz River, thence through the Nisqually pass to Red Lake Valley, and thence to intersect the road leading from Simcoe to the Wenass River near the mouth of the Nachess River. After exploring and expending the means at their command, the company, through the legislature, asked congressional aid in January 1864, but not receiving it, their work remained uncompleted.

In January 1860 a memorial was passed by the legislature relative to establishing a military road from Fort Vancouver to Fort Simcoe by a 'good pass discovered through the Cascade Mountains between McClellan and the Columbia River passes, of less elevation than any yet discovered, except that of the Columbia.' This could only refer to the Klikitat pass, which could not be said to have been 'discovered' within the period of American occupation of the country, though for all purposes of a memorial it sufficed to say so. Capt. Crane, in 1855, made a reconnoissance from the Columbia opposite The Dalles to the catholic mission on the Ahtanam River, and beyond to the Selah fishery, estimating the cost of a military road to be $15,000. He also made a reconnoissance the same year from The Dalles to the Blue Mountains via Walla Walla, placing the cost at $20,000, which showed no great difficulties to be overcome, the distance to Walla Walla being 176 miles. *Sen. Doc.*, 26, 40, 34th cong. 1st sess. In point of fact, a pack-trail had been opened through it to the Yakima country in 1858. *Oregon Argus*, July 31, 1858; *Portland Standard*, Aug. 5, 1858. But all this interest in and effort to secure roads, better than a volume of topography, explains and illustrates the natural inaccessibility of western Washington except by the highway of the sea and the Fuca Strait. There never had been an immigrant wagon-road to Puget Sound, nor had all the money apropriated by congress been sufficient to make one good one from Walla Walla to Steilacoom, whereas it was squandered in fruitless trail-making west of the mountain barrier, which for so long kept all the world away from the shores of that wonderful mediterranean sea which bears upon its placid bosom the argosies of the north-west.

Naturally there has been much rivalry between the towns situated nearest the different passes as to which should secure the terminus of a government road or railroad. Taking them in their order north of the Columbia pass, there are the Klikitat, the McClellan, the Cowlitz or Nisqually, the Nachess, the Yakima, the Snoqualimich, the Cady, and the Parke passes, that were explored. The first is a short pass from the Columbia River to the Yakima Valley. The McClellan pass is at the head of the Cathlapootle River, trending south and east around the spurs of Mount Adams, and entering the Yakima country by the most western fork of the Klikitat River. *Pac. R. R. Repts*, i. 203–4. The Cowlitz pass appears from the best descriptions to be identical with the Nisqually pass, both rivers heading at nearly the same point in the Cascade Range, whence the trail runs north-east by a branch of the Nachess to the Nachess trail and river. This gap was partially explored in 1858 by William Packwood and James Longmire, the legislature of that winter passing an act to locate a territorial road through it, and appointing

the explorers commissioners to make the location, in company with G. C. Blankenship. A further survey was made the following summer, resulting in the incorporation of the Nisqually Road Company, already mentioned, in 1862, whose road was never completed. The height of the Cowlitz pass is given by the surveyors of the Northern Pacific Railroad, whom Packwood accompanied on their explorations, at 4,210 feet. The height of the Nachess pass, next north of the Cowlitz, was said by McClellan to be 4,890 feet. The Yakima pass, called by him interchangeably the Yakima and Snoqualme, was measured by barometer also, and found to be 3,468 feet. *Pac. R. R. Repts*, 192. The railroad survey makes it nearly 700 feet higher. McClellan did not survey the true Snoqualimich pass, but the railroad survey makes it about 330 feet lower than the Yakima pass, which McClellan pronounced 'barely practicable,' while he gave his preference to Seattle as a terminus of the Pacific railroad. The elevation of Cady pass was given as 6,147 feet, and of Stampede pass, a recent discovery, at 3,690 feet.

The difficulties to be overcome in exploring among the mountains west of the summit of the Cascade range might well deter the public from a knowledge of their features and resources. But a few adventurous spirits from time to time made some slight advance in the practical study of Washington topography. Among the earliest of these were S. S. Ford, Jr, R. S. Bailey, and John Edgar, who subsequently perished in the Indian war. In August 1852 these adventurers ascended Mount Rainier, or Tacoma, as it is now popularly named, being the first Americans to visit this noble peak. The route pursued by them was by the Nisqually River, which brought them to the base of the main mountain, 53 miles south-east of Olympia. Other parties have ascended this and other peaks.

James G. Swan is said to have been the first explorer of the Quillehyute country; at what date is uncertain, but in 1869 a trail was cut from Pisht River, emptying into the Fuca Strait twenty miles west of Port Angeles, to the Quillehyute River, by A. Colby, John Weir, D. F. Brownfield, J. C. Brown, and W. Smith, who took claims with the intention of remaining on the Quillehyute, the legislature creating a county for their benefit. But as their example was not followed by others, they returned in 1871 to the older settlements, since which time a few families have gone to the lower Quillehyute prairie to reside. The Wynooche River, a tributary of the Chehalis, was never explored to its head waters until June 1875, when a company was formed in Olympia for that purpose. They found it a succession of rapids, and having a cañon three miles in length, with walls of rock from 200 to 300 feet high. The first party to penetrate the Olympic range to the ocean was formed in 1878, on Hood Canal.

From the day the people of Washington learned that congress had appropriated money for a survey terminating on Puget Sound, their constant expectation was fixed upon a transcontinental railway. The territorial charter of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company was granted by the legislature Jan. 28, 1857, to 58 incorporators, the road to be commenced within three and completed within ten years after the passage of the act; the capital stock to be fifteen millions of dollars, which might be increased to double that amount.

It does not appear that the company took any immediate steps to raise the necessary capital. The legislature of 1857–8 passed a joint resolution to be forwarded to congress, giving reasons why the road should be built, and declaring the route surveyed by Gov. Stevens to be the shortest and cheapest.

The political questions involved in a Pacific railroad, and the struggle with secession, temporarily retarded the evolution of the grand project, although in the end its construction was hastened by the war. I find the Washington legislature of 1865–6 passing a resolution of congratulation upon the inauguration of the 'masterly project,' and declaring its purpose to aid by any and all means in its completion.

The next legislature, however, gave expression to its jealous fears lest

favoritism should prejudice the interests of the territory, congress having granted a magnificent subsidy in lands and money to the central and southern roads, without having done as much for the northern by several millions. The memorial represented, first, that Washington by its poverty was entitled to the bounty of the government, while California possessed sufficient private capital to construct a transcontinental road without a subsidy; and, secondly, that from its geographical position the northern road would build up a national and international commerce of far greater extent and value than the central, from the nature of the soil along its whole extent, which guaranteed a rich and powerful agricultural population, in view of which facts congress was asked to grant the same privileges to the Northern Pacific that were granted to the Union Pacific company. Meanwhile the other railroads were rapidly progressing, and the people of Oregon, who were alive to the benefits of a terminus, were desirous of a branch from the central road to Portland. Should this scheme be carried out it would delay, if not frustrate, the original design of a railroad from Lake Superior to Puget Sound. Hence congress was again memorialized that the adoption of the proposed branch from the Humboldt Valley to Portland would be 'a ruinous and calamitous mistake, detrimental alike to the nation and its interests on the Pacific coast.' Thus we see with what anxiety this isolated community were clinging devotedly to the shores of their wonderful sea, and how they regarded the action of the government and the railroad companies. On the granting of the railroad subsidies in 1860, the Northern Pacific just failed of being chartered by congress, as it had been by the Washington legislature, with I. I. Stevens as one of the board of commissioners. Before the friends of this route could again obtain the favor of congress, Stevens had died upon the battle-field. However, on the 2d of July, 1864, the Northern Pacific Railroad Company received its charter, signed by President Lincoln.

The bill as passed withdrew the money subsidy and increased the land grant, thus giving the commissioners much more to do to raise the means for the construction of their road than had been required of the other transcontinental companies. When the two years allowed in the charter for beginning the road had expired, no money had been found to commence with, but by the help of Thaddeus Stevens another two years of grace was permitted to the company, which were wasted in an attempt to secure a government loan. Again congress extended the time for beginning operations to 1870, but limited the time for completion to 1877. The first firm step forward in financial affairs was in 1869, when congress authorized the company to issue mortgage bonds on its railroad and telegraph line. Another important change permitted the company to extend the Portland branch to Puget Sound in place of the main line, but required 25 miles of it to be built before July 1871. It was in the last months of the limit of grace that the banking-house of Jay Cooke & Co. took up the matter and furnished the money. Contracts were let on both ends in 1870. The 25 miles required in western Washington were completed before July of the following year, extending northward from the Columbia via the Cowlitz Valley, and the work went on along the several divisions till 1873, when Cooke & Co. failed and construction was suspended, after barely completing the distance in Washington from Kalama on the Columbia to Tacoma on the Sound. It was not resumed until 1875, after the company had gone through bankruptcy and been reorganized, after which time it proceeded with fewer drawbacks to its completion in Sept. 1883, via the Columbia River pass and Portland, the main line across the Cascade Mountains remaining unfinished until 1887.

A territory without the population to become a state, and having such serious obstacles to overcome, could not be expected to own many miles of railroad built by private enterprise. The ambition of the people, however, always outran their means. The first charter granted by the legislature to a local railroad company was in Jan. 1859, to the Cascade Railroad Company, consisting of B. B. Bishop, William H. Fauntleroy, and George W. Murray, and their associates, to construct a freight and passenger railroad from the lower to

the upper end of the portage at the cascades of the Columbia. Previous to this there had been a wooden track laid down for the use of the military department.

The charter required to be constructed a wooden railroad within three years, and in five years an iron track. This road, which about this time was a necessity, became the property of the O. S. N. Co. soon after its organization. Rival companies incorporated at different times, but without effect. In Jan. 1862 a charter was granted to the Walla Walla Railroad Co. to operate a railroad from Walla Walla to the Columbia at Wallula, the road to be completed by Nov. 1865. The time was extended two years in 1864. This company seems to have been unable to accomplish its purposes, for in 1868 articles of incorporation of the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad Co. were adopted by a new organization. The survey was made in the spring of 1871, and work commenced in the following Nov. A wooden road was decided upon, owing to the cost of iron. In 1872 sufficient flat iron to strap down the curves, and locomotives weighing each seven tons, with ten flat cars, were purchased. But the wooden rails, not answering expectations, were discarded in 1875 and replaced by iron. In Oct. the road was completed, being a three-feet gauge, costing $10,300 per mile, the entire road having been built by private capital, except $25,000 donated by the citizens of the county of Walla Walla. The first shipment of wheat was made from Walla Walla to Wallula in this month. In 1881 the road was sold to the O. R. & N. Co., when its bed was changed to the standard gauge. A branch was constructed to the Blue Mountains. In Jan. 1882 the Puget Sound and Gray Harbor Railroad Co. was organized, the object being to construct a line of road between Seattle and Gray Harbor, a distance of 58 miles.

An act was passed in Jan. 1862 incorporating the Puget Sound and Columbia River Railroad Co., which was empowered to operate a road from Steilacoom to Vancouver within ten years from the date of their charter, but which never availed itself of its privileges, the Northern Pacific railroad soon after promising to supply the needed communication with the Columbia. Its charter was, however, so amended in 1864 that the road might be extended to a point on the Columbia opposite Celilo, and the legislature of 1857–8 went through the form of memorializing congress for aid in constructing it, though it had no antecedent to justify a belief that its prayer would be granted.

In Jan. 1864 the Seattle and Squak Railroad Co. was incorporated, being authorized to locate, construct, and mantain a railroad with one or more tracks, commencing at or near the south end of Squak Lake, in King co., and running thence to a point in or near Seattle. It was required to begin work within two and complete the road within six years. The Oregon Railway and Navigation Co. was incorporated June 13, 1879. It was a consolidation of the interests of the Oregon and Cal. Railroad Co., the Oregon Steamship Co., and the Oregon Steam Nav. Co , all of which was brought about by negotiations between Henry Villard, of the Union Pacific, and J. C. Ainsworth, president of the O. S. N. Co. The O. R. & N. Co. built rapidly, and besides purchasing the Walla Walla and Columbia river railroad, extended its lines south of the Snake river from Walla Walla to Waitsburg, Dayton, Grange City, and Pomeroy, and to Pendleton in Or.; and north of Snake river from the Northern Pacific at Connell to Moscow in Idaho, with branches north to Oakesdale, in Whitman co., and south to Genessee, Idaho, near the Clearwater river. The Northern Pacific also built several branches in eastern Wash., opening up the wheat lands to market, and constructed the Puyallup branch in western Wash. An organization, known as the Or. Transcontinental R. R., constructed in 1883 a railroad from Stuck river to Black river junction, 20 miles, which connected Seattle and Tacoma by rail, under the name of Puget Sound Shore R. R., which has recently been purchased by the N. P. R. R., which gives that company an entrance to Seattle. The Seattle, Lake Shore, and Eastern railway is completed from Seattle around the head of lakes Washington and Union, and south along the east shore of Lake Union to Gilman, whence it will be extended eastward via

North Yakima and Spokane Falls. It has a branch to Earle and Snohomish, which is being pushed north to a connection with the Canadian Pacific. The Seattle and Northern railroad, incorporated Nov. 19, 1888, has for its object the construction of a road from Seattle northerly via Whatcom to a point on the northern boundary of Wash., at or near Blaine, 100 miles; also from where it crosses the Skagit up to the mouth of the Sauk, and thence in an easterly course to Spokane Falls, 300 miles; also from the Skagit crossing westerly via Hidalgo island and Deception pass to Admiralty Head, on Whidbey island. Elijah Smith is president, and H. W. McNeil vice-president of the company. The Columbia and Puget Sound railroad, which is partially constructed, is intended to run to Walla Walla and the Columbia river. The Seattle and West Coast railroad runs only from Snohomish to Woodenville at present. Satsop railroad runs from Shelton in Mason co. to Gray's Harbor. The Puget Sound and Gray's Harbor railroad is being built from Little Skookum to Gray's Harbor. The Vancouver, Klickitat, and Yakima is in process of construction from Vancouver to North Yakima. The Oregon and Washington Territory railroad belongs to what is known as the Hunt system of roads in Or. and Wash. It runs from Wallula Junction to Walla Walla by a circuitous route, nearly paralleling Snake river, but branching off at Eureka Junction and going down the other side of a triangle to Walla Walla, and thence to Pendleton and Athens in Or. In 1887 some business men of Pendleton organized the above corporation for the purpose of securing an independent road from Wallula, with a branch to Centerville, now Athens. They contracted with G. W. Hunt, an experienced railroad builder, then residing at Corvallis, Or., who began the work. He discovered when he had graded 30 miles that the company had not the money to carry it on, and purchased the concern to save his outlay. Going east he obtained the necessary aid from C. B. Wright of Philadelphia. From this time on he made and carried out his own plans, having only one subsidy of $100,000 from Walla Walla. He is building lines into all the rich farming districts, and competing successfully with the O. R. & N. Hunt was born near Mayville, Chautauqua co., N. Y., May 4, 1842, educated at Ellington academy, went to Denver in 1859, his first interest in transportation being in the ownership of wagons and ox-teams which he earned in Cal. His first railroad contract was on the Oregon Short line, for 10 miles in Idaho; and subsequently on the O. R. & N.'s Blue Mountain line, and in Wash. from Farmington to Colfax, and its Pomeroy branch; on the Oregon Pacific, and on the Cascade division of the N. P. on both sides of the Stampede tunnel, and 10 miles of the Seattle, L. S., & E. R. R. In 1866 he married Miss Leonora Gaylord of Boisé City, and has a handsome residence in Walla Walla.

The Fairhaven and Southern railway company, Nelson Bennett, prest, with a capital stock of from one to six millions, is making arrangements to build from Vancouver, B. C., to Vancouver, Wash., via Fairhaven and Tacoma. The Manitoba R. R. is selecting a route through Wash. to Puget Sound. Besides the unverified rumors of the intentions of transcontinental roads, there are in 1889 thirty-six different railways in progress of construction or about to be commenced in Wash. The total mileage of railroads in Wash. in Jan. 1888 was 1,060 miles, to which has been added about 200 miles. The complaint against high fares and freights was considered by the legislature of 1887–8, and several bills were offered to correct the evil; but the boards of trade of Seattle and Vancouver remonstrated, saying that legislation at that time would drive away capital, and crush out the new local roads which they depended upon to compete with the great railroads. Instead of restrictive acts, the legislature at their suggestion changed the existing railroad assessment law from a tax on the gross receipts to a tax on all railroad property, in the same manner as on that of individuals, except in cases where otherwise provided. The state constitution lays down the same principle, but gives the legislature power to establish 'reasonable maximum rates' for transportation services.

Mention has been made of the rapid development of Washington in the years between 1880 and 1888. Some account of this change and the cause of it may be fairly considered essential to this history. It was necessary when the construction of the N. P. R. R. was decided upon to fix a point upon Puget Sound which should be its terminus, and where its freight might be transferred to foreign and coastwise vessels. The agents chosen by the company to make the selection were Judge R. D. Rice of Maine, vice-president, and Capt. J. C. Ainsworth of Portland, Or., the managing director for the Pacific coast, who reported after a careful examination in favor of Commencement bay and the town of Tacoma, meaning the village at that time containing about 200 inhabitants employed at the saw-mill. The report was accepted, and the R. R. co. sold the 3,000 acres constituting the site of the present city to the Tacoma land company, except enough land for shops, side-tracks, depot, and wharves. The land co. also purchased of the R. R. co. 13,000 acres, being the odd-numbered sections within 6 miles of the water front. This company was organized under the laws of Penn., and its corporators were large preferred stockholders of the R. R. co.; its capital stock was $1,000,000, divided into 20,000 shares at $50 per share, of which the N. P. R. R. owned a majority, and put brain and money into it, but as long as the railroad reached Tacoma only from the Columbia the growth of the town was slow. As soon as the direct line was established, the situation was changed, and the event was duly celebrated. To-day in place of the straggling village of 1877, there is a beautiful city of 30,000 inhabitants, with miles of streets 80 feet wide, and avenues 100 feet wide, many handsome edifices and residences, the most inspiring views of Mount Tacoma and the Sound, with street railways, banks, public and private schools, and all the accessories of modern civilization. The coal-fields tributary to Tacoma create a large amount of business. The lumber-mills in the immediate vicinity cut 1,100,000 feet per day, removing the timber from 12 square miles annually. Many manufactures are suggested by the wealth of iron, coal, and timber in this region, which it is yet too soon to expect. According to the *Seattle Journal*, the name Tacoma first appeared in Theodore Winthrop's book *Canoe and Saddle*, being applied to the mountain known to the English as Rainier.

The impetus given to the Sound country by the N. P. R. R. also affected Seattle, for so many years the chief city of the Sound. It increased rapidly in population, and achieved a population of 30,000, with real estate transfers of $12,000,000 in the year which preceded its great catastrophe by fire in the summer of 1889, by which $10,000,000 of property was destroyed, and thousands of people rendered temporarily homeless. From this heavy misfortune will arise a certain amount of good, in an improved style of construction of business houses. The hope is entertained that the govt will establish a navy-yard on Lake Washington, connecting it by a canal with the Sound.

Spokane Falls was first settled by L. R. Scranton, J. J. Downing, and a Mr. Benjamin, in 1872, they erecting a saw-mill in anticipation of the advent of the N. P. R. R. The failure of Jay Cooke & Co. blighted their expectations, along with the company's, causing them to sell out their squatter rights and property in 1873 to James W. Glover of Salem, Or., for $4,000. Glover formed a partnership with J. N. Matheny of Salem, and Cyrus F. Yeaton of Portland, to carry on milling and merchandising. The population was scattered, the whole of Stevens co., which then embraced Spokane, Lincoln, and Douglas, containing no more than 350 inhabitants, aside from the garrison at Fort Colville; but the firm hoped on, and Yeaton was appointed post-master, the Lewiston mail passing that way. In 1874 they were joined by H. T. Cowley and a Mr. Poole and their families. Cowley, who seems to have been a minister, started an Indian school and farm. A school district, embracing all that territory between Colville and Spangle, and between Idaho and the Columbia, was organized into a school district for the white settlers, and Swift, who lived near the Falls and was a

lawyer by education, became clerk of the district, Yeaton, Poole, and M. M. Cowley, trader at Spokane Bridge, directors, while Mrs Swift was teacher. At the territorial election of 1874 the polls opened at Glover's house, and R. H. Winepy was elected to represent Stevens co. in the legislature. D. F. Percival of Four Lakes, and L. W. Myers, were chosen co. commissioners, and Glover justice of the peace. In mid-December Cowley journeyed to Colville, the co. seat, 85 miles, to carry the election returns, to secure a teacher's certificate, and incidentally to perform the marriage service for Captain Evan Miles and Miss Stitzel. There was little improvement before 1876, when Frederick Post removed his mill from Trent to Spokane Falls, which had been laid out in a town plat by Matheny, Yeaton, and Glover, who gave him water power and 40 acres of land to locate in the place. Next came Downer, Evans, and Smith. Evans set up a cabinet-shop. Downer opened a farm, and Smith returned to Spangle. Still the few settlers held on until June 1877, when the Nez Perce war caused them the most intense anxiety and alarm. Soon after the war ended there came Herbert and Myron Percival, L. W. Rims, Dr Masterton, and a few others; and in the spring of 1878, with the revived hope of the coming of the N. P. R. R., came also the merchant firm of Cannon, Warner, & Co., who purchased an interest in the town-site, and gave a fresh impetus to the place. Then came J. M. Nosler, W. C. Gray, Dr L. P. Waterhouse, A. E. Ellis, and Platt Corbaley. Gray built a hotel, in which an entertainment was held for the benefit of a public school-house being erected in town. In 1879 there was a re-survey of the N. P. line, and the Spokane *Times* was established by Hon. Francis S. Cook, member of the territorial legislature from Pierce co. Population began now to flow in, and the following persons began business in Spokane Falls: F. R. Moore & Co., J. F. Graham, Friedenrich & Berg, Arthur & Shaner, J. N. Squier, McCammon & Whitman, R. W. Forrest, Louis Zeigler, Clark & Richard, Percival & Corbalay, Davis & Cornelius. A. M. Cannon established the first bank—bank of Spokane Falls—churches were organized, the methodist by J. H. Leard and the congregationalist by G. H. Atkinson. The legislature that winter authorized the organization of Spokane co., and removed the county seat to Spokane Falls. In 1880 the town of Cheney was laid out, and through railroad influence took the county seat away from the Falls, and for two years the town languished, although in July 1881 the Spokane *Chronicle* was established by C. B. Carlisle, and the methodist and congregational churches were erected, also the first brick building, and steps were taken to found protestant and catholic schools—the Spokane and Gonzaga universities. The city was incorporated in 1881, R. W. Forrest being the first mayor, A. M. Cannon, L. H. Whitehouse, L. W. Rims, F. R. Moore, George A. Davis, and W. C. Gray, councilmen, and J. K. Stout, city attorney, the population being at this time about 1,000. To follow this history further would be to take up too much space. From 1882 to 1889 the growth of Spokane Falls was remarkable, helped on by the wonderful agricultural resources of the country, and mines of the Cœur d'Alene region, and in 1888 it was the third city in Washington. In June 1889 a great fire consumed 22 whole squares of buildings in the business portion of the city, at a loss of many millions of dollars, but it is rapidly rebuilding more solidly than before. The situation of Spokane Falls is not only beautiful as to location, but is in the midst of the great wheat-fields, rivalled in productiveness by few portions of the globe, and near the Cœur d'Alene mines.

Ellensburg is another thriving town, which suffered great losses by fire in July 1889, but which is being rebuilt. It has on one hand an agricultural country, and on the other gold and silver, coal and iron, superior grass lands and timbered mountain-sides.

Cle-Elum and Roslyn are two new towns in the mineral region of Klickitat co., situated among the higher foothills of the Cascades, on the line of the N. P. R. R. Extensive iron-works are located at Cle-Elum, and coal-mines at Roslyn.

Mount Vernon, on the swift and beautiful Skagit river, was taken up as a land claim in 1871 by Jaspar Gates, the first house on the river having been erected in 1861 by Owin Kincaid. There is a cranberry marsh here, owned by a California company. From 80 acres of vines, 5,900 bushels of cranberries were gathered in 1889. Port Townsend, Whatcom, and Sehome, long apparently lifeless, have blossomed out with elegant homes, stately hotels, and banking-houses. Fairhaven, also on Bellingham bay, has a charming situation, and is rapidly growing.

Centralia, Aberdeen, and all the towns in the fertile Chehalis valley are sharing the results of agricultural and milling enterprises. The following is the history of Aberdeen, by Samuel Benn, its founder, born in New York in 1832, coming to Cal. in 1856; worked in Tuolumne mines until 1859, when he came to Puget Sound, and purchasing a boat explored Black river, and took up a pre-emption claim. In 1868 he removed to Chehalis valley, where he purchased 592 acres of land, raising cattle and dairying until 1884, when he laid out the town of Aberdeen, devoting in all 240 acres to the town-site, giving away 49 acres in mill-sites to promote business, and also donated 50 acres to J. M. Weatherwax, in alternate blocks, for the same purpose. He is principal owner in the Washingtonian cannery; has been sheriff and county commissioner, and built the first boat to run on the Chehalis river. He married Martha A. Redmond in 1862, and has 5 daughters and 2 sons.

Gray's Harbor is attracting much attention, but whether some settled or some newly selected site will be the port of the future is not yet apparent.

Kelso, in Cowlitz valley, 6 miles from the Columbia, has hopes of future greatness, calling itself the 'gate of Cowlitz,' and claims superior advantages and eminent intelligence, either of which are no mean recommendations.

The assessed value of taxable property in Wash. has increased from $18,922,922 in 1878, to $84,641,548 in 1888, according to the report of Secretary Owings—a gain of $65,718,626 in ten years. The richest co. is King, the second Pierce, the third Spokane, the fourth Whitman, the fifth Walla Walla, then Lincoln, Clarke, Columbia, each valued at nearly $3,000,000, after which the other counties range from $2,000,000 down to $300,000. The area of the state is 69,994 sq. miles; area of tide-water inside, 1,258 sq. miles; of shore-line inside, 1,992 miles; area of Lake Washington, 41 sq. miles. Estimated population, by Owings, 432,600.

Among the more prominent citizens of Spokane Falls are the following:

Herbert Bolster came in 1885 with an established reputation as a lawyer and real estate agent. He enjoys the confidence of the community, and has been intrusted with much valuable city property, together with the laying out of numerous additions. He is a director of the Washington Water Power Co., the Spokane Cable Ry. Co., and other leading corporations.

A. M. Cannon, a native of Monmouth, Ill., came to this coast in 1858, and to Spokane Falls in 1878, now ranks among the millionaires of that city, his wealth being acquired solely by his own industry and business judgment. To him is mainly due the building of the Spokane and Palouse railroad, Spokane Mill Co., the Bank of Spokane Falls, and other prominent enterprises. As mayor, and in other public offices, he has gained the esteem and good-will of all classes of the people.

In 1878 J. J. Browne, a native of Grenville, O., settled at Spokane Falls, soon acquired an extensive law practice, and became one of the leaders of the democratic party, his services as a school director being especially valuable. In 1889 he was chosen a delegate to the constitutional convention, serving with marked ability. He has aided largely in building up the city.

W. H. Taylor, a native of Mich., has also contributed largely to the development of his adopted city, in 1887 as mayor, as president of the Spokane Nat. Bank and of the board of trade, and in other positions.

Others worthy of note are F. R. Moore, a director of the Washington Water Power Co., of the cable line company, and of several banks, and B. F. Burch, M. D., one of the oldest residents of the city. Both these gentlemen are among the wealthiest and most respected citizens of Spokane.

HISTORY OF IDAHO.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND NATURAL WEALTH.

TERRITORIAL LIMITS—THE WORLD'S WONDER-LAND—RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, AND VALLEYS — PHENOMENAL FEATURES — LAVA-FIELDS — MINERAL SPRINGS—CLIMATE—SCORES OF LIMPID LAKES—ORIGIN OF THE NAME 'IDAHO'—INDIFFERENCE OF EARLY IMMIGRANTS—NATURAL PRODUCTIONS —GAME — FOOD SUPPLY — FUR-BEARING ANIMALS — FIRST MORMON SETTLEMENT—COUNTY DIVISIONS OF IDAHO AS PART OF WASHINGTON.

THE territory of Idaho was set off by congress March 3, 1863. It was erected out of the eastern portion of Washington with portions of Dakotah and Nebraska, and contained 326,373 square miles, lying between the 104th and 117th meridians of longitude, and the 42d and 49th parallels of latitude. It embraced the country east of the summits of the Rocky Mountains to within fifty miles of the great bend of the Missouri below the mouth of the Yellowstone, including the Milk River, White Earth, Big Horn, Powder River, and a portion of the Platte region on the North Fork and Sweetwater. Taken all together, it is the most grand, wonderful, romantic, and mysterious part of the domain enclosed within the federal union.

Within its boundaries fell the Black Hills, Fort Laramie, Long's Peak, the South Pass, Green River, Fort Hall, Fort Boisé, with all that wearisome stretch of road along Snake River made by the annual trains

of Pacific-bound immigrants since 1843, and earlier. Beyond these well-known stations and landmarks no information had been furnished to the public concerning that vast wilderness of mountains interspersed with apparently sterile sand deserts, and remarkable, so far as understood, only for the strangeness of its rugged scenery, which no one seemed curious to explore.

The Snake River,[1] the principal feature known to travellers, is a sullen stream, generally impracticable, and here and there wild and swift, navigable only for short distances, above the mouth of the Clearwater, broken by rapids and falls, or coursing dark and dangerous between high walls of rock. Four times between Fort Hall and the mouth of the Bruneau, a distance of 150 miles, the steady flow of water is broken by falls. The first plunge at American Falls,[2] twenty-five miles from Fort Hall, is over a precipice 60 feet or more in height, after which it flows between walls of trap-rock for a distance of 70 miles, when it enters a deeper cañon several miles in length and from 800 to 1,000 feet in width, emerging from which it divides and passes around a lofty pinnacle of rock standing in the bed of the stream, the main portion of the river rushing over a ledge and falling 180 feet without a break, while the smaller stream descends by successive plunges in a series of rapids for some distance before it takes its final leap to the pool below. These are called the Twin Falls, and sometimes the Little Falls to distinguish them from the Great Shoshone Falls, four miles below, where the entire volume of water plunges down 210 feet after a preliminary descent of 30 feet by rapids. Forty miles west, at the Salmon or Fishing falls, the river makes its last great downward jump of forty feet, after which

[1] The name of this stream was taken from the natives inhabiting its banks, and has been variously called Snake, Shoshone, and Les Serpents. Lewis and Clarke named it after the former—Lewis River. See *Native Races of the Pacific States*, and *Hist. Northwest Coast*, passim, this series.

[2] So named from the loss of a party of Americans who attempted to navigate the river in canoes. *Palmer's Jour.*, 44.

it flows, with frequent rapids and cañons, onward to the Columbia,[3] in some places bright, pure, and sparkling with imprisoned sunshine, in others noiseless, cold, and dark, eddying like a brown serpent among fringes of willows, or hiding itself in shadowy ravines untrodden by the footsteps of the all-dominating white man.

This 500 feet of descent by cataracts is made on the lower levels of the great basin, where the altitude above the sea is from 2,130 feet, at the mouth of the Owyhee, to 4,240 at the American Falls. The descent of 2,110 feet in a distance of 250 miles is sufficient explanation of the unnavigable character of the Serpent River. Other altitudes furnish the key to the characteristics of the Snake Basin. The eastern gateway to this region, the South Pass, is nearly 7,500 feet high, and the mountain peaks in the Rocky range from 10,000 to 13,570 feet, the height of Frémont Peak. The pass to the north through the Blackfoot country is 6,000 feet above the sea, which is the general level of that region,[4] while various peaks in the Bitter Root range rise to elevations between 7,000 and 10,000 feet. Florence mines, where the discoverers were rash enough to winter, has an altitude of 8,000 feet, while Fort Boisé is 6,000 feet lower, being in the lowest part of the valley of Snake River. Yet within a day's travel on horseback are rugged mountains where the snow lies until late in the spring, topped by others where it never melts, as the miners soon ascertained by actual experience. The largest body of level land furnished with grass instead of artemesia is Big Camas prairie, on the head waters of Malade or Wood river, containing about 200 square miles, but at an altitude of 4,700 feet, which seemed to render it unfit for any agricultural purposes,

[3] *Riblett's Snake River Region*, MS., 2-4; *Starr's Idaho*, MS., 4; *Idaho Scraps*, 27, 35; *Boisé Statesman*, July 4, 1868; *Portland West Shore*, July 1877.

[4] The mean altitude of Montana is given as 3,900 feet in *Gannett's List of Elevations*, 161.

although it was the summer paradise of the United States cavalry for a time, and of horse and cattle owners.

There are valleys on the Payette, Clearwater, lower Snake, Boisé, Weiser, Blackfoot, Malade, and Bear rivers, besides several smaller ones. They range in size from twenty to a hundred miles in length, and from one to twenty miles in width, and with other patches of fertile land aggregate ten millions of acres in that part of the new territory whose altered boundaries now constitute Idaho, all of which became known to be well adapted to farming and fruit-raising, although few persons were found at first to risk the experiment of sowing and planting in a country which was esteemed as the peculiar home of the mineralogist and miner.

In a country like this men looked for unusual things, for strange phenomena, and they found them. A volcano was discovered about the head waters of the Boisé, which on many occasions sent up smoke and columns of molten lava[5] in 1866, and in August 1881 another outburst of lava was witnessed in the mountains east of Camas prairie, while at the same time an earthquake shock was felt. In 1864 the Salmon River suddenly rose and fell several feet, rising a second time higher than before, being warm and muddy.[6]

Notwithstanding the evidences of volcanic eruptions, and the great extent of lava overflow along Snake River, the country between Reynolds Creek in Owyhee and Bruneau River was one vast bed of organic remains, where the bones of extinct species of animals were found,[7] and also parts of the human skeleton of

[5] Buffalo Hump, an isolated butte between Clearwater and Salmon rivers, is the mountain here referred to. The lava overflow was renewed in September, when 'great streams of lava' were 'running down the mountain, the molten substance burning everything in its path. The flames shoot high in the air, giving at a long distance the appearance of a grand conflagration.' A rumbling noise accompanied the overflow. *Wood River Miner*, Sept. 21, 1881; *Idaho World*, June 30, 1866; *Silver City Avalanche*, Jan. 29, 1881.

[6] John Keenan of Florence witnessed this event. *Boisé News*, Aug. 13, 1864.

[7] *Early Events*, MS., 9. H. B. Maize found a tusk 9 inches in diameter at the base and 6 feet long embedded in the soil on Rabbit Creek, 10 miles from

a size which seemed to point to a prehistoric race of men as well. This portion of the ancient lake bed seemed to have received, from its lower position, the richest deposit of fossils, although they were found in higher localities. All the streams emptying into Snake River at some distance below the Shoshone or Great falls sink before reaching it, and flow beneath the lava, shooting out of the sides of the cañon with beautiful effect, and forming a variety of cascades.[8] "Salmon River," said one of the mining pioneers, "almost cuts the earth in two, the banks being 4,000 feet perpendicular for miles, and backed by rugged mountains that show evidences of having been rent by the most violent convulsions."[9] Godin[10] or Lost river is a considerable stream rising among the Wood River Mountains and disappearing near Three Buttes —hence the name—though coming to the surface afterward. Journeying to Fort Hall by the way of Big Camas prairie,[11] after reaching the lava-field you pass along the base of mountains whose tops glisten with perpetual snow. Stretching southward is a sea of cinder, wavy, scaly, sometimes cracked and abysmal. Bruneau River and the Owyhee drain the southern and western side. Curious mineral springs have been discovered in various parts, the most famous of which

Snake River, and a variety of other bones. *Boisé Statesman*, Oct. 1, 1870. This bed appears to be similar to one which exists in a sand deposit in southeastern Oregon, and described by O. C. Applegate in *Portland West Shore*, July 1877.

[8] *Riblett's Snake River Region*, MS., 2–4. In this descriptive manuscript, by Frank Riblett, surveyor of Cassia county, some strong hints are thrown out. Riblett says: 'The lava presents phenomena like breathing-holes, where strong currents of air find continual vent...Chasms going seemingly to immense depths; corrals—called devil's corrals, being enclosures of lava walls—extinct craters; the City of Rocks, a pile of basalt, which resembles a magnificent city in ruins...Massacre Gate is a tremendous basaltic barrier running from the bluffs to Snake River, and cleft only wide enough to permit the passage of a wagon, so named from a massacre by Indians at this place; also variously styled Gate of Death and Devil's Gate.'

[9] *Hafen's Hist. Idaho County*, MS., 7.

[10] Named after a trapper in the service of the American Fur Company. Godin is mentioned in Victor's *River of the West*, 129–30. He was killed at this stream by the Blackfoot Indians. *Townsend's Nar.*, 114.

[11] Called Big Camas to distinguish it from the North Camas prairie situated between the Clearwater and Salmon rivers, and other tracts of similar lands. There is also a Little Camas prairie south of Big Camas prairie.

are the soda springs in the Bear River region, of which thousands have tasted on their journey across the continent. Around the springs are circular embankments of pure snow-white soda several feet in height and twenty to thirty feet in diameter. You may count fifty mineral springs within a square mile in Bear River Valley, some of pure soda, some mingled with sulphur, and others impregnated with iron; some warm, some cold, some placid, others bubbling and noisy as steam, the waters of which could be analyzed, but could not be reproduced.[12]

It was the common judgment of the first explorers that there was more of strange and awful in the scenery and topography of Idaho than of the pleasing and attractive. A more intimate acquaintance with the less conspicuous features of the country revealed many beauties. The climate of the valleys was found to be far milder than from their elevation could have been expected. Picturesque lakes were discovered nestled among the mountains, or furnishing in some instances navigable waters.[13] Fish and game abounded. Fine forests of pine and fir covered the mountain slopes except in the lava region; and nature, even in this phenomenal part of her domain, had not forgotten to prepare the earth for the occupation of man, nor neglected to give him a wondrously warm and fertile soil

[12] *Idaho Scraps*, 60–1; *Salt Lake Tribune*, Jan. 1, 1878; *Codman's Round Trip*, 254–9; *Strahorn's To the Rockies*, 126. At some springs 4 miles from Millersburg a bathing-house has been built. *Hofen's Hist. Idaho Co.*, MS., 6. In 1865–6 James H. Hutton erected baths at the warm springs near Warren. Statement by Edwin Farnham, in *Schultze's Early Anecdotes*, MS., 6; *Owyhee Avalanche*, April 17, 1876. On Bruneau River, at the Robeson farm, are several hot springs, and one of cold sulphur water. Near Atlanta, on the middle fork of Boisé, were discovered warm springs fitted up for bathing by F. P. Carothers in 1877. *Silver City Avalanche*, May 5, 1877. Near Bonanza, on Yankee Fork of Salmon River, were found sulphur springs of peculiar qualities. *Bonanza City Yankee Fork Herald*, March 20, 1880. In short, the whole basin between Salmon River and Salt Lake was found to be dotted with springs of high temperature and curative medicinal qualities.

[13] Lakes Cœur d'Alêne and Pend d'Oreille are of the navigable class, the former 35 miles long, the latter 30 miles. Steamers ply on the Cœur d'Alêne. Cocolala is a small lake. Kaniskee is a limpid body of water 20 miles long by 10 wide. Hindoo lakes are a group of small bodies of alkaline water of medicinal qualities. And there are a score or two more well worthy of mention.

to compensate for the labor of subduing the savagery of her apparently waste places.[14]

What has been said of the Snake Basin and Salmon and Clearwater regions leaves untouched the wonderland lying at the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains on the upper waters of the Yellowstone River, and all the imposing scenery of the upper Missouri and the Clarke branch of the Columbia—the magnificent mountains, and grand forests, the rich if elevated valleys, and the romantic solitudes of that more northern division of Idaho as first organized under a temporary government, which was soon after cut off and erected into a separate territory. Once it had all been Oregon west of the Rocky Mountains; then it was all Washington north and east of Snake River; now all east of that stream bore another name, a Shoshone word, signifying "gem of the mountains," or more strictly, "diadem of the mountains," referring to the lustrous rim shown by the snowy peaks as the sun rises behind and over them.[15]

[14] For general description of Idaho, see *H. Ex. Doc.*, i. pt 4, 133–8, 41st cong. 3d sess.; *Rusling's Across the Continent*, 206–50; Edmonds, in *Portland Oregonian*, April 19, 1864; Meagher, in *Harper's Mag.*, xxxv. 568–84; McCabe's *Our Country*, 1092; *Browne's Resources*, 512–16; *Ebey's Journal*, MS., i. 253; Campbell's *Western Guide*, 60–4; Hayden's Geological Rept, in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 326, xv., 42d cong. 2d sess.; *Idaho Scraps*, 27, 235; *Lewiston Signal*, Aug. 23, 1873; *Elliott's Hist. Idaho*, 86–108; *Strahorn's Idaho*, 7–84; *Strahorn's Illustrated New West;* and many more miscellaneous sketches of travellers and military men, as well as surveyors of railroad routes and land commissioners. While a volume of description might be written, I have sought only by touches here and there to outline the general characteristics of the country.

[15] *Pac. Monthly*, xi., June 1864, 675. There seems to be no question of the meaning of the word, which is vouched for by numerous authorities. C. H. Miller, in *Elliott's Hist. Idaho*, 80, affects to give the distinction of naming Idaho to William Craig. I do not see, however, that Craig had anything to do with it, even though he had mentioned to others, as he did to Miller, the signification of the word. It had been in use as the name of a steamboat on the Columbia above The Dalles since the spring of 1860, but Miller says he never heard the word until the spring of 1861, when travelling to Oro Fino with Craig. He also says that the Indian word was E-dah'-hoe, and that he gave it to the world in its present orthography in a newspaper article in the autumn of 1861. It had been painted 'Idaho' on the O. S. N. steamer for 18 months, where it was visible to thousands travelling up the Columbia. The inference which Miller would establish is that he, with Craig's assistance, suggested the name of the territory of Idaho. See *Idaho Avalanche*, in *Walla Walla Statesman*, Dec. 11, 1880. Another even more imaginative writer is William O. Stoddard, in an article in the *N. Y. Tribune*, who states that the

The natural food resources of Idaho were not those of a desert country. Sturgeon of immense size were found in the Snake River as high up as Old's ferry. Salmon crowded that stream and its tributaries at certain seasons. The small rivers abounded in salmon-trout. The lakes were filled with fish of a delightful flavor. One species, for which no name has yet been found, belonged especially to the Payette lakes, of a bright vermilion color, except the fins, which are dark green. They probably belonged to the salmon family, as their habit in respect of ascending to the head waters of the river to spawn and die are the same as the Columbia salmon.[16]

The mountains, plains, and valleys abounded with deer, bear, antelope, elk, and mountain sheep.[17] The buffalo which once grazed on the Snake River plains had long been driven east of the Rocky Mountains. Partridge, quail, grouse, swan, and wild duck were plentiful on the plains and about the lakes. Fur-

word 'Idaho' was coined by an eccentric friend of his, George M. Willing, 'first delegate to congress.' As no such man was ever a delegate, and as the territory must have been created and named before it could have a delegate, this fiction ceases to be interesting. See *Boisé Statesman*, Jan. 8, 1876; *Idaho World*, in *Ibid.*; *S. F. Chronicle*, May 1, 1876. There is a pretty legend connected with the word 'Idaho.' It is to the effect that E. D. Pierce met with an Indian woman of the northern Shoshones who told him of a bright object which fell from the skies and lodged in the side of a mountain, but which, although its light could be seen, could never be found. Pierce, it is said, undertook to find this Koohinoor, and while looking for it discovered the Nez Percé mines. *Owyhee Avalanche*, March 10, 1876. Another reasonable story is that when W. H. Wallace was canvassing for his election as delegate from Washington in 1861 with Lander and Garfielde, it was agreed at Oro Fino that whichever of the candidates should be elected, should favor a division of the territory. The question of a name coming up, George B. Walker suggested Idaho, which suggestion was approved by the caucus. From the fact that the first bill presented called the proposed new territory Idaho, it is probable that the petitioners adhered to the agreement. There appears to have been three names before the committees, Shoshone, Montana, and Idaho. See *Cong. Globe*, 1862–3, pt i., p. 166; and that Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, when the bill creating the territory of 'Montana' was about to pass, insisted on a change of name to Idaho, on the ground that Montana was no name at all, while Idaho had a meaning. In this amendment he was supported by Harding of Oregon. Wilson's amendment was agreed to.

[16] *Strahorn's To the Rockies*, 124; *Olympia Wash. Democrat*, Dec. 10, 1864; *Idaho World*, Aug. 15, 1874; *Salt Lake Tribune*, Jan. 1, 1878.

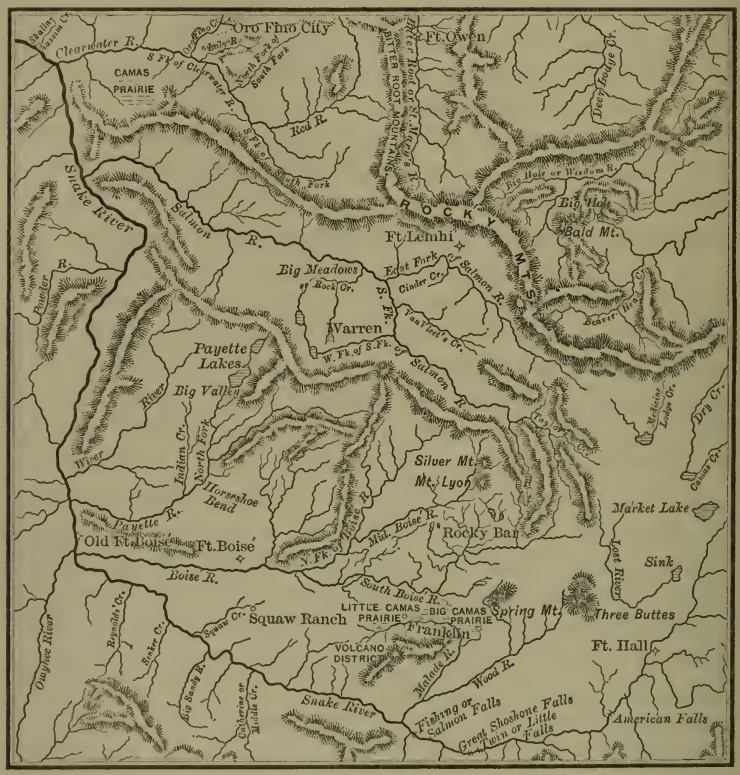
[17] A new species of carnivorous animal, called the 'man-eater,' was killed near Silver City in 1870. Its weight was about 100 lbs, legs short, tail bushy and 10 inches long, ears short, and feet large—a nondescript. *Silver City Idaho Avalanche*, March 12, 1870.

bearing animals, once hunted out of the mountains and streams by the fur companies, had again become numerous. The industrious beaver cut down the young cottonwood trees as fast as they grew in the Bruneau Valley, depriving future settlers of timber, but preserving for them the richest soil. The wolf, red and silver-gray fox, marten, and muskrat inhabited the mountains and streams.

Grapes, cherries, blackberries, gooseberries, whortleberries, strawberries, and salmon-berries, of the wild varieties, had their special localities. Blackberries and grapes were abundant, but, owing to the dry climate, not of the size of these wild fruits in the middle states. Camas root, in the commissary department of the natives, occupied a place similar to bread, or between wheat and potatoes, in the diet of agricultural nations. It resembled an onion, being bulbous, while in taste it was a little like a yam. The qullah, another root, smaller and of a disagreeable flavor, was eaten by the Indians when cooked. In taste it resembled tobacco, and was poisonous eaten raw. The botany of the country did not differ greatly from some parts of Oregon, either in the floral or the arboreous productions. The most useful kinds of trees were the yellow pine, sugar pine, silver pine, white fir, yellow fir, red fir, white cedar, hemlock, yew, white oak, live-oak, cottonwood, poplar, mountain mahogany, and madroño. The great variety of shrubby growths are about the same as in southwestern Oregon.

Two years previous to the passage of the organic act of Idaho there had been but two or three settlements made within its limits, if the missions of the Jesuits are excepted. It was not regarded with favor by any class of men, not even the most earth-hungry. Over its arid plains and among its fantastic upheavals of volcanic rocks roamed savage tribes. Of the climate little was known, and that little was unfavorable, from the circumstance that the fur companies, who spent

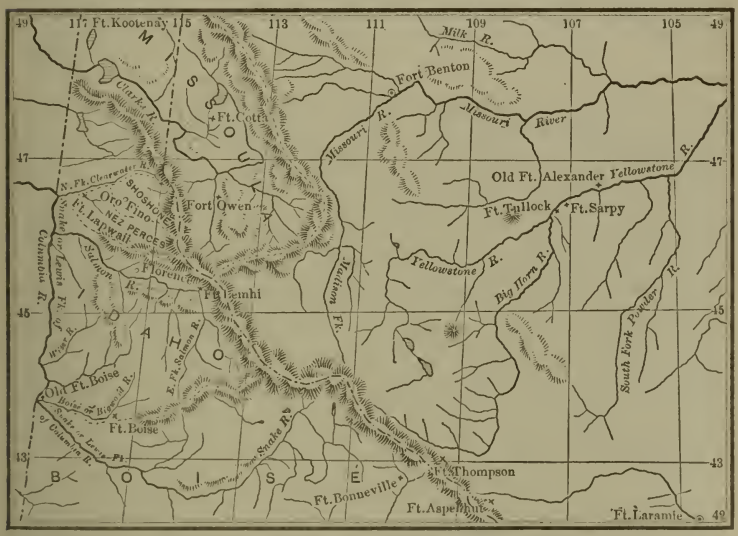
the winters in certain localities in the mountains, regarded all others as inhospitable, and the immigrants judged of it by the heat and drought of midsummer.



IDAHO IN 1863.

But early in 1854 a small colony of Mormon men was sent to found a settlement on Salmon River among the buffalo-hunting Nez Percés, who erected a fort, which they named Lemhi. In the following year they were reënforced by others, with their families, horses, cattle, seeds, and farming implements; and in 1857 Brigham Young visited this colony, attended by a numerous retinue. He found the people prosperous, their crops abundant, the river abounding

in fish, and the evidences present of mineral wealth. When he returned to Salt Lake the pioneers returned with him to fetch their wives and children. The Nez Percés, however, became jealous of these settlers, knowing that the government was opposed to the Mormon occupation of Utah, and fearing lest they should be driven out to overrun the Flathead country if they were permitted to retain a footing there.[18] The colony finally returned to Salt Lake, driven out, it was said, by the Indians, with a loss of three men



COUNTIES FORMERLY IN WASHINGTON.

killed, and all their crops destroyed.[19] The other settlements were a few farms of French Canadians in the Cœur d'Alêne country, the Jesuit missions, and Fort

[18] *Stevens' Nar.*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept*, xii. 252; letter of R. H. Lansdale, in *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1857, 380; Ross Browne, in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 39, p. 30, 35th cong. 1st sess.; *Olympia Pioneer and Dem.*, Aug. 8, 1856; *Or. Statesman*, Sept. 15, 1857; *Rept Com. Ind. Aff.*, 1857, 324-80.

[19] This was in 1858, if I understand Owen's account, in *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1859, 424. Shoup, in *Idaho Ter.*, MS., 5, refers to this settlement. The Mormons erected their houses inside of a palisade, and could have been reënforced from Salt Lake. It is probable that Brigham called them in to strengthen his hands against the government.

Owen, the latter east of the Bitter Root Mountains, in the valley of the St Mary branch of Bitter Root River.

The county of Shoshone was set off from Walla Walla county by the legislature of Washington as early as January 29, 1858, comprising all the country north of Snake River lying east of the Columbia and west of the Rocky Mountains, with the county seat "on the land claim of Angus McDonald."[20] This was

[20] McDonald was the H. B. Co.'s agent at Colville. The county commissioners, excepting John Owen, who was U. S. Indian agent, were of foreign birth; namely, Robert Douglas and William McCreany. Patrick McKinzie was appointed sheriff, and Lafayette Alexander county auditor. *Wash Laws*, 1858, 51. Another act, repealing this, and without altering the boundaries, giving it the name of Spokane, and making new appointments, was passed Jan. 17, 1860. In this act James Hayes, Jacques Dumas, and Leaman were made commissioners, John Winn sheriff, R. K. Rogers treasurer, Robert Douglas auditor, J. R. Bates justice of the peace, and F. Wolf coroner. The county seat was removed to the land claim of Bates. The following year all that part of Spokane county lying east of the 115th line of longitude, and west of the summit of the Rocky Mountains, was stricken off and became Missoula county, with the county seat 'at or near the trading post of Worden & Co., Hellgate Rond.' The commissioners of the new county were C. P. Higgins, Thomas Harris, and F. L. Worden; justice of the peace, Henri M. Chase; sheriff, Tipton. A new county of Shoshone was created of the territory lying south of a line drawn east from the mouth of the Clearwater to the 115th meridian, thence south to the 46th parallel, and east again to the Rocky Mts, pursuing their summits to the 42d parallel, whence it turned west to the boundary line of Oregon, following that and Snake River to the place of beginning. No officers were appointed for Shoshone co., but it was attached to Walla Walla county for judicial purposes until organized by the election of proper county officers. The legislature of 1861–2 abridged the boundaries of Shoshone co., by making it begin at the mouth of the south branch of the Clearwater, following the line of the river south to the Lolo fork of the same, then east with the Lolo fork to the summit of the Bitter Root Mountains, thence north to the main divide between the north branch of the Clearwater and the Palouse River, thence in a westerly direction with the divide to a point from which, running due south, it would strike the mouth of south fork. This change made Shoshone co. as small as it was before great, and gave room for organizing two other counties: first, Nez Percé, comprising the territory embraced within the following limits: beginning at the mouth of the main Clearwater, following it to the south fork, and along Lolo fork to the top of the Bitter Root range, thence south to the main divide between south fork and Salmon River, following it westerly to Snake River, and thence down Snake River to the place of commencement. The second division included all that was left of Shoshone south of Nez Percé, and was named Idaho county, the name afterward chosen for the territory in which it was embraced. The officers appointed for Idaho co. were Robert Gray, Robert Burns, and Sanbourn commissioners, Jefferson Standifer sheriff, and Parker justice of the peace. For Nez Percé co. A. Creacy and Whitfield Kirtley were made commissioners, J. M. Van Valsah auditor, and Sandford Owens sheriff, until the next general election. At the session of 1862–3 the county of Boisé was organized, embracing that portion of Idaho co. bounded north by a line commencing at the mouth of the Payette River, and extending up

subdivided by legislative acts in 1860–1 and 1861–2, as the requirements of the shifting mining population, of which I have given some account in the *History of Washington,* demanded.

This mining population, as I have there stated, first overran the Clearwater region, discovering and opening between the autumn of 1860 and the spring of 1863 the placers of Oro Fino Creek, North Fork and South Fork of the Clearwater, Salmon River and its tributaries, and finally the Boisé basin; at which point, being nearly coincident with the date of the territorial act, I will take up the separate history of Idaho.[21]

that stream to the middle branch, and up it to its source, thence east to the summit of the Bitter Root range, which it followed to the Rocky Mts. All that lay south of that east and west line was Boisé co. as it existed when the territory was organized. The county seat was located at the mouth of Elk Creek on Moore Creek. The commissioners were John C. Smith, Frank Moore, W. B. Noble; D. Gilbert probate judge, David Mulford sheriff, David Alderson treasurer, A. D. Saunders auditor, J. M. Murphy, Swan, and Baird justices of the peace, James Warren coroner. *Wash. Laws,* 1862–3, 3–4.

[21] There are few publications concerning Idaho, which has not yet become, as it some time will, a prominent field for tourists and writers. Among those who have written with a view to making known the geography, topography, and resources of the country, Robert E. Strahorn holds the principal place, his *To the Rockies, Idaho, the Gem of the Mountains,* and miscellaneous writings, furnishing the source from which other writers draw their facts without the trouble of personal observation. Elliott's *History of Idaho* is a compilation of articles on the early discoveries, political events, growth of towns, scenery, resources, and biography of pioneers. It is useful as a source from which to draw information on individual topics, but has no consecutive historical narrative. *Idaho; A Descriptive Tour and Review of Its Resources,* by C. Aubrey Angelo, published in 1865 at San Francisco, is a fair report in 50 pages upon the scenery along the road from Portland, and description of mining camps. *Mullan's Military Road Report* contains a history of the expedition, its itinerary, description of passes, and reports of engineers and explorers. *A Thousand Miles through the Rocky Mountains,* by A. K. McClure, Phila, 1859, is a republication of letters to the *N. Y. Tribune* and *Franklin Repository* during a 9 months' tour in 1867, containing observations on the country, and the advantages of the Northern over the Central Pacific railroad. *Idaho,* a pamphlet by James L. Onderdonk, controller, published in 1855, contains a sketch of early Idaho history, and descriptions of the resources of the country, not differing essentially from what has been given by others. It is intended to stimulate immigration. *Idaho and Montana,* by J. L. Campbell, Chicago, 1865, is a guide-book describing routes, with some descriptive and narrative matter, in pamphlet form.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY SETTLEMENT.

1862–1866.

MINERAL DISCOVERIES—COUNTIES AND TOWNS—IMMIGRATION—ROUTES TO THE MINES—INDIAN WARS—FORTS—QUARTZ-MINING—COMPANIES AND CLAIMS — MORE TOWN-BUILDING—STAGE-ROADS—SLIDING CLUBS—TRAFFIC AND TRAVEL—OREGON VERSUS CALIFORNIA—MAIL CONTRACTS—PROSPECTING AND MINING—NEW DISTRICTS—OUTPUT OF PRECIOUS METALS.

THE early history of Idaho has already been given in the former volumes of this series; the modern history of Idaho properly begins with the discovery of the Boisé mines, in August 1862,[1] previous to which the movement for a new territory met with little favor. In the spring of 1863 there were four county organizations and ten mining towns, containing, with some outside population, about 20,000 inhabitants, all of whom, except a handful, had come from various parts of the Pacific coast and the western states within the two years following Pierce's discovery of the Clearwater mines.[2]

[1] The names of the discoverers were George Grimes of Oregon City, John Reynolds, Joseph Branstetter, D. H. Fogus, Jacob Westenfelten, Moses Splane, Wilson, Miller, two Portuguese called Antoine and Phillipi, and one unknown. *Elliott's Hist. Idaho*, 70.

[2] There was large immigration in 1862, owing to the civil war and to the fame of the Salmon River mines. Some stopped on the eastern flank of the Rocky range in what is now Montana, and others went to eastern Oregon, but none succeeded in reaching Salmon River that year except those who took the Missouri River route. Four steamers from St Louis ascended to Fort Benton, whence 350 immigrants travelled by the Mullan road to the mines on Salmon River. *Portland Oregonian*, Aug. 28 and 29, 1862. Those who attempted to get through the mountains between Fort Hall and Salmon River failed, often disastrously. *Ebey's Journal*, MS., viii. 198. These turned back and went to Powder River. Wm Purvine, in *Or. Statesman*, Nov. 3, 1862.

The leader of the Boisé expedition having been killed by Indians while prospecting farther on the stream where gold was found, it received the name of Grimes Creek in commemoration. The party retreated to Walla Walla, where a company was raised, fifty-four strong, to return and hold the mining ground.[3] They arrived at Grimes Creek October 7th, and founded Pioneer City. Others quickly followed, and in November Centreville was founded, a few miles south on the same stream.[4] Placerville, on the head of Granite Creek, contained 300 houses. Buena Vista on Elk Creek and Bannack City[5] on Moore Creek also sprang up in December, and before the first of January between 2,000 and 3,000 persons were on the ground ready for the opening of spring. Up to that time the weather had been mild, allowing wagons to cross the Blue Mountains, usually impassable in winter. Companies of fifty and over, well armed to protect themselves against the Shoshones, at this time engaged in active hostilities, as narrated in my *History of Oregon*, made the highway populous during several weeks. Supplies for these people poured rapidly into the mines. In the first ten days of November $20,000 worth of goods went out of the little frontier trading post of Walla Walla for the Boisé country, in anticipation of the customary rush when new diggings were discovered. Utah also contributed a pack-train loaded with provisions, which the miners found cheaper than those from the Willamette Valley, with the steamboat charges and the middlemen's profits.[6] Besides, the merchants of Lewiston were so desirous of establishing commerce with

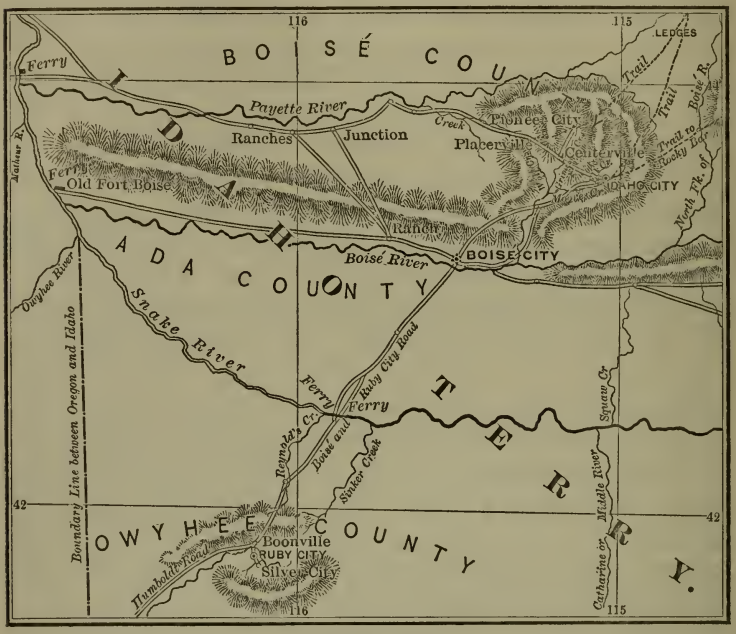
[3] Among the reënforcements were J. M. Moore, John Rogers, John Christie, G. J. Gilbert, James Roach, David Thompson, Green and Benjamin White, R. C. Combs, F. Giberson, A. D. Sanders, Wm Artz, J. B. Pierce, and J. F. Guisenberry. *Elliott's Hist. Idaho*, 71; *Idaho World*, Oct. 31, 1864.

[4] Among this party were Jefferson Standifer, Harvey Morgan, Wm A. Daly, Wm Tichenor, J. B. Reynolds, and Daniel Moffat, who had been sheriff of Calaveras co., Cal.

[5] This place had its name changed to Idaho City on the discovery that the miners on the east side of the Rocky Mts had named a town Bannack.

[6] *Ebey's Journal*, MS., viii. 127, 134; *Or. Statesman*, Dec. 22, 1862.

Salt Lake that a party was despatched to old Fort Boisé, September 20th, to ascertain if it were practicable to navigate Snake River from Lewiston to that point or beyond. This party, after waiting until the



Boisé Basin.

river was near its lowest stage, descended from Fort Boisé to Lewiston on a raft, which was constructed by them for the purpose.[7] It was soon made apparent,

[7] These adventurers were Charles Clifford, Washington Murray, and Joseph Denver. A. P. Ankeny, formerly of Portland, originated the expedition. Those who performed it gave it as their opinion that the river could be navigated by steamboats. That same autumn the *Spray*, a small steamer built by A. P. Ankeny, H. W. Corbett, and D. S. Baker, in opposition to the O. S. N. Co., ascended the river 15 miles above Lewiston, but could get no farther. The *Tenino* also made the attempt, going ten miles and finding no obstacles to navigation in that distance. Lewiston, which as long as the miners were on the Clearwater and Salmon rivers had enjoyed a profitable trade, drawing its goods from Portland by the same steamers which brought the miners thus far on their journey, and retailing them immediately at a large profit, now saw itself in danger of being eclipsed by Walla Walla, which was the source of supply for the Boisé basin. Its business men contemplated placing a line of boats on Snake River to be run as far as navigable. The

however, that Lewiston was hopelessly cut off from Salt Lake, and even from the Boisé basin, by those formidable barriers alluded to in the previous chapter, of craggy mountains and impassable river cañons and falls. The population of Boisé was equally interested in means of travel and transportation, and had even greater cause for disappointment when they found that wagons and pack-trains only could be relied upon to convey the commodities in request in every community 300 miles from Umatilla landing[8] on the Columbia to their midst, Umatilla, and not Walla Walla, having become the debouching point for supplies.

Meantime the miners busied themselves making preparations for the opening of spring by locating claims and improving them as far as possible,[9] doing a

first important landing was to be at the mouth of Salmon River, forty miles above Lewiston. The design was then to make a road direct to the mines, whereas the travel had hitherto been by the trails through the Nez Percé country. The distance from the mouth of Salmon River by water to Fort Boisé was 95 miles, from there to the Fishing Falls of Snake River 90 miles, and from these falls to Salt Lake City 250 miles, making a total distance from Lewiston of 475 miles, nearly half of which it was hoped could be travelled in boats. Such a line would have been of great service to the military department, about to establish a post on the Boisé River, and to the immigration, saving a long stretch of rough road. But the Salmon River Mountains proved impassable, and the Snake River unnavigable, although in the autumn of 1863 a second party of five men, with Molthrop at their head, descended that stream in a boat built at Buena Vista bar, and a company was formed in Portland with the design of constructing a portage through a cañon of the river which was thought impracticable for steamers.

[8] Wardwell and Lurchin erected a wharf at Umatilla, 30 miles below Wallula, the landing for Walla Walla, and by opening a new route to the Grand Rond across the Umatilla Indian reservation, diverted travel in this direction.

[9] Sherlock Bristol, who went to Boisé in Dec., says: 'I prospected the country, and finally settled down for the balance of the winter and spring on Moore Creek. There we built twenty log houses—mine, Wm Richie's, and I. Henry's being among the twenty. We made snow-shoes and traversed the valleys and gulches prospecting. As the snow was deep and it was some distance to the creek, some one proposed we should dig a well, centrally located, to accommodate all our settlement. One day when I was absent prospecting the well-digger struck bed-rock down about 18 feet, but found no water; but in the dirt he detected particles of gold. A bucketful panned out $2.75. When I returned at night I could not have bought the claim on which my house was built for $10,000. It proved to be worth $300,000. The whole bench was rich in like manner. My next-door neighbors—the three White brothers—for nearly a year cleaned up $1,500 daily, their expenses not exceeding $300. Bushels of gold were taken out from the gravel beds where Idaho City now stands.' I have taken this account from a manuscript on

little digging at the same time, enough to learn that the Boisé basin was an extraordinary gold-field as far as it went. Eighteen dollars a day was ordinary wages. Eighty dollars to the pan were taken out on Grimes Creek. Water and timber were also abundant[10] on the stream, which was twelve miles long. On Granite Creek, the head waters of Placer and Grimes creeks, from $10 to $50, and often $200 and $300, a day were panned out. In the dry gulches $10 to $50 were obtained to the man. Ditches to bring water to them were quickly constructed. The first need being lumber, a saw-mill was erected on Grimes Creek during the winter by B. L. Warriner, which was ready to run as soon as the melting snows of spring should furnish the water-power. Early in the spring the second mill was erected near Centreville by Daily and Robbins, the third begun at Idaho City in May by James I. Carrico, who sold it before completion to E. J. Butler, who moved it to the opposite side of Moore Creek, and had it in successful operation in June. The first steam saw-mill was running in July, being built in Idaho City by two men, each known as Major Taylor. It cut from 10,000 to 15,000 feet in ten hours.[11] Thus rapidly did an energetic and isolated community become organized.

The killing of Grimes and other Indian depredations[12] led to the organization of a volunteer company

Idaho Nomenclature by Sherlock Bristol, who says that Idaho City first went by the name of Moore Creek, after J. Marion Moore, who in 1868 was shot and killed in a dispute about a mine near the South pass. *Owyhee Avalanche*, in *Olympia Wash. Standard*, April 18, 1868.

[10] William Purvine, in *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 13, 1862; *Lewiston Golden Age*, Nov. 6 and 13, 1862.

[11] *Elliott's Hist. Idaho*, 202–3.

[12] Several prospecting parties had been attacked and a number of men killed by the Shoshones. The Adams immigrant train in 1862 lost 8 persons killed and 10 wounded, besides $20,000 in money, and all their cattle and property. The attack was made below Salmon falls. *S. F. Bulletin*, Sept. 27, 1862; *Silver Age*, Sept. 24, 1862. On the road to Salmon River from Fort Hall the same autumn, William A. Smith, from Independence, Ill., Bennett, and an unknown man, woman, and child, were slain. In March 1862 Isaac Mendell and Jones Brayton, prospectors, were killed near Olds' ferry, on Snake River, below Fort Boisé, and others attacked on the Malheur, where a tribe of the Shoshone nation had its headquarters.

of the Placerville miners in March 1863, whose captain was Jefferson Standifer, a man prominent among adventurers for his energy and daring.[13] They pursued the Indians to Salmon Falls, where they had fortifications, killing fifteen and wounding as many more. Returning from this expedition about the last of the month, Standifer raised another company of 200, which made a reconnoissance over the mountains to the Payette, and across the Snake River, up the Malheur, where they came upon Indians, whose depredations were the most serious obstacle to the prosperity of the Boisé basin. Fortifications had been erected by them on an elevated position, which was also defended by rifle-pits. Laying siege to the place, the company spent a day in trying to get near enough to make their rifles effective, but without success until the second day, when by artifice the Indians were induced to surrender, and were thereupon nearly all killed in revenge for their murdered comrades by the ruthless white man.[14]

To punish the hostile Indians in Idaho, Fort Boisé was established July 1, 1863, by P. Lugenbeel, with two companies of Washington infantry in the regular service. It was situated on the Boisé River about forty miles above the old fort of the Hudson's Bay Company, near the site of the modern Boisé City.

[13] Six feet in height, with broad square shoulders, fine features, black hair, eyes, and moustache, and brave as a lion, is the description of Standifer in *McConnell's Inferno*, MS., ii. 2. Standifer was well known in Montana and Wyoming. He died at Fort Steele Sept. 30, 1874. *Helena Independent*, Nov. 20, 1874.

[14] Movable defences were carried in front of the assaulting party, made by setting up poles and weaving in willow rods, filling the interstices with grass and mud. This device proved not to be bullet-proof; and bundles of willow sticks which could be rolled in front of the men were next used and served very well. When the Indians saw the white foe steadily advancing, they sent a woman of their camp to treat, and Standifer was permitted to enter the fort, the Indians agreeing to surrender the property in their possession stolen from miners and others. But upon gaining access, the white men shot down men, women, and children, only three boys escaping. One child of 4 years was adopted by John Kelly, a violinist of Idaho City, who taught him to play the violin, and to perform feats of tumbling. He was taken to London, where he drew great houses, and afterward to Australia. *McConnell's Inferno*, MS., ii. 2–4. See also *Marysville Appeal*, April 11, 1863.

Lugenbeel was relieved later in the season by Rinearson of the 1st Oregon cavalry.[15]

The summer of 1863 was one of great activity. Early in the season came flattering news of the Beaverhead country lying on the head waters of Jefferson fork of the Missouri River, where claims were held as high as $10,000 and $15,000. On Stinking Water Creek, fifteen miles in length, the diggings were reported to be marvellously rich. Good reports came also from all that region lying between the Rocky and Bitter Root ranges, and the camps on the Missouri to the east of it. About 1,000 miners had wintered in these diggings and two towns, Bannack City on the Beaverhead and Virginia City on another affluent of Jefferson fork, had sprung into existence contemporaneously with the towns in the Boisé basin. In the spring of 1863 a bateau load of miners from the upper Missouri left Fort Benton for their homes, taking with them 150 pounds of gold-dust.

The principal drawback on the Missouri was the hostility of the Blackfoot Indians, who, notwithstanding their treaty, robbed and murdered wherever they could find white men. Whole parties were killed, and whole pack-trains seized.

The immigration of 1863 was not so large as that of the preceding year, and was divided into three columns, one of which was destined for southern Idaho and the mining region of eastern Oregon; another was bound for California; and the third, furnished by the government with a separate escort under Fisk, consisting of twenty-three wagons and fifty-two men, turned off at Fort Hall for the Salmon River country, failing to reach which they tarried in the Beaverhead mines. Four steamers left St Louis

[15] Fort Boisé was built of brown sandstone, and was a fine post. The reservation was one mile wide and two miles long. *H. Ex. Doc.*, 20, 11, 39th cong. 2d sess.; *Surgeon-Gen'l Circular*, 8, 457–60; *Bristol's Idaho Nomenclature*, MS., 4.

in the spring for the upper Missouri, the *Shreveport* and *Robert Campbell* belonging to La Barge & Co., and the *Rogers* and *Alone*, owned by P. Choteau & Co. They left St Louis May 9th, and the river being low, were too late to reach Fort Benton. The *Shreveport* landed her passengers and freight below the mouth of Judith River, 200 miles from that post; the *Rogers* reached Milk River, 500 miles below the fort; the *Alone* could not get beyond an old fort of the American Fur Company, twenty-five miles down stream; and the *Campbell*, drawing only three feet of water, was stopped at Fort Union, 800 miles from her destination, where her passengers and freight were landed, the latter being stored in the fort.

This state of affairs involved much loss and suffering, which was prefaced by the bad conduct of the Sioux, who on one occasion attacked a party of five men whom they invited ashore, killing three and mortally wounding a fourth. The travellers, left at the mercy of the wilderness and the Indians, made their way as best they could to their destinations, some on horse and some afoot. Many miners, expecting to return to their eastern homes by the boats, had gone to Fort Benton from different parts of the country to await their arrival, who now had to turn back to Salt Lake and take passage on stages. To Fort Benton in July had gone 150 wagons to meet the expected boats and convey the freight to the various distributing points. Thirty cents a pound was the lowest rate from Milk River.

Notwithstanding the falling-off in immigration from the east in 1863, the Boisé mines drew between 25,000 and 30,000 to southern Idaho.[16] Improvements were rapid and prices high. To supply the population

[16] *Portland Oregonian*, July 23 and Aug. 6, 1863; *Butler's Life and Times*, MS., 2–3. The official census in August was 32,342, of whom 1,783 were women and children. 'I sold shovels at $12 apiece as fast as I could count them out.' A wagon-load of cats and chickens arrived in August, which sold readily, at $10 a piece for the cats and $5 for the chickens. But the market was so overstocked with woollen socks in the winter of 1863–4 that they were used to clean guns, or left to rot in the cellars of the merchants.

in the Boisé basin required great activity, and to provide for the coming winter exhausted the resources of freighters. Ten or more pack-trains arrived daily in July and August, with half that number of wagons,[17] laden with merchandise. No other means of passenger-travel than by horses was obtained this season, but the brains were at work which brought about a different state of affairs in the following spring, although the danger from Indians and banditti greatly discouraged stage-owners and expressmen. The Indians stole the horses of the stage companies, and highwaymen, both white and red, robbed the express messengers.[18]

From the abundance of quartz in southern Idaho, and occasional fragments found containing free gold, it was early anticipated that the real future wealth of the territory would depend upon quartz-mining, and miners were constantly engaged in exploring for gold-bearing lodes while they worked the bars and banks of the streams. Their search was rewarded by finding promising ledges on Granite Creek, near the first discovery of placer mines, and on Bear Creek, one of the head waters of the south Boisé, where placer claims were also found yielding from $16 to $60 a day to the man. There was a frenzy of excitement following the finding of these quartz lodes, which set men to running everywhere in search of others. In September no less than thirty-three claims of gold

[17] A train might be 15 or 50 or 100 animals, carrying from 250 to 400 lbs each. A wagon-load was 2,500 or 5,000 pounds. It took 13 days to go from Umatilla to Boisé. Therefore, 13 times ten trains and 13 times 5 wagons were continually upon the road, with an average freight of 584,675 pounds arriving every 13 days. Ox-teams were taken off the road as the summer advanced, on account of the dust, which, being deep and strongly alkaline, was supposed to have occasioned the loss of many work-cattle. Horses and mules, whose noses were higher from the ground, were less affected.

[18] J. M. Sheppard, since connected with the *Bedrock Democrat* of Baker City, Or., carried the first express to Boisé for Tracey & Co. of Portland. Rockfellow & Co. established the next express, between Boisé and Walla Walla. After Rockfellow discovered his famous mine on Powder River he sold out to Wells, Fargo, & Co., who had suspended their lines to Idaho the previous year on account of robberies and losses, but who resumed in October, and ran a tri-monthly line to Boisé.

and silver quartz mines had been made on the south Boisé, all of which promised well.[19] A company was formed to work the Ida Elmore, and a town called Fredericksburg was laid out at this ledge. Other towns, real and imaginary, arose and soon passed out of existence; but Rocky Bar has survived all changes, and Boisé City, founded at the junction of Moore Creek with Boisé River, was destined to become the capital of the territory.

The quartz discoveries on Granite Creek rivalled those in the south Boisé district. The first discovery, the Pioneer, had its name changed to Gold Hill after consolidation with the Landon. It was finally owned by an association called the Great Consolidated Boisé River Gold and Silver Mining Company, which controlled other mines as well. The poorest rock in the Pioneer assayed over $62 to the ton, and the better classes of rock from $6,000 to $20,000. These assays caused the organization in San Francisco of the Boisé River Mining and Exploring Company, which contracted for a ten-stamp mill, to be sent to Boisé as soon as completed.[20]

[19] The Ida Elmore, near the head of Bear Creek, the first and most famous of the south Boisé quartz mines in 1863, was discovered in June. It yielded in an arastra $270 in gold to the ton of rock, but ultimately fell into the hands of speculators. The Barker and East Barker followed in point of time, ten miles below on the creek. Then followed the Ophir, Idaho, Independence, Southern Confederacy, Esmeralda, General Lane, Western Star, Golden Star, Mendocino, Abe Lincoln, Emmett, and Hibernia. The Idaho assayed, thirty feet below the surface, $1,744 in gold, and $94.86 in silver. Ophir, $1,844 gold and $34.72 silver. Golden Eagle, $2,240 gold, $27 silver, from the croppings. *Boisé News*, Oct. 6, 1863. Rocky Bar was discovered in 1863, but not laid out as a town until April 1864. The pioneers were J. C. Derrick, John Green, F. Settle, Charles W. Walker, M. Graham, W. W. Habersham, H. Comstock (of the Comstock lode, Nev.), A. Perigo, H. O. Rogers, George Ebel, Joseph Caldwell, M. A. Hatcher, L. Hartwig, W. W. Piper, Charles Rogers, S. B. Dilley, D. Fields, Bennett, Foster, Dover, Barney, and Goodrich. *Boisé Capital Chronicle*, Aug. 4, 1869; *Boisé News*, Oct. 20, 1863.

[20] *California Express*, Nov. 7, 1863; *Boisé News*, Oct. 27, 1863. The men who located the Pioneer mine were Minear and Lynch, according to the *Statement*, MS., of Henry H. Knapp, who went to Idaho City in the summer of 1863, and who has furnished me a sketch of all the first mining localities, and the early history of the territory. He was one of the publishers of the first paper in the Boisé basin, the *Boisé News*, first issued in September 1863. The *Portland Oregonian* of Sept. 11, 1863, gives the names of the first prospectors of quartz in this region as Hart & Co., Moore & Co., and G. C. Robbins.

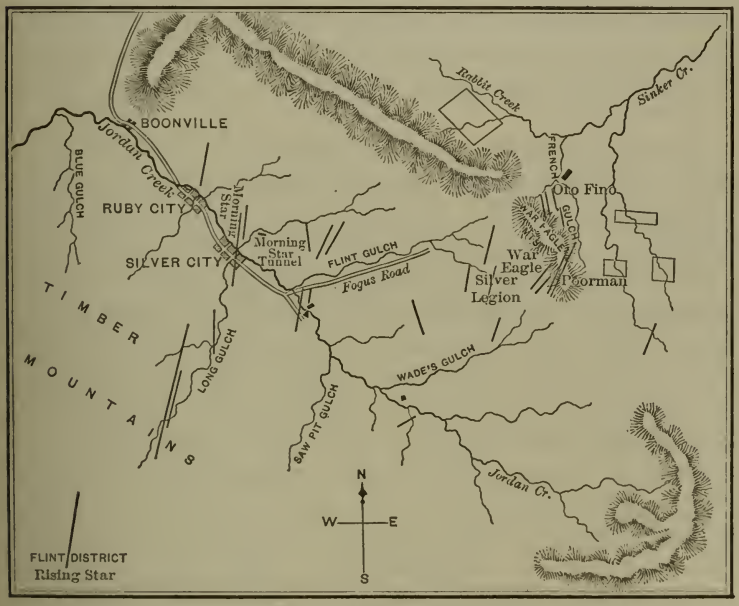
Among the richest of the lodes discovered in 1863 was the Gambrinus, which was incorporated by a Portland company. This mine, like others prospecting enormously high, lasted but a short time. It was so rich that pieces of the rock which had rolled down into the creek and become waterworn could be seen to glisten with gold fifty feet distant.[21] A town called Quartzburg sprung up on Granite Creek, two miles west of Placerville, as soon as mills were brought into the district, and on the head waters of the Payette, Lake City, soon extinct and forgotten.

But the greatest discovery of the season came from a search for the famous 'lost diggings' of the immigration of 1845. In the spring of 1863 a party of twenty-nine set out from Placerville on an expedition to find these much-talked-of never-located mines.[22]

[21] A company was organized to work the Gambrinus, and a mill placed on it in the fall of 1864 by R. C. Coombs & Co. After a year the unprincipled managers engaged in some very expensive and unnecessary labors with a view to freezing out the small owners, and were themselves righteously ruined in consequence. *Butler's Life and Times*, MS., 8–10. The Pioneer or Gold Hill ledge proved permanent. A mill was put up on it by J. H. Clawson in 1864, and made good returns. After changing hands several times, and paying all who ever owned it, the mine was sold in 1867 to David Coghanour and Thos Mootry for $15,000. *Coghanour's Boisé Basin*, MS., 1–3. This manuscript has been a valuable contribution to the early history of Idaho, being clear and particular in its statements, and intelligent in its conclusions. David Coghanour was a native of Pa. He went to the Nez Percé mines in the spring of 1862, then to Auburn, Or., in the autumn of the same year. When the Boisé excitement was at its height he went to Boisé, and earned money making lumber with a whip-saw at 25c per foot. He then purchased some good mining ground on Bummer Hill, above Centreville, from which he took out a large amount.

[22] Their names were Michael Jordan, A. J. Miner, G. W. Chadwick, Cyrus Iba, William Phipps, Joseph Dorsey, Jerome Francisco, John Moore, J. R. Cain, W. Churchill, H. R. Wade, A. J. Reynolds, James Carroll, William Duncan, Dr A. F. Rudd, F. Height, W. L. Wade, John Cannon, M. Conner, C. Ward, R. W. Prindall, D. P. Barnes, O. H. Purdy, J. C. Boone, W. T. Carson, P. H. Gordon, L. C. Gehr, and 3 others. In the *Silver City Owyhee Avalanche* of Jan. 8, 1876, is a notice of the death of Alexander Eddington, an Englishman aged 60, a 'pioneer of Owyhee,' who may have been of this party. In *Ballou's Adventures*, MS., Jordan's name is given as J. P. Jordan. H. R. Wade, who was the first treasurer-elect of Owyhee co., died in 1865. William Duncan died in 1873 or 1874 in Nevada. J. R. Cain settled in Boisé Valley. F. Height and C. Iba settled in Utah. O. H. Purdy remained in Owyhee co., and wrote an account of these matters on the twelfth anniversary of the discovery of the Owyhee mines, in *Owyhee Silver City Avalanche*, May 22, 1875. Peter McQueen, 'one of the pioneers of the Owyhee mines,' was killed Jan. 26, 1864, by the caving in of a tunnel on which he was working near Bannack City. 'McQueen was formerly from Wellsville, Ohio, in Columbiana county, and was 36 years of age.' He had returned from Owy-

Crossing Snake River near the mouth of the Boisé, they proceeded, not in the direction supposed to have been travelled by the immigration of 1845, but followed along the south side of Snake River to a considerable stream, which they named Reynolds Creek, after one of their number, where they encamped. Two of the company, Wade and Miner, here ascended a divide on the west, and observed that the formation



JORDAN CREEK.

of the country indicated a large river in that direction. Up to this time nothing was known of the course of the Owyhee River, which was supposed to head in Oregon. It was not certain, therefore, what stream this was. On the following day their explorations lay in the direction of the unknown watercourse. Keeping up the creek, and crossing some very rough moun-

hee to spend the winter at Boisé working a claim he held at the mouth of Pearce Gulch. *Boisé News*, Jan. 30, 1864. Michael Jordan and James Carroll were killed by Indians.

tains, they fell upon the head waters of another creek flowing toward the unknown river, where they commenced prospecting late in the afternoon of the 18th of May, and found a hundred 'colors' to the pan. This place, called Discovery Bar, was six miles below the site of Boonville on Jordan Creek, named after Michael Jordan.

After prospecting ten days longer, locating as much mining ground as they could hold, and naming the district Carson, two other streams, Bowlder and Sinker creeks, were prospected without any further discoveries being made, when the company returned to Placerville.

The story of the Owyhee placers caused, as some said, a kind of special insanity, lasting for two days, during which 2,500 men forsook Boisé for the new diggings. Many were sadly disappointed. The discovered ground was already occupied, and other good diggings were difficult to find.[23] The distance from Placerville was 120 miles; the mines were far up in the mountains; the road rough, and the country poorly timbered with fir. Nothing like the beautiful and fertile Boisé Valley was to be found on the lava-skirted Owyhee. Those who remained at the new diggings were about one in ten of those who so madly rushed thither on the report of the discovery. The rest scattered in all directions, after the manner of gold-hunters; some to return to Boisé, and others to continue their wanderings among the mountains. In the course of the summer fresh diggings were found in the ravines away from Jordan Creek; but the great

[23] Henry B. Maize came to Cal. in 1850, returning to Ohio in 1853, and went to the Salmon River mines in 1862, where he wintered. In the spring he went to Boisé, and joined some prospectors to the Deadwood country. While there he heard of the Owyhee discovery, and was among the first to follow the return of the discoverers. His account is that the original twenty-nine had taken up all the available ground, and made mining laws that gave them a right to hold three claims each, one for discovery, one personal, and one for a friend; and that in fact they had 'hogged' everything. He prospected for a time without success, and finally went to the Malheur River; but hearing of the discovery of silver leads, returned to Jordan Creek and wintered there. Maize is the author of *Early Events in Idaho*, MS., from which I have drawn many facts and conclusions of value in shaping this history of Idaho.

event of the season was the discovery of silver-bearing ledges of wonderful richness on the lateral streams flowing into Jordan Creek. This created a second rush of prospectors to Owyhee, late in the autumn of 1863.[24]

Great interest was taken in the Owyhee silver mines, claimed to be the second silver deposit of importance found within United States territory; and much disappointment was felt by Oregonians that this district was included within the limits of the newly organized territory of Idaho, as upon exploration of the course of the Owyhee River, ordered by Governor Gibbs, it was found to be.

The first town laid out on Jordan Creek was Boonville. It was situated at the mouth of a cañon, between high and rugged hills, its streets being narrow and crooked. In a short time another town, called Ruby City, was founded in a better location as to space, and with good water, but subject to high winds. Each contained during the winter of 1863–4 about 250 men, while another 500 were scattered over Carson district. In the first six months the little timber on the barren hills was consumed in building and fuel. Lumber cut out with a whip-saw brought forty dollars a hundred feet, and shakes six dollars a hundred. In December a third town was laid off a mile above Ruby, called Silver City.

[24] Maize, in his *Early Events*, MS., says that the Morning Star was the first ledge discovered, and that it was located by Peter Gimple, S. Neilson, Jack Sammis, and others, and that Oro Fino was next. In this he differs from Purdy, who places the Oro Fino before the Morning Star in point of time; and from Gilbert Butler, who says that in Whiskey Gulch, discovered by R. H. Wade in July, was the first quartz vein found. *Silver City Idaho Avalanche*, May 28, 1881. A. J. Sands and Svade Neilson discovered Oro Fino. Purdy also says that the first quartz-ledge was discovered in July, and located by R. H. Wade, and the second, the Oro Fino, in August, A. J. Sands being one of the locators, as he and Neilson were of the Morning Star. *Silver City Owyhee Avalanche*, May 22, 1875. As often happens, the first discoveries were the richest ever found. Men made $50 a day pounding up the Oro Fino rock in common hand-mortars. It assayed $7,000 in silver and $800 in gold to the ton. A year afterward, when a larger quantity of ore had been tested by actual working, 10 tons of rock were found to yield one ton of amalgam. *Walla Walla Statesmen*, Nov. 18, 1864. Some of it was marvellously rich—as when 1¼ pounds of rock yielded 9 ounces of silver and gold; and 1 pound yielded $13.50, half in silver and half in gold.

The general condition of the miners in the autumn was prosperous. Idaho City, called Bannack until the spring of 1864, had 6,000 inhabitants. Main and Wall streets were compactly built for a quarter of a mile, crossed by but one avenue of any importance. Main street extended for a quarter of a mile farther. Running parallel with Elk Creek were two streets—Marion and Montgomery—half a mile in length. The remainder of the town was scattered over the rising ground back from Elk and Moore creeks. There were 250 places of business, well-filled stores, highly decorated and resplendent gambling-saloons, a hospital for sick and indigent miners, protestant and catholic churches, a theatre, to which were added three others during the winter,[25] three newspapers,[26] and a fire

[25] In point of time they ranked, Idaho theatre 1st, J. L. Allison manager; Forrest 2d, opened Feb. 1864; Jenny Lind 3d, opened in April; Temple 4th. The Forrest was managed by John S. Potter.

[26] The first newspaper established in the Boisé basin was the *Boisé News*, a small sheet owned and edited by T. J. & J. S. Butler, formerly of Red Bluff, Cal., where they published the *Red Bluff Beacon*. Henry H. Knapp accompanied T. J. Butler, bringing a printing-press, the first in this part of Idaho, and later in use in the office of the *Idaho World*. *Knapp's Statement*, MS., 2. J. S. Butler was born in 1829. He came from Bedford, Ind., to Cal. in 1852, mined for 3 years, and in 1855 started the first newspaper in Tehama co., and which, after 7 years, was sold to Charles Fisher, connected with the *Sac. Union*, who was killed at Sacramento in 1863 or 1864. Butler married a daughter of Job F. Dye of Antelope rancho, a pioneer of Cal., and went to farming in the Sacramento Valley. His father-in-law took a herd of beef-cattle to the eastern Oregon mines in 1862, and sent for him to come up and help him dispose of them. Butler then started a packing business, running a train from Walla Walla to Boisé, and recognizing that, with a public of 30,000 or more, there was a field for a newspaper, took steps to start one, by purchasing, with the assistance of Knapp of the *Statesman* office in Walla Walla, the old press on which the *Oregonian* was first printed, and which was taken to Walla Walla in 1861. Some other material was obtained at Portland, and the first number of the *Boisé News* was issued Sept. 29, 1863, printing-paper costing enormously, and a pine log covered with zinc being used as an imposing-stone, with other inventions to supply lacking material. But men willingly paid $2.50 for one number of a newspaper. The *News* was independent in politics through a most exciting campaign. Two other journals were issued from its office, representing the two parties in the field—union and democratic—the democrats being greatly in the majority, according to Butler.

The Idaho Democrat was edited by J. T. Allison, and published by D. C. Ireland, an immigrant of 1863 from Minnesota, who, when the campaign was over, went to the Willamette Valley. Ireland was one of the party of 1863 which descended Snake River to Lewiston in a small boat. He has been a newspaper man ever since settling in Oregon, publishing the *Oregon City Enterprise* and the *Astorian*, which he started, besides being connected at various times with Portland journals. The *Idaho Union* was published by Bruce

department. Considering the distance of Boisé from any great source of supplies or navigable waters, this growth was a marvellous one for eleven months.

Centreville also grew, and was called the prettiest town in the Boisé basin. It contained, with its suburbs, 3,000 people.[27] A stage-road was being built from Centreville each way to Placerville and Idaho City by Henry Greathouse, the pioneer of staging in southern Idaho. Placerville had a population of 5,000. It was built like a Spanish town, with the business houses around a plaza in the centre. The population of Pioneer City was 2,000, chiefly Irish, from which it was sometimes called New Dublin. These were the principal towns.

On the 7th of October a festival was given in Idaho City, called Moore's ball, to celebrate the founding of a new mining state, at which the pioneers present acted as hosts to a large number of guests, who were lavishly entertained.[28] Society in Boisé was chaotic, and had in it a liberal mixture of the infernal. The union-threatening democracy of the south-western states was in the majority. Gamblers abounded. Prostitutes threw other women into the shade. Fortunately this condition of things did not last long.

Smith and Joseph Wasson, and edited by John Charlton. The two campaign papers started early in October, and suspended when the election was over. The *News* office employed two sets of men day and night to issue these three sheets weekly, and do all the printing of the country. In October 1864 the Butlers sold their establishment, to avoid the excitement of a political crisis, to H. C. Street, J. H. Bowman, and John Pierce, Street editor, who changed the name to that of *Idaho World*. Its business was worth $20,000 a year, and the new firm soon cleared $50,000, Bowman having gained the control. It became a semi-weekly in May 1867. It changed editors several times, being democratic, having in 1866 that itinerant disunionist James O'Meara at its head. In 1873 it became again independent. It was sold in 1874 to the Idaho Publishing Company.

Butler's Life and Times, MS., from which these facts are drawn, is a concise account of the principal events in the early history of Idaho, of great interest and value. It treats of journalism, politics, crime, business, and Indian affairs, with evident sincerity and good judgment.

[27] *Knapp's Statement*, MS., 7. This authority describes all the early mining towns, the bread riot, express carrying, and other pioneer matters, in a lucid manner. Knapp came from Red Bluff, and long remained a resident of Idaho.

[28] This anniversary ball seems to have been repeated in October 1864. *Idaho World*, in *Portland Oregonian*, Oct. 31, 1864.

Sickness attacked many a sturdy miner, laying him in his grave away from all his kindred, who never knew where were his bones. Yet not unkindly these unfortunate ones were cared for by their comrades, and the hospital was open to them, with the attendance of a physician and money for their necessities. The *Boisé News* called upon all persons to send in notices of deaths occurring under their observation, and offered free publication, that the friends of the deceased miner might have a chance of learning that his career was ended in the strife for a fortune.[29] To avoid the winter many went east, and into Colorado, Utah, and Oregon, and others would have gone but for the mining law of the district, which required the holders of claims to work them at least one day in seven.[30]

Californians were numerous in southern Idaho.[31] Many had been in the Oregon and the Clearwater mines, when the Boisé discovery drew them to these diggings. They were enterprising men, and patronized charities and pleasures liberally, many of them being old miners and having no puritan prejudices to overcome. The sport which offered the most novel attractions, while it was unobjectionable from a moral standpoint, was that furnished by the 'sliding' clubs of which there were several in the different towns. The stakes for a grand race, according to the rules of the clubs, should not be less than $100 nor more than $2,500, for which they ran their cutters down certain hills covered with snow, and made smooth for the purpose.[32] A circulating library and a literary club

[29] From Nov. 1864 to Nov. 1865, 125 men were received at the hospital, who had been injured by the caving of banks, and other accidents incident to mining.

[30] According to the laws of the district, 'any citizen may hold 1 creek claim, 1 gulch, 1 hill, and 1 bar claim, by location.' *Boisé News*, Oct. 13, 1863.

[31] The *Boisé News* of Nov. 21st gives the names of 230 Californians, from Siskiyou county alone, then in the Boisé basin.

[32] A challenge being offered by the Placerville Champion Sliding Club of Boisé basin to the Sliding Club of Bannack, the former offering to run their cutter *Flying Cloud*, carrying 4 persons, from the top of Granite street to Wolf Creek, or any distance not less than a quarter of a mile, was accepted, when in February the *Wide West* of Bannack ran against the *Flying Cloud* for the

also alleviated the irksomeness of enforced idleness in their mountain-environed cities.

The winter was mild in the Boisé basin until past the middle of January, when the mercury fell to 25° below zero at Placerville. So little snow had fallen in the Blue Mountains that pack-trains and wagons were able to travel between Walla Walla and the mines until February. These flattering appearances induced the stage companies to make preparations for starting their coaches by the 20th of this month; but about this time came the heaviest snow, followed by the coldest weather, of the season, which deferred the proposed opening of stage traffic to the 1st of March.[33] The first attempt was a failure, the snow being so deep on the mountains that six horses could not pull through an empty sleigh.[34]

best 2 in 3. The *Wide West* won the race. Other lesser stakes were lost and won, and the occasion was a notable one, being signalized by unusual festivities, dinners, dancing-parties, etc. One sled on the track, called the *French Frigate*, carried 20 persons, and was the fastest in the basin. Each cutter had its pilot, which was a responsible position. Frequent severe injuries were received in this exciting but dangerous sport. See *Boisé News*, Jan. 30 and Feb. 6, 1864.

[33] The line from Walla Walla to Boisé was owned by George F. Thomas and J. S. Ruckle. (There was a line also to Lewiston, started in the spring of 1864, owned in Lewiston.) It was advertised that they would be drawn by the best horses out of a band of 150, and driven by a famous coachman named Ward, formerly of California, where fine driving had become an art. Geo. F. Thomas of Walla Walla was a stage-driver in Georgia. Going to Cal. in the early times of gold-mining in that state, he engaged in business, which proved lucrative, and became a large stockholder in the Cal. Stage Co., which at one time had coaches on 1,400 miles of road. As vice-president of the co. he established a line from Sacramento to Portland, where he went to reside. On the discovery of gold in the Nez Percé country, he went to Walla Walla, and ran stages as the ever-changing stream of travel demanded. With J. S. Ruckle he constructed a stage-road over the Blue Mountains at a great expense, which was opened in April 1865, and also contributed to the different short lines in Idaho. *Idaho City World*, April 15, 1865. Henry Greathouse, another stage proprietor on the route from the Columbia to Boisé, was an enterprising pioneer who identified himself with the interests of this new region. He was, like Thomas, a southern man. With unusual prudence he refrained from expressing his sympathy with the rebellious states, though his brother, Ridgeley Greathouse, was discovered in S. F. attempting to fit out a privateer, and confined in Fort Lafayette, whence he escaped to Europe.

[34] In northern Idaho the snow and cold were excessive. Daniel McKinney, P. K. Young, M. Adams, John Murphy, and M. Sol. Keyes, who left Elk City Oct. 6th with a small pack-train for the Stinking Water mines on Jefferson fork of the Missouri, were caught in a snow-storm, and wandered about in the mountains until the 1st of Dec., when they were discovered and relieved. *Walla Walla Statesman*, Feb. 13, 1864. Several similar incidents occurred in different parts of the territory.

For the same reason, the express from Salt Lake, which was due early in February, did not arrive until in March.

On the 16th of March the first saddle-train for a month arrived at Placerville, bringing a party of twelve, one of whom was a woman. They were eleven days on the road.[35] On the 1st of April the pioneer coach, belonging to the Oregon and Idaho Stage Company, which was to run its stages from Umatilla landing to Boisé, arrived at Placerville with a full load of passengers at $100 each. But this coach had come from Shasta, California, and had taken the California and Oregon stage-road to Portland, going thence to The Dalles by steamer, and there taking the road again. It had been fifty-nine days on the trip. Four other coaches of this line, starting from Shasta March 2d, accomplished the journey in twenty-three days. Ish and Hailey of Oregon owned this line.

On the 1st of May coaches began to run from Idaho City and Placerville to Boisé City and Owyhee.[36] Road and ferry franchises were much sought after. A new road up the John Day River and through Cañon City to Boisé was opened the 20th of June. A. B. Meacham, of Modoc-war fame, and his brother Harvey, settled at Lee's Encampment, on the Blue Mountains, so named from Jason Lee having parted from his friends at this place on his journey east in 1838, and erected what was known as the Mountain House, doing much to open roads and facilitate trade. A franchise was granted to a company to build a road from the head of Camas prairie[37] to Boisé, but it was found impracticable to build it as projected, and it was abandoned. The Owyhee Ferry

[35] This saddle-train was owned by Greathouse, who was making arrangements to put on a line of stages to connect with the O. S. N. Co.'s boats at Wallula.

[36] Ward, the driver before mentioned, and John J. McCommons owned this line at first, but the latter retired.

[37] Reference is here made to Camas prairie north of Salmon River.

Company also obtained a franchise at the first session of the Idaho legislature.[38]

The question of cheap freights was much discussed. The large number of men from northern California who were interested in Boisé held that a road could be made from the Boisé basin to the Sacramento River, by which freights could be brought more cheaply in wagons alone than by the O. S. N. Co.'s boats, and wagons from their landings. A company was incorporated, called the Idaho and California Wagon-Road Company, February 6, 1864, to build a wagon-road from Snake River Ferry, near old Fort Boisé, to Red Bluff, California, via Ruby City.[39]

On the 19th of April there arrived from Healdsburg, California, a party of six men with pack-animals, who came by the way of the Washoe and Humboldt mines and Owyhee. They reported the road lined with people on their way to Idaho, and that wagons had already arrived within fifteen miles of Jordan Creek, where the hills became too rough for them to proceed farther. On the 1st of May a train of eighteen wagons left Scott Valley and Yreka for Boisé, and on the 11th of June six others belonging to William Davidson, taking the Yreka and Klamath Lake route. These two routes continued to be travelled during the period of the California emigration to Idaho, and but for the hostility of the Indians, were good roads needing little improvement. One party of twenty-three, that left Red Bluff April 24th, took the route first contemplated by the projectors of the Idaho and California Road Company

[38] Maize says that Michael Jordan, Silas Skinner, and W. H. Dewey built a toll-road from Owyhee to Boisé in the summer of 1864. *Early Events*, MS., 3. Bristol established a ferry across Boisé River at Boisé City, and another across Snake River on Jordan's road to Owyhee. *Bristol's Idaho*, MS., 12.

[39] *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 4, 1863; *Boisé News*, Feb. 13, 27, and March 5, 1864. The incorporators were Thos J. Butler, J. S. Butler, John Charlton, Isaac D. Huntoon, Harry Norton, George Woodman, G. A. B. Berry, John Gray, J. B. Francis, W. R. Underwood, J. W. Keenan, J. W. Brown, and A. G. Turner. Capital stock, $50,000. The Idaho and California Telegraph Company was incorporated at the same time by some of the same persons. The route indicated by the wagon-road company was via Pitt River, Goose Lake, and the Malheur River.

down the Malheur to the mouth of the Boisé, and became lost between the Warner Lakes and the head waters of the Malheur. They wandered about for three weeks, but finally reached their destination about the 20th of June.

Not only was there a large immigration both overland and by sea, via Portland, but the freight offerings by steamer to the latter place were more than could be carried, and a number of sailing vessels were employed. This freight consisted of dry goods, hardware, and groceries. Provisions were furnished by Oregon and Utah.[40]

About the 1st of May two express lines were established between Boonville and Sacramento. They left Boonville on the 2d and 4th respectively, and returned, the first on the 22d, bringing the *Sacramento Union* of the 16th, to the delight of Californians. They continued to make successful trips until interrupted by Indian hostilities.[41]

In the spring of 1864 a contract to carry the triweekly mail from Salt Lake to Walla Walla, via Fort Hall and Boisé City, was awarded to Ben Holladay & Co., carriers of the California mail, the service to

[40] A train of 20 wagons, each drawn by from 8 to 12 mules, left Los Angeles, Cal., on the 1st of March, 1864, for the mines on Jefferson fork of the Missouri, accompanied by an escort driving 500 head of cattle. The whole distance of 1,100 miles was expected to be made in 50 days. The cargo consisted of dry goods, groceries, and liquors. The cost per pound for carrying was 90 cents. It was thought this route (an old wagon-road to Salt Lake) could compete successfully with the steamer line on the Missouri, which so often failed to reach Fort Benton. The steamer charges, with 30 or 40 cents a pound added when they landed, several hundred miles below the fort, was thought to be quite as expensive as wagoning from Los Angeles. *Portland Oregonian*, March 9, 1864. The first attempt to navigate the Yellowstone was made in the autumn of 1864 by 2 small steamers, which ascended for some distance above its mouth. *Walla Walla Statesman*, Feb. 17, 1865. See *Hist. Montana*, this vol.

[41] Westerfield and Cutter ran an express from Star City, Humboldt Valley, to Jordan Creek, furnishing news only 9 days old. In June John J. McCommons and C. T. Blake bought out Hillhouse & Co., who owned the express line between Idaho City and the Owyhee mines, which they operated until the death of McCommons by the hands of Malheur Snakes, in Feb. 1865. Going out to look for some of the horses belonging to the company, and not returning, his trail was followed 25 miles to the Owyhee River, where indications of a struggle with a numerous party of Indians was apparent. Nothing further of his fate could ever be discovered. *Walla Walla Statesman*, March 3, 1884.

begin July 1st, and an agent was sent over the route with men, teams, hay-cutting machines, and other means and appliances. He arrived in Boisé in June. The main line from that place passed directly to Payetteville, a station on the north side of the Payette River, crossing the Snake River a short distance above the mouth of the Payette, and running through Burnt, Powder, and Grand Rond valleys to Walla Walla. The first overland mail reached Boisé on the 1st of August. The immigration of this year was large, and the future of the territory looked promising.

The miners of Idaho were like quicksilver. A mass of them dropped in any locality, broke up into individual globules, and ran off after any atom of gold in their vicinity. They stayed nowhere longer than the gold attracted them. Notwithstanding their early regulations against Chinamen working in the mines, when the Nez Percé gold-fields had yielded up their richest deposits, these more patient toilers were permitted to take what remained by paying six dollars a month tax, one half to go to the territory, and the remainder to the county in which they resided, the sheriff being empowered to pursue into another country any one attempting to evade the act.

In June there were not enough white men in the Oro Fino district to work the claims well supplied with water and wood, which was another motive for the admission of Chinese. At Elk City, on the north branch of the Clearwater, miners were taking out incredible amounts daily; still they were not crowded. At Warren's 600 men were doing well, and continued to do well for years. But Florence, for a few months the central attraction of the country, was almost depopulated in the winter of 1863, without recovering its population at any subsequent period. Its history was as short as it was brilliant. No mining camp with placers of such richness ever was so soon exhausted and deserted. In 1864 this district, too, was

pretty well abandoned by white miners, and the Chinese were allowed to come in. The Florence gold was also of less value than that of other districts.

The discovery of silver ledges in the Kootenai region was made as early as 1859, but nothing was done to explore the country, owing to the fact that the mines lay north of 49° in British territory, where mining regulations were somewhat arbitrary. Gold was discovered in the Pend d'Oreille and Cœur d'Alêne country by Donelson, of Stevens' expedition, in 1853, and still earlier by Owens; but the hostility of the Indians and the finding of gold elsewhere diverted attention until the autumn of 1863, when good prospects were found on the Kootenai River. In May 1864, despite the deep snows of that region, a considerable portion of the mining population of eastern Oregon and northern Idaho had located claims and built up a town called Fisherville, fifty miles north of the United States boundary line.[42] But the favorite country for prospectors was still southern Idaho and the newly created territory of Montana, which for a year constituted a part of the former territory. Discoveries were made early in 1864 on the north Boisé, where the mining towns of Beaver City and Summit City came into existence about the 1st of February.[43] A more important discovery was made on the Malade River in Volcano district, forty miles south of Little Camas prairie.[44] The distinguishing feature of Volcano district was the width of the ledges found there, which were in some

[42] *Knapp's Statement*, MS., 15; *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 24, 1863; *Or. Statesman*, Nov. 3, 1863; *Walla Walla Statesman*, June 3, 1864. A fleet of thirty bateaux were built at Colville in the winter of 1864; while a steamer to run on the Columbia above Colville, as far as the river should prove navigable, was also projected, and carried out in 1865–6, by the O. S. N. Co., who built the *Forty-nine*, commanded by Captain Leonard White, celebrated in the history of early steamboating in Oregon. See Leighton's *Life at Puget Sound*, MS., 63–9. Leonard White was an immigrant of 1843. He died at Portland April 10, 1870. He is said to have run the first steamboat on the Sacramento River. A camel was used for transportation purposes by William Henry in 1864.

[43] *Boisé News*, March 12 and 19, 1864.

[44] J. Z. Miller led the company which made this discovery.

cases forty feet thick. Silver Hill district was discovered July 3d by a road party surveying for a route from Placerville to South Boisé along the base of the Payette range.[45] In August two towns, Banner and Eureka, with a hundred miners in each, were established, and twenty or more gold and silver quartz mines located. The Banner ledge, first and richest, gave character to the district. Wagon-roads were laid out to Silver Hill. A shaft was sunk thirty feet, and a tunnel run 300 feet, across several other ledges, but this activity failed to foreshadow a great and sudden prosperity for this district.

Quartz-mining, unlike placer-mining, was retarded by the distance from any point where mills for crushing ores could be obtained, and by the outlay required. The first quartz-mill erected in the Boisé basin was put up by W. W. Raymond on Granite Creek, about two miles from Placerville. It arrived in July, and was ready to go into operation in September. It was furnished with ten stamps, each weighing nearly 600 pounds, and crushing one and a half tons daily, with a reserved power amounting to half a ton more each. This mill was employed on the Pioneer, Lawyer, and Golden Gate ledges. It cleaned up from its first week's run fifty pounds of amalgam.[46]

The Landon lode, three miles north-east of Idaho City, on the divide between Moore and Elk creeks, named after its owner, was prospected by rigging ordinary sledge-hammers on spring-poles. In this manner 1,200 pounds were crushed, and a yield obtained of over $23 to 100 pounds; 200 pounds being pulverized in three days with the labor of one man. A mill was placed upon it by the Great Consolidated

[45] The party was led by James Carr and Jesse Bradford of Placerville. *Owen's Directory*, 1865, 57. This work, issued in the spring of 1865, contains a map of Boisé and Owyhee, and engravings representing Idaho City and its suburb, Buena Vista Bar, besides brief historical sketches of the mining towns of Oregon and Idaho, and a list of names, which, owing to the shifting character of the population, is very imperfect.

[46] *Boisé News*, Sept. 24 and Oct. 1, 1864; *Walla Walla Statesman*, Nov. 4, 1864; *Portland Oregonian*, Dec. 28, 1864.

Boisé River Gold and Silver Mining Company, having five stamps, which was ready for crushing rock in December. Other mills were erected during the year in the Boisé basin.[47]

At South Boisé between forty and fifty arastras were run by water-power, making flattering returns, and the number was soon increased to eighty-four, crushing about a ton a day. The Ophir yielded in the arastra $100 to the ton.

Several mining companies shipped from 1,000 to 10,000 tons of ore to San Francisco and New York in order to attract the attention of capitalists, secure investments, and obtain mining machinery. The first mill in South Boisé, however, was one with five stamps, owned by Cartee, Gates, & Company, which was packed in, and put in operation before a wagon-road was opened over the mountains. The Ada Elmore rock crushed in this mill yielded an average of $100 per ton;[48] the Confederate Star $150 per ton.

An eight-stamp mill was built in Portland for South Boisé, intended for the Idaho lode; but in the mean time Andrews and Tudor, who left South Boisé for the east in November 1863, purchased a twelve-stamp mill in Chicago, for the Idaho, which was hauled by ox-teams from the Missouri River in Nebraska at a cost of thirty cents a pound. It reached its destination in October and was ready for work in December. A five-stamp mill built at Portland was placed on the Comstock ledge in the autumn. R. B.

[47] A 10-stamp mill was set running in Dec. on the Garrison Gambrinus, whose history has been sketched. Two others, one on Summit Flat, owned by Bibb & Jackson; another a mile from Idaho City, owned by F. Britten & Co. A quartz-mill was erected on Bear Run, Idaho City, attached to the steam-power of Robie & Bush's saw-mill, to do custom-work. This saw-mill was first erected at Lewiston; removed to Boisé in July; burned in Sept.; rebuilt with the quartz-mill attached in Oct.; and removed to Boisé in the spring of 1865. *Walla Walla Statesman*, July 1, 1864; *Boisé News*, Oct. 8 and 22, 1864; *Boisé City Statesman*, April 29, 1865.

[48] The Ada Elmore was managed by speculators, who retarded the company, and the whole country. The trustees ran a tunnel in the ledge at an enormous cost expressly to let it fall in, as it did, in order to put the shareholders to expense and perpetual taxation to 'freeze them out.' *Boisé News*, Sept. 24, 1864.

Farnham, who took a ton of rock to New York and on its merits succeeded in forming a company called the New York and Idaho Gold and Silver Mining Company, purchased and shipped to South Boisé a thirty-stamp mill, which arrived too late to be put into operation that year.

A new district was discovered on the head waters of the middle Boisé River which was named Yuba. The ledges found on the south and middle Boisé were solid quartz, larger but not so rich as those of Owyhee. The rock in which they were found was granite. South Boisé had at this time four towns, Esmeralda, Clifden, Rocky Bar, and Happy Camp, and about 2,000 persons were scattered over the district. A good wagon-road was completed to Boisé City in August, built by Julius Newberg & Co. Of the large immigration of 1864, many settled in South Boisé.

In May 1864 the Oro Fino Gold and Silver Tunnel Company was incorporated in Carson district, Owyhee, for the purpose of running a tunnel through Oro Fino mountain and developing the wealth therein, thirty locations having already been made on it, one of which, the War Eagle, subsequently gave its name to the mountain. This wonderful mass of mineral constituted the dividing ridge between Jordan and Sinker creeks; and it was on the ledges belonging to the north-eastern side of the ridge that the first quartz-mill of the Owyhee region was placed. I might mention a number of other companies which flourished during this year, but do not deem it necessary. The great discovery of 1865 was the Poorman mine, on War Eagle mountain.[49] It was so named because its

[49] The Poorman was first called the Hays and Ray. According to Gilbert Butler, it was discovered by O'Brien, Holt, Zerr, Ebner, Stevens, and Ray, in Oct. 1865. Some say the discoverer was D. C. O'Byrne, and others Charles S. Peck. The history of the mine seems to have been this: it was first discovered at a point about 1,000 feet from what is now called the discovery shaft, the ore being good but not rich, and the vein small. Before much development was made, C. S. Peck found the rich chimney, or so-called discovery shaft, concealing his good fortune and covering up the vein,

discoverers were without capital to work it. The ore was the richest known, and so easily worked that it could be cut out like lead, which it resembled, but with a tint of red in it, which gave it the name of ruby silver. It was a chloride of silver richly impregnated with gold, and brought four dollars an ounce as it came from the mine. A twenty-stamp mill was placed upon it, which, with another mill, worked the product of this mine.

The Mammoth district, containing veins of enormous size, was discovered in the spring of 1864 south of Carson district. It took its name from the discovery lode. Flint district, only separated from Mammoth by the extension of War Eagle mountain southward, was also prospected with good results. The Rising Star ledge was the principal mine.

Indian depredations continuing, the people of Idaho petitioned to have General Conner sent to them from Utah.[50] Most of the fighting was done on Oregon soil, by the 1st Oregon cavalry, as will be seen by a reference to my *History of Oregon*, although it was for the protection of Idaho as well, the cavalry ex-

until he learned from Hays and Ray the boundaries of their claim, and that it included his discovery. Peck then cautiously endeavored to buy the mine, but finding it was held too high, absented himself in the hope that the owners would come down. In the mean time another company of prospectors came upon the rich chimney and located it, calling it the Poorman. A contest now arose for possession of the mine, the Hays and Ray owners taking Peck into their company for finding and tracing the vein from their opening into the Poorman. The Poorman company erected a fort at the mouth of their mine, which they called Fort Baker, and mounted some ordnance. They took out some of the richest of the ore and sent it to Portland, where it made a great sensation. The prospect of endless litigation over the prize induced both companies to sell, one to Put Bradford and the other to G. C. Robbins, both of Portland, who worked the mine jointly, taking out nearly $2,000,000, after which they sold to a New York company. *Maize's Early Events*, MS., 6-7; *Richardson's Beyond the Missis.; Silver City Idaho Avalanche*, May 28, 1881.

[50] A party was attacked the 3d of May, some 60 miles from Paradise Valley, and J. W. Dodge, J. W. Burton, and others killed. Between Warner and Harney lakes, Porter Langdon and Thomas Renny were killed, and the rancho of Michael Jordan attacked in July, Jordan soon afterward losing his life. A force of 134 men was raised, which overtook the Indians in a fortified cañon, and killed 36, two white men being killed and two wounded. Colonel Maury then took the field with 100 men and four howitzers, and forming an encampment on Jordan Creek, occupied his troops in scouting during the remainder of the summer.

tending their operations to Alvord Valley, and thence into Nevada as far as Mud Lake.

The spring of 1865 opened with renewed hostilities. A detachment of Washington infantry, under Sergeant Storm, and a small company, came upon Indians on Catherine Creek, killing eight. Never had the Shoshones, now a powerful foe through their possession of an abundance of horses, arms, and ammunition, given so much trouble. Petitions were made to the government by Oregon, Idaho, and northern California, for better defensive measures. A new military sub-district, embracing Nevada, and including Owen's River Valley in California, was established, under the command of Charles McDermitt of the 2d California volunteer cavalry, who established Camp Bidwell, near Goose Lake,[51] on the California road, which had been closed by hostilities.[52] By the mustering-out of the Oregon and Washington troops in 1865–6 the territory was left with even less protection than formerly, while the Indians were more troublesome than ever. But in the spring of 1866, the civil war having been brought to a close, the army was distributed on the western frontier, and after a few years more of wars and treaty-making, peace was restored with the Snakes and related tribes.

Unlike the previous two winters, that of 1864–5 set in in November by a violent snow and wind storm, which inflicted heavy damages by destroying miles of

[51] McDermitt was the same who, in 1852, headed a co. of volunteers from Yreka, who with Ben Wright went to the relief of the immigrants in the Modoc country in 1852. He was killed on the 11th of Aug., at Queen River, by Indians in ambush, as he was returning from a scouting expedition to clear the road to Cal. from Owyhee. *Idaho World*, Aug. 19, 1865.

[52] A few of the operations of the Shoshones this year were as follows: Hill Beechy had 60 horses stolen; 100 other horses, and 150 cattle, were stolen from Owyhee. The miners were driven out of Pueblo Valley. Paradise Valley was depopulated. They attacked a saddle-train on Jordan Creek in April, capturing part of the animals. The miners armed and drove them out of the neighborhood. They attacked a company of wagoners, 4 miles south of Farewell Bend, on Snake River, capturing 12 mules. Many other like cases might be mentioned.

flumes in eastern Oregon, letting the water into the ditches, and sweeping earth into claims, completely covering up many, filling up cuts and drains, burying miners' tools, and levelling to the ground the fences of the newly improved farms over a large extent of country. Heavy rains followed the cold weather, making the season one of unusual severity; but the spring opened early with a heavy immigration, which struggled in before freight trains could get through the mountains with supplies, and the new-comers, many of whom were "from the left wing of Price's army," created first a bread famine, and then a riot. Not that they were actually starving, for there was food for all, but flour was a dollar a pound, and bread an 'extra' dish at the eating-houses.

Street meetings began to be held by the idle consumers to compel the merchants who had a little flour left to reduce the price. A mob of sixty men marched to the store of Crafts & Vantine in Idaho City, where they found about 200 pounds, which they seized. Proceeding to the store of Heffron & Pitts, the command was given by their leader to seize whatever flour they found. At this crisis Jack Gorman, deputy sheriff, with great courage arrested and disarmed the leader, a burly six-foot Missourian, placing him in irons, amidst cries of "Shoot him, shoot him!" from the rioters. This action damped their spirits, and order was restored. The merchants reduced the price of flour to fifty cents a pound, and soon after it became plenty at six cents.[53]

Checked for the time by the prompt action of Gorman, the mob element found an opportunity to retaliate by setting fire to the city, which on the 18th of of May was burned in the most valuable and business portion, only three public buildings being left standing —the catholic church, the Jenny Lind theatre, and the office of the Idaho *World*, the newspaper which had succeeded the *Boisé News* at Idaho City. Besides

[53] *Knapp's Statement*, MS., 3-5.

these, nothing remained but the scattered houses on the hillside, and Buena Vista Bar, a suburb of the city, separated from it by a flat. Into these the homeless population was gathered, while the catholic church was converted into a hospital to receive the dislodged inmates of the county hospital, which was consumed.

Taking advantage of the confusion and alarm created by the devouring element, men seized and carried off the provisions and other goods saved from burning buildings, taking them to hiding-places in the mountains. The merchants fortunately had a large portion of their stocks stored in underground receptacles, built after the manner of root-houses, which fashion prevailed first on account of the lack of warehouses, and afterward as a defence against fire. Their losses, however, aggregated $900,000. The town was immediately rebuilt with many improvements. By the middle of June it had almost its former proportions, and more than its former dignity of appearance.[54] In July an indictment for arson was found against one Thomas Wilson, who never was punished, owing to the condition of the territorial government at this time, the defects of which and their causes will be treated in another place.

The immigration from California and Nevada in 1865 was in such numbers as to make necessary increased means of travel and transportation. Hill Beachy, an enterprising citizen of the Boisé basin, formerly of Lewiston, established direct overland communication with Star City, Nevada, and with California, stocking the road a distance of 260 miles, and in April passed over the route with five coaches

[54] Idaho City was burned once more, May 17, 1867, just 2 years after the first fire, when $1,000,000 worth of property was destroyed. Every building on both sides of Main street from the Jenny Lind theatre to Moore Creek was destroyed, and between Main and Montgomery and on the east side of Montgomery street, with most of those on the hill and High street. Not a a hotel was left standing. The Jenny Lind theatre and masonic hall were the only important buildings remaining, and in the latter was the office of the *Idaho World*. The post-office and express office were destroyed. A 3d great fire occurred in 1868.

filled with passengers. Owing to Indian troubles, however, after a few trips the route was abandoned, the stages and stock were withdrawn, and also the stock of the Humboldt express, the Indians having burned one of the company's stations, within forty miles of Owyhee, and killed the keeper.

John Mullan,[55] engineer of the military road from Walla Walla to Fort Benton on the Missouri, from which so much was expected in the way of immigration and so little realized in any way, undertook to establish a stage line from Umatilla to Boisé City, and another from Boisé City to Chico, California, but was finally prevented by the Indians. His company was called the Idaho and California Stage Company. Early in September they advertised to sell tickets from Boisé City to San Francisco, Virginia City, Nevada, and all other points, promising through connections and rapid transit; the time consumed between Ruby City and Chico to be six days for the opening trip, and four when arrangements were perfected. Ten companies of soldiers were distributed between Chico and Owyhee. But in October nearly every horse belonging to the company was stolen, and the stages had stopped running.

In this struggle—a truly valiant one—to master the obstacles to communication with the outer world and lessen the expense of living, distance, cold, snow, and hostile Indians were not the only obstacles the mining territory had to contend against. A lively warfare was carried on by the Oregon newspapers against the efforts of the Idaho merchants and others to bring about a direct trade with California. So long as their operations were controlled by the steamship line between San Francisco and Portland, or the Oregon Steam Navigation Company on the Columbia River, it could hardly be expected that the expenses of transportation or travel would be

[55] Mullan published a *Miners' and Travellers' Guide*, describing the routes to Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado, in the spring of 1865. It contains much valuable topographical matter.

much reduced. On the other hand, a road, over which teams could be driven with ordinary speed and safety, always allowed a possible escape from exorbitant charges. In cases where time was money, also, they hoped to gain by a direct route.[56] But the Portland papers cast ridicule upon these schemes for avoiding paying tribute to Portland and the O. S. N. Co.;[57] and every exultant paragraph of an Idaho paper on the arrival of trains direct from California was caught up and invidiously commented upon. The Oregonians also seized upon all the mountain passes and river crossings with their toll-roads and ferries, wringing tribute from the residents of as well as the travellers to the mining districts outside the boundaries of the state.[58] At least so said the Idahoans.

I have mentioned that several private surveys of Snake River had been made with a view to navigation between Lewiston and Salmon Falls, or even Lewiston and Olds ferry or Farewell Bend. These surveys were not sufficiently encouraging to induce outlay. The attempt to navigate Snake River above Lewiston having failed, the O. S. N. Co. built a boat called the *Shoshone*, above the crossing of Snake River, at great cost, to test its navigability. She made her trial trip May 16, 1866. It was ex-

[56] The travelling time from S. F. by the steamer route was 9 days—from the interior of Cal. as much longer as it took to reach S. F. The fare, with meals, was about $142. The Idaho Stage Co. offered tickets to S. F. for $90, and promised to take passengers to Sacramento in 6 days. Freight from S. F. by steamer cost from 22 to 29 cents a pound; overland, about 12 cents.

[57] A *Guide to Idaho* was issued for gratuitous distribution, edited by J. and T. Magee, professing to contain, as it did, much useful information about the country, but representing the different routes in such a manner as to frighten people from travelling or freighting over any other than the Portland route. *Boisé City Statesman*, Sept. 5, 1865; *Dalles Mountaineer*, June 30 and Aug. 13, 1865.

[58] The Oregon Road, Bridge, and Ferry Company was incorporated in April 1865, the object of which was to connect all the stage roads from Umatilla and Walla Walla at one point, Express Rancho, and thence down Burnt River to Farewell Bend, or Olds ferry, to continue down Snake River to the mouth of the Owyhee, with the control of all the ferries between these two points. Capital stock, $300,000. Directors: R. P. Olds, John Partin, W. H. Packwood. Property owned by them: Plount & Kenian's toll-road down Burnt River; Parton & Co.'s road; the Central ferry; Washoe ferry, with the new trail to the latter. A town called Josephine City was laid off at Washoe ferry by Byrne.

pected she would carry a great deal of freight from Olds ferry to the crossing of the Boisé City and Owyhee road, and also government freight to Fort Boisé; and that in case she could run up to Salmon Falls a road would be opened to South Boisé, and another to the mines of Volcano district. But this experiment also failed. There was no wood along the banks for steaming purposes. The boat could not pass the mouth of the Bruneau River, little more than half-way between the Boisé landing and Salmon Falls; and the *Owyhee Avalanche*, published at Ruby City, being in favor of the California overland routes in preference to all others, never ceased to disparage the attempt which the *Idaho City World* and *Boisé City Statesman* commended.[59]

The overland immigration from the east in 1865 was also large, 1,840 wagons passing Fort Kearny in May; and though the comers distributed themselves over the whole coast, Idaho and Montana retained the greater portion of them.[60] Besides the regular immi-

[59] The *Idaho Statesman* was established at Boisé City July 26, 1864, and published tri-weekly at $1 a week or $20 per year. It was owned and managed by J. S., R. W., and T. B. Reynolds, who purchased the materials of the *Dalles Journal*. See *Walla Walla Statesman*, June 17 and Aug. 5, 1864; *Boisé Statesman*, Feb. 2, 1870. The *Statesman* was a republican journal until Jan. 1869, when it was sold to H. C. Street, C. L. Goodrich, and A. J. Boyakin, democrats. Its name appears also to have been changed to *Boisé Statesman*. James S. Reynolds, at the end of a month, purchased the paper back again, but sold it in 1872 to Milton Kelly.

The *Owyhee Avalanche* was established at Silver City in Aug. 1865, by Joseph Wasson and brother, and J. L. Hardin. Wasson had been a printer on the *Idaho World*, and was a writer of considerable ability. Hardin withdrew at the end of a year, and the Wassons continued the publication until Aug. 17, 1867, when they sold to W. J. Hill and H. W. Millard. On Nov. 7, 1868, the paper was again sold to John McGonigle, who managed it till Feb. 19, 1870, when he sold back to Hill and Millard. Another journal, the *Tidal Wave*, started in 1868, and owned by the Butler brothers, founders of the *Boisé News*, was incorporated with the *Avalanche*. Soon afterward Hill became sole owner. In Oct. 1874 a daily was established which lived for a year and a half, when it was discontinued. In April 1876 Hill sold the *Avalanche* to J. S. Hay, who conducted it as a weekly in the interest of mining and the country generally. It was subsequently published by Guy Newcomb and Charles M. Hays.

[60] The *Boisé News* speaks of the immigration as 'generally possessed of sufficient means and comfortable outfits.' 'Nine tenths of these,' said the *Idaho Statesman*, 'bring capital and means to settle in this country.' Hotels at Boisé crowded. The noise of hammer and saw 'interrupted conversation;' 10,000 wagons on the road in July. *Portland Oregonian*, July 27, 1864.

gration, the stages also brought full loads of passengers. And while the stage-line suffered severely by the depredations of the Indians on the plains, the immigration experienced little trouble, owing to its extent and the thoroughness of its organization. The pioneers of Idaho and Montana were saved the worst half of the journey across the continent, which formerly exhausted the energies and means of the Oregon and Washington emigrants. They arrived early, and their stock was usually in good condition. Every arrival from the east was hailed with a cordial welcome, for it was evidence that the mines could be easily reached from the great outside world, which conveyed a feeling of satisfaction to the hearts of the self-exiled miners. If the emigrants brought stocks of goods with them, so much the better. They often sold them cheaper than they could be obtained from any other direction, and there was no jealousy of competition.

In the spring of 1866, in spite of Indians and other obstacles, the Humboldt and Chico routes were again opened; Owyhee and Boisé City raising men, money, and horses to fight the former, and Mullan raising money, coaches, and horses, in New York and California, to stock the latter. Thirty wagons were advertised to start from Chico, with a number of the stage company's coaches, early in April; and in fact, trains did arrive over the Chico route by the middle of the month, on account of which the Idaho press was jubilant, and the Oregon Steam Navigation Company offered to reduce their freight charges. On the other hand, to insure the successful competition of the California roads with the O. S. N. Co., the Central Pacific Railroad and California Navigation companies offered to carry freight free to Chico landing.

Freight was carried by wagon to Ruby City and Boisé for eleven and twelve cents a pound. Ox-teams came through in one month. Mullan's Stage Company put men and teams upon the road to improve it,

build stations, and cut hay. Finally, in August the coaches began running, the time from Chico to Silver City being four days. Treasure and government freight were also carried over that route.

But there was a rival route which had a friend at court. Conness of California introduced a bill in the senate to provide for the construction of a wagon-road from Boisé City to Susanville, in California, with a branch from Surprise Valley to Puebla, with an appropriation of $10,000 for surveys. This was called the Red Bluff route, favored by the Northern Teamsters' Association, which advertised to take freight for from eleven to thirteen cents, and secured a great deal. Again, the Sacramento merchants subscribed $5,000 to be given as a bonus to the first train which should carry 100 tons of merchandise through to Owyhee by the Truckee pass, to be applied to the extra expenses of the trip.[61] Jesse D. Carr secured the contract for carrying a daily mail between Virginia City, Nevada, and Boisé City, Idaho, via this route, which lay to the east of the Humboldt Mountains, and was the same, in part, over which Hill Beachy carried the mail for several months the previous year. The amount of money expended in these several enterprises was large, and the competition resulted in furnishing such accommodations for travel as were rarely enjoyed in new countries.

I have given considerable space to the subject of roads, as to me it appears of the highest importance. The inaccessibility of Idaho tended to retard development, but every obstacle was finally overcome.[62]

[61] *Dalles Mountaineer*, April 4, 1866; *Sacramento Union*, March 31, 1866. Ewing and party drove the same team and buggy from Shingle Springs, California, to Silver City, Idaho, including stoppages, in eleven days, via Unionville, Dun Glen, and Queen River, finding it a good road. *Ruby City Avalanche*, May 12, 1866.

[62] Something should be said of the precious metals, whose existence in Idaho caused its settlement. The standard of gold bars being 1,000, anything below half of that was denominated silver. A bar 495 fine was 500 fine of silver, worth $10.23¼ per ounce; a bar 950 fine was 45 fine of silver, and was stamped $19.63 per ounce, as in the case of Kootenai gold. Santiam gold (Oregon) was 679 fine; Oro Fino gold-dust assayed $16 to the ounce; Elk City from $15.75 to $16.45; Warren's Diggings $10.08 to $14.54; Florence from

$11.80 to $13.75; Big Hole (Montana) $17.30; Beaver Head $18.37 to $18.50; Boisé $14.28 to $17.40, little of it assaying less than $15, at which price the merchants of Idaho City pledged themselves to take it, while paying only $10 for Owyhee and $12 for Florence. *Boisé News*, Nov. 3, 1863, and Jan. 23, 1864. The actual amount of gold produced in any particular district of either of the territories for a given time would be difficult of computation, and only approximate estimates can be made of the amounts carried out of the country by individuals or used as a circulating medium in trade, and gradually finding its way to the mints of Philadelphia or San Francisco. Without vouching for the correctness of the estimates, I shall quote some from the discovery of the Clearwater mines for several years thereafter. The Portland *Oregonian* of Jan. 18, 1862, gives the amount brought to that city during the previous summer and autumn as $3,000,000, but this was not all Idaho gold, some being from Oregon mines. G. Hays, in *Ind. Aff. Report* for Oct. 1862, says, 'I should think between $7,000,000 and $10,000,000 a fair estimate' for the gold taken from the Nez Percé mines in two years. In six months, from June to November 1863, the express company shipped $2,095,000, which was certainly not more than a third of the product of the Idaho mines alone. The *Idaho World* of June 30, 1866, placed the product of Idaho and Montana for 1865 and 1866 at $1,500,000 monthly. See also *U. S. Land Off. Rept*, 1865, 15, corroborating it. J. Ross Browne, in his *Mineral Resources*, gives the following figures for 1866: Montana $12,000,000, Idaho $6,000,000, Oregon $2,000,000, and Washington $1,000,000; but the *S. F. Chronicle* makes the product of Idaho for 1866 $8,000,000, for 1867 $6,500,000, for 1868 $7,000,000, for 1869 $7,000,000, for 1870 $6,000,000, for 1871, $5,000,000, suddenly dropping in 1872 to $2,514,090. None of these figures can be depended upon, the government reports least of all; but they enable us to make sure that Idaho and the twin territory of Montana had furnished the world a large amount of bullion without yet having begun in earnest to develop their mineral riches.

In 1864 an attempt was made to obtain a mint for the Boisé basin, and two years later it was proposed to bring the North Carolina mint to Boisé, neither of which movements obtained success. In the first year congress appropriated $100,000 for a branch mint at The Dalles, a measure which Portland strongly discountenanced, wishing to have it for itself. Before the mint was completed at The Dalles it became apparent that on the construction of the Union Pacific railroad bullion could be shipped to Philadelphia as easily as to The Dalles, and the act was revoked, which was a definite defeat of any project for a mint in Oregon or Idaho. An assay office was, however, erected by the U. S. government in 1870, at a cost of $81,000. It was of sandstone, 60 feet square, two stories high above the basement, and well finished. It was built by J. R. McBride, once U. S. district judge of Idaho.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

1863-1885.

GOVERNOR WALLACE—TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION—JUDICIAL AND LEGISLATIVE MATTERS—ACTING GOVERNOR DANIELS—GOVERNOR LYON—SECESSION SENTIMENTS—CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS—THE MAGRUDER MASSACRE—VIGILANCE COMMITTEES—POLITICAL AND HIGHWAY ROBBERIES—ACTING GOVERNOR SMITH—THE CAPITAL QUESTION—LEGISLATURES—CHARACTER OF LYON—ACTING GOVERNOR HOWLETT—GOVERNOR BALLARD—GIBBS—MARSTON—CURTIS—BOWEN—BENNET—JUDGES—GOVERNOR THOMPSON—BRAYMAN—NEIL—BUNN—POLITICS—TERRITORIAL LIMITS—FEDERAL AND TERRITORIAL OFFICERS.

ON the 22d of September, 1863, more than four months after the passage of the organic act of the territory, William H. Wallace, late delegate to congress from Washington, appointed governor of Idaho by President Lincoln July 10th, issued his proclamation organizing the Territory of Idaho, with the capital at Lewiston. Owing to the shifting nature of the population and the absence of mail facilities, the fact of this organization was not known in the mines till late in the spring. Meanwhile the laws of Washington were held to be in force.[1]

Much irregularity had prevailed in municipal affairs since the settlement of the region east of the Walla Walla Valley had begun. Missoula county was not represented in the Washington legislature in 1862–3, the member elect, L. L. Blake, wintering in Boisé to look after his mining interests. Nez Percé

[1] 'On the 7th of August, 1863,' says the *Boisé News* of Nov. 10, 1863, 'we have the first mention of Idaho Territory on the county records.' James Judge was on that day made assessor.

and Idaho counties sent Ralph Bledsoe to the legislature that session, the latter having been organized by a meeting of the commissioners in May 1862. An election for representative was held, T. M. Reed being chosen to a seat in the assembly at Olympia. Boisé county was also organized under the laws of Washington, two of the commissioners — John C. Smith and W. B. Noble—having met for that purpose at Bannack (Idaho) City March 17th.

When it became known that the territory of Idaho had been established, much impatience was felt to have the government organized, and a representative elected to congress; but the organization being delayed, an election for delegate was held July 13th in the Boisé basin, which contained the majority of the population at this time.[2] The proclamation of Governor Wallace being made three days before the election took place, the votes for delegate went for nothing. Not until September 22d did Wallace utter his proclamation ordering an election for delegate and members of the legislature, to be held on the 31st of October, the legislature elect to meet at Lewiston December 10th.

Political conventions[3] had been previously called, and, as I have before mentioned, two campaign papers were published during the canvass for delegate. J. M. Cannady was nominated by the democrats and W. H. Wallace by the administration party. There was a short and warm canvass, followed by a noisy but bloodless contest on election day, which resulted in a majority for Wallace of about 500 votes. This result deprived the territory of its governor, and made the secretary, W. B. Daniels, of Yamhill county, Oregon, acting governor. Daniels had but one commendable quality—the complexion of his politics.

[2] Robert Newell, union democrat, and John Owen, disunion democrat, were candidates. *Portland Oregonian*, July 16 and 31, 1863.

[3] Judge Bently was president and W. A. Dally secretary of the democratic convention. Lloyd Magruder of Lewiston was talked of for delegate by the democratic party; and Gilmore Hays, formerly of Olympia, of the republican party; but both withdrew on the wishes of the conventions being made known.

Previous to his election as delegate, Wallace had districted the territory, the counties of Idaho, Nez Percé, and Shoshone constituting the 1st district, A. C. Smith, judge; Boisé county 2d district, Samuel C. Parks, judge; Missoula county and the country east of the Rocky Mountains 3d district, Sidney Edgerton, judge.[4] Florence, Bannack City, and Hellgate were appointed for the holding of the first sessions of the United States courts.

The organic act fixed the number of representatives at the first session of the legislature at twenty, thirteen in the lower and seven in the upper house.[5]

The general laws passed at the first session of the Idaho legislature were nowise remarkable. Among the special laws I find that Owyhee county[6] was organized December 31st out of the territory lying south of Snake River and west of the Rocky Mountains; and that on the 22d of January the county of Oneida was cut off from its eastern end, with the county seat at Soda Springs. Alturas county was defined as bounded by Snake River on the south, Idaho county on the north, Boisé county on the west,

[4] Edgerton was chief justice, and should have been entitled to the more populous region of the Boisé basin, but Wallace was influenced by the prejudice against imported judges. Alex. C. Smith was from Olympia, and was given the district containing the capital. Parks on assuming his duties in the 2d district declared his hesitation in taking the place due to Edgerton.

[5] By the appointment of Gov. Wallace, the seven councilmen to be elected were: from Boisé co. two, from Idaho and Nez Percé one each, from Missoula and Shoshone one jointly, from Bannack east of the Rocky mountains one, and from all the remainder of the country east of the mountains one. The election resulted in the choice of E. B. Waterbury, Stanford Capps, and Lyman Stanford of the counties of the 1st district; Joseph Miller and Ephraim Smith of the 2d district; and William C. Rheem of the 3d district. Miller was elected president of the council, and J. McLaughlin secretary. *Idaho Council Jour.*, 1863–4, 4, 16. The assemblymen were: L. Bacon, Nez Percé co.; C. B. Bodfish, M. C. Brown, R. B. Campbell, W. R. Keithly, and Milton Kelly, Boisé co.; Alonzo Leland and John Wood of Idaho co.; L. C. Miller of east Bannack; J. A. Orr of Shoshone co.; and James Tufts of Fort Benton district. Tufts was chosen speaker, S. S. Slater chief clerk, Benj. Need asst clerk, A. Mann enrolling clerk, P. H. Lynch sergt-at-arms, W. H. Richardson, door-keeper. *Idaho Scraps*, 178; *Boisé News*, Jan. 2, 1864. Judge Parks administered the oath to the members. Rheem, from the council, and Parks, with a member of the assembly, were appointed to prepare a code.

[6] The name 'Owyhee' is borrowed from the Hawaiian language, and applied to the river of that name by two islanders in the service of the H. B. Co., while trading with the Shoshones. *Owyhee Avalanche*, Dec. 1865.

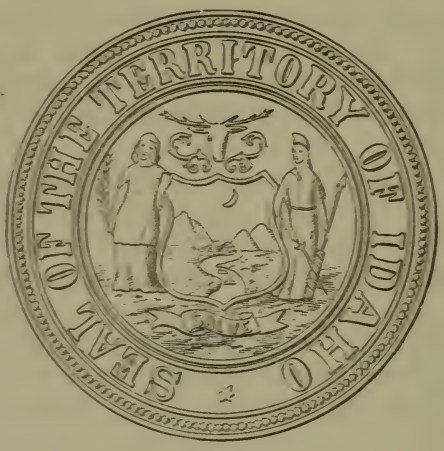
and the meridian of 112° on the east, with the county seat at Esmeralda.

Previously, on the 16th of the same month, that portion of the territory lying east of the Bitter Root Mountains was divided into the several counties of Missoula, Deer Lodge, Beaver Head, Madison, Jefferson, Choteau, Dawson, Big Horn, Ogalala, and Yellowstone, with their county seats located respectively at Wordensville, Deer Lodge, Bannack, Virginia City, Gallatin, Fort Benton—Big Horn was left to the county commissioners—and Fort Laramie —Yellowstone being also left to the county commissioners, who should name a county seat. The fact that eight counties in that portion of Idaho bounded west by the Rocky and Bitter Root ranges should have had at this period towns which might be named in the legislature is significant of the rapid growth of population.

The legislature proceeded in February to define the boundaries of counties already organized west of the Rocky Mountains. It incorporated Idaho City[7] after changing its name from Bannack. It also incorporated Bannack City on 'Grasshopper Creek' in Beaver Head county; and Placerville in Boisé county. Among the laws intended for the moral improvement of society was one "for the better observance of the Lord's day," which prohibited theatrical representations, horse-raising, gambling, cock-fighting, or any noisy amusements on Sunday. Another act prohibited the sale of ardent spirits, fire-arms, or ammunition to the Indians. This law allowed Indian evidence to be taken in cases of its alleged infraction. A law exempting homesteads from forced sales looked to the permanent settlement of the territory. Congress was memorialized to appropriate $50,000 for the construction of a military wagon-road to connect the naviga-

[7] The charter was rejected at the election for city officers by a vote of 1,564 to 1,376. At the same time a mayor and other officers were elected. The situation partook of the usual absurdities of hasty legislation.

ble waters of the Columbia with the navigable waters of the Missouri, that is to say, from the forks of the Missouri on the east to the junction of the Snake and Clearwater rivers on the west; also to establish a mail route from Salt Lake City to Lewiston;[8] and to treat with the hostile Indians of the Yellowstone country. The pay of governor and legislators provided in the organic act being out of proportion to the expense of living in Idaho, they voted themselves enough additional to amount to ten dollars per diem,[9] which increase was to be paid by the territory. Then they adjourned. It might be said that Idaho was



SEAL.

now fairly launched upon its territorial career, with the promise of another governor in the person of Caleb Lyon of New York.[10]

[8] Granted, as in previous chapter. See *Idaho Laws*, passim.

[9] *Walla Walla Statesman*, Feb. 13, 1864. This action was recommended by Acting Gov. Daniels in his message. *Idaho Scraps*, 180–3.

[10] The persons in territorial offices in the spring of 1864 were W. H. Wallace, governor; W. B. Daniels, acting-governor and secretary; B. F. Lambkin, auditor; D. S. Payne, marshal; D. S. Kenyon, treasurer; and the U. S. dist. judges before named. The seal of the territory adopted had the following design: an eagle with outspread wings holding the point of a shield in its beak; a rising sun in the centre point beneath the eagle and over a chain of mountains. Men were mining in the ravines; through the fields be-

But the career of the young commonwealth was not altogether a smooth one. There was a desire on the part of the men of Boisé and Owyhee counties to have the capital removed from Lewiston to some point more central to the population west of the Rocky Mountains, there being already a scheme on foot to erect another territory out of the eastern counties. A delegation from Boisé visited the legislature while in session, to endeavor to effect the passage of an act fixing the capital at some point in that county. But there was sufficient influence in other parts of the territory to prevent it. And here began the same contest over the matter of location of the seat of government which had been witnessed in Oregon and Washington when it became a party question.

The acting governor becoming unpopular through his opposition to the legislature which had appointed Frank Kenyon public printer[11] — Daniels having threatened to give the printing to a San Francisco firm—and other injudicious measures, resigned his office in May, leaving the secretaryship in the hands of Silas Cochrane until another appointment should be

low ran a stream, over which an immigrant train was passing. Stars of a number equal to the number of states were placed around the rim. At the bottom of the shield were the words, 'The Union;' around the border, 'Seal of the Territory of Idaho;' and at the bottom the date, 1863. The seal and motto were changed about 1869, but a resolution of the house in 1866 had authorized a new seal, 'for the one now in use is a very imperfect imitation of the Oregon seal.' *Idaho Laws*, 1865–6, 299.

[11] Kenyon was publishing the *Golden Age*, started by A. S. Gould Aug. 2, 1862. Gould, a republican, had hot times with the secession element which crowded into Idaho from 1862 to 1865. On raising the U. S. flag over his office—the first ever floated in Lewiston—21 shots were fired into it by disunion democrats. *S. F. Bulletin*, Oct. 24, 1862. John H. Scranton succeeded Gould for a short time, but in Aug. 1863 Kenyon took charge of the *Golden Age*, and was made territorial printer. With the decline of Lewiston and the close of the 2d volume, Kenyon started with his paper for Boisé City, but was turned back by the influences brought to bear upon him. It was suspended, however, in Jan. 1865, and was ultimately removed to Boisé. *Walla Walla Statesman*, July 29, Aug. 12, 1864, Jan. 13, 1865. Kenyon started the *Mining News* at Leesburg in 1867, which continued 8 months, and expired for want of support. The press was again removed to Montana, and Kenyon afterward went to Utah, and finally drifted to South America, where he died. The *North Idaho Radiator*, published by Alonzo Leland in the interest of a division of the northern counties from south Idaho, with Lewiston as the capital, was issued first in Feb. 1865, and continued until Sept., when its services were no longer required. Leland later resided at Lewiston, where he generally conducted a newspaper.

made.[12] Lyon arrived at Lewiston in August, and assumed office, which was that of Indian superintendent as well as governor.[13] He visited Boisé in October upon business connected with the superintendency, and was well received.

Meantime a large immigration from the states in rebellion had changed the complexion of politics in the territory. Boisé county, which in 1863 gave a majority of 400 or 500 for republican candidates, gave in 1864 between 900 and 1,000 majority for democratic candidates. As there were many in Idaho who were disloyal, nearly every criminal in the country being so, and as nothing in a man's moral character could prevent his voting, it was not to be expected that good government could long prevail.

The number of murders in Boisé county alone in 1864 was more than twenty, with assaults and robberies a long list. The county had for sheriff, previous to the election in October,[14] Sumner Pinkham, born in Maine, a faithful and fearless officer, although a man of dissipated habits. At the first term of the district court held in the 2d district in February, twenty-one lawyers took the oath of allegiance prescribed by the legislature, drawn up by some person or persons aware of the coming condition of society,[15]

[12] C. De Witt Smith was the second appointment for secretary.

[13] Caleb Lyon of Lyonsdale, as he wrote himself, had been in Cal. in 1848, was one of the secretaries of the constitutional convention of that state, and claimed to have designed the seal of the commonwealth. He was first consul to China under the Cushing treaty, had served in both branches of the N. Y. legislature, and also one term in congress. He assisted in settling the difficulties between the American missionary, King, and the government of Greece. He was with Scott in Mexico, with McDowell at Bull Run, and with Kearny in McClellan's peninsular campaign, having fought in 18 battles, and had come at last to be governor of Idaho and superintendent of Indian affairs. *Portland Oregonian*, Aug. 2, 1864; *Boisé News*, Aug. 13, 1864.

[14] An amendment was made to the organic act in 1864, providing for a reapportionment of the territory according to population, based on a census to be taken under direction of the governor. In order to give time for the taking of the census and reapportionment, the election, which by law fell on the 1st Monday in Sept., was delayed to the 2d Monday of Oct.

[15] 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the constitution and government of the United States against all enemies, whether domestic or foreign; and that I will bear true faith, allegiance, and loyalty to

and seventeen jurymen, all regarded as reliable men. Nine indictments were found for murder in the first degree; three for murder in the second degree; one for manslaughter; for assault with intent to murder, sixteen; for robbery, two; for assault with intent to rob, one; for grand larceny, two; for perjury, one; for minor assaults, six; and for obtaining money under false pretences, three; making a total of forty-seven criminal cases. Add to these an equal number of crimes committed between February and the October election, and the crowded condition of the county jail, notwithstanding an extra term of court in June and a regular term in the first week of October, may be readily conjectured. The cost to Boisé county of its criminal business down to this date was over $31,000, besides the expenses of the courts, coroner's inquests, post-mortem examinations, and the erection of a jail at Idaho City,[16] which amounted to $28,594 more; and worse was to come.

An examination of the platforms of the two political parties in Idaho on the eve of the presidential election of 1864 reveals this difference: the administration party declared it to be their highest duty to aid the government in quelling, by force of arms, the existing rebellion; while the opposition party advocated putting an end to the conflict by "peaceable means," or a "convention of the states." At the same

the same, any ordinance, resolution, or law of any state or convention or legislature to the contrary notwithstanding; and further, that I do this with a full determination, pledge, and purpose, without any mental reservation or evasion whatever; and further, that I will well and truly perform all duties which may be required of me by law: so help me God.' Those who chose to affirm, says the *Boisé News*, Feb. 27, 1864, left out the words 'swear' and 'so help me God,' and substituted 'this I do under the pains and penalties of perjury.'

[16] The county prisoners had been kept in confinement in Placerville, until in May 1864 a jail costing $13,000 was erected at Idaho City. This prison was 22½ by 50 feet, built of pine logs 12 inches thick, squared and jointed down flat, and lined with lumber 1½ inches thick. It contained 14 cells partitioned with 4-inch lumber, on each side of which was spiked an inch board, making the partition wall 6 inches thick. The ceiling was 10 and the floor 13½ inches thick. The jailer's residence in front was an ordinary frame building 20 by 22 feet. Such was the historic prison of early Boisé criminals. *Boisé News*, May 21, 1864.

time it declared that the "interference of military authority" with the elections of the states of Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware was a "shameful violation of the constitution; and repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the power and means under our control." In one breath it asserted its aim to preserve the union, and in the next that the states not in insurrection had no right to use the military power to make arrests, deny freedom of speech, the right of asylum, to exact "unusual test oaths," or to deny the right of the people to bear arms in their defence; all this being aimed at the military orders of Colonel Wright, of which I have spoken in my *History of Oregon*, and the oath of allegiance quoted in a previous note. The administration was declared to be shamefully disregardful of its duty toward prisoners of war, and deserved the severest reprobation. In short, the platform called democratic was nothing more than a menace to union men, and an expression of hatred toward the general government which could not be misunderstood. But one union man was elected to the legislature, and the only union officers in the territory were those appointed by the president.

The result of the election was to awe administration men, although they preserved a regular organization, and were ready to defend themselves and their principles if attacked.[17] But while some might seem to

[17] It is evident from the course of the *Boisé News* how much union men, like the proprietors of that paper, were alarmed at the situation. The *News* called itself an independent paper, because it dared not risk being an out-and-out administration organ. It made excuses for the democratic majority of 1864, by saying that the miners were driven to desert the administration by the policy of the government in proposing to tax the mines. The very next issue announced that the press was sold to the democrats. J. S. Butler, in his *Life and Times*, MS., 6, acknowledges that he 'sold the best newspaper field in the world' rather than encounter the opposition of the disunionists. 'It was all a union man's life was worth, almost, to be seen showing his head in early days in Idaho.' Knapp and McConnell give the same account. H. C. Street, who edited the *Democrat* in the autumn of 1863, during the election campaign, issued a semi-weekly newspaper called *The Crisis* during the campaign of 1864. Street had formerly conducted the *Shasta Herald* and *Colusa Sun*, and was of the James O'Meara type of itinerant secessionist.

surrender their principles through a dread of conflict, few were willing to surrender their property, to protect which from the organized and unorganized bands of robbers who belonged to the democratic party, the republicans were forced to adopt the methods of secret police known as the vigilant system. Not, by any means, that every democrat was a robber, or even disloyal; but every robber and secessionist called himself a democrat, and the party did not deny or denounce him.

I have treated of vigilance committees in a separate work, and give here only some examples of the crimes which led to the adoption of irregular and illegal measures for their suppression.

The rapid spread of population over mining territory outstripped the cumbersome machinery of legislation and the administration of law. Rogues and villains from the neighboring states, and from the states east of the Missouri River, flocked to a country where there was much gold and property, and no courts.[18] The insecurity of life and property in transitu upon the highways leading to and from the mines, and the reckless disregard of the former in the mining towns, led the miners of Salmon River, as early as in the autumn of 1862, to organize a vigilance committee at Florence, which action served only to drive the desperadoes from that locality to some other.[19]

[18] One of the circuit judges of Oregon, who visited the Salmon River mines, said that on the first day he spent at Florence he met there three men who had been sentenced by him to the penitentiary. *Or. Statesman*, Sept. 8, 1862. As late as 1866 Elijah Wiley, who had killed Sutton at Centreville in 1863, and been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, was released upon the decision of judges McBride and Cummings, that in the interim between the passage of the organic act separating the territory from Washington, and the establishment of a government by the proclamation of the governor and the enactment of laws, there existed no law to be broken or to punish crime. John Williams, convicted of highway robbery, and George Owens, sentenced to 20 years for killing Jacob D. Williams, chief of police of Idaho City, for warning a disturber of the peace to desist, were released on the same decision. *Idaho World*, Aug. 16, 1865. William Kirby, murderer, was discharged on the same ground, because he killed his man in 1862 when Idaho was Washington.

[19] The following list, taken from the journals of the times, will give some idea of the condition of affairs in Idaho and on the road. Robert Upercek, shot at Oro Fino by a Frenchman in Sept. 1861. Hypolite, owner of a large pack-train and $5,000 in gold, murdered on the road in Oct. 1861. Ned Meany,

Lewiston was the second community to organize for self-defence, and the occasion was one of the most atrocious crimes on record, the murder of Lloyd Magruder, a prominent citizen of Lewiston, two men named Charles Allen and William Phillips from the Willamette, and two young men from Missouri, whose names have never transpired. Magruder had taken a lot of goods and a band of mules to the Beaver Head mines, realizing about $30,000, with which he started to return in October. Needing assistance with his pack-animals, and desiring company by the way, he engaged four men, James Romaine, Christopher Lowery, Daniel Howard, and William Page, all of whom he had seen

killed in a quarrel at Jackson's ferry, near Lewiston, Nov. 1861. Two masked men entered a house in Lewiston, and in spite of resistance carried off $500, shooting fatally one of the inmates, in Dec. Matt. Bledsoe killed James S. Harman at Slate Creek, Salmon River, in a quarrel over cards, Dec. 1861. Four murders were committed in 2 weeks at Lewiston in Aug. and Sept. 1860. Three murders in March 1862 at Florence. William Kirby killed John Maples at Lewiston in July 1863. Wm H. Tower, while threatening others, was shot and killed at Florence, Feb. 23, 1863. Neselrode was accidentally shot at the same time. Morrissy, a desperado, was killed at Elk City about the same time. Geo. Reed was shot by Isaac Warwick in a quarrel about a claim, April 1863. Frank Gallagher was murdered by one Berryman, with whom he was travelling. At a ball at Florence on New-Year's eve a cyprian was ejected from the dancing-room by O. Robbins and Jacob D. Williams, whereupon Henry J. Talbotte and Wm Willoby armed themselves and lay in wait, firing at Williams the next evening. A crowd of men who witnessed it immediately shot both Willoby and his partner. Talbotte was known among horse-thieves and highwaymen as Cherokee Bob, and 'a chief.' These chiefs boldly and facetiously proclaimed themselves 'knights of the road' and 'road-agents.' With painted faces they stopped well-known packers and merchants, who, if they had not much money, were threatened with death the next time they travelled without plenty of gold. William Peoples, Nelson Scott, and David English, a notorious trio, robbed a packer of 100 ounces of gold-dust between Lewiston and Florence. They were arrested at Walla Walla, but taken from the sheriff and hanged by a company of expressmen and others. One Bull, living near Elk City, kindly entertained over night 2 men who asked for shelter. In the morning the men and 5 horses were missing. Bull followed them for 20 days, coming up with them at a camp on Gold Creek, 265 miles from home. On seeing him, one of the men sprang on a horse and fled; the other, Wm Arnett, was shot. A party pursuing the fleeing robber brought him back and hanged him. Enoch Fruit was a chief of road-agents; James Robinson, a mere boy, was one of his associates. In the autumn of 1862 they were prominent among the knights of the road between Florence and Lewiston. Both met violent deaths. James Crow, Michael Mulkee, and Jack McCoy robbed three travellers between Oro Fino and Lewiston. William Rowland and George Law were a couple of horse-thieves operating on Camas prairie near Lewiston. George A. Noble, of Oregon City, was robbed of 100 pounds of gold-dust between Florence and Oro Fino in Dec. 1862. Two horse-thieves, for stealing from a government train, were shot dead. Other localities suffered in the same way. See *Popular Tribunals*, passim, this series.

in Lewiston, and who were well-appearing, to return with him to that place. It was a fatal engagement. The three first mentioned had gone to Beaver Head with no other purpose than to rob and murder Magruder on his way home. Howard was a good-looking, brave young man, of a kindly temper, but reckless in morals. From his accomplishments, including a knowledge of medicine, he was called Doctor or Doc. Romaine was a gambler, not known to have committed any crimes. Both of these men had resided at The Dalles. Lowery was a blacksmith who had been with Mullan in his wagon-road expedition, of a thriftless but not criminal reputation. Page was a trapper, some said a horse-thief, who had lived in the Klikitat country opposite The Dalles. He was an older man than either of his associates, and of a weak and yielding character, but not vicious.[20]

When Magruder was about to start he was joined by the other persons named, Allen and Phillips, having about $20,000 in gold-dust, and the unknown men with some money. They travelled without accident to a camp six miles from the crossing of the Clearwater, where a guard was stationed as usual, Magruder and Lowery being on the first watch, and the snow falling fast. When the travellers were asleep, the mules becoming restless, both guards started out to examine into the cause of their uneasiness, Lowery taking along an axe, as he said, to make a fence to prevent the animals wandering in a certain direction. Magruder was killed with this axe in Lowery's hands. Howard and Romaine murdered the two brothers about midnight in the same manner, and soon after killed Allen and Phillips, Allen being shot. So well executed was the awful plot that only Phillips cried out, when a second blow silenced him. Page appears to have been frightened, and to have taken no part in the killing. The bodies were wrapped up in a tent cloth and rolled over a precipice; all the animals ex-

[20] *Dalles Mountaineer; Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 6, 1863.

cept eight horses were taken into a cañon off the trail and shot; the camp equipage was burned, and the scraps of iron left unburned were gathered up, placed in a sack, and thrown after the bodies down the mountain. All this time the murderers wore moccasons, that the damning deed, if discovered, might be imputed to Indians.

The guilty men now agreed to go to Puget Sound, and attempted to cross the Clearwater forty miles above Lewiston; but the weather prevented them, and they kept on to Lewiston, where, partially disguised, they took tickets by stage to Walla Walla, and thence to Portland and San Francisco. Something in the manner of the men, the mark of Cain which seldom fails to be visible, aroused the suspicion of Hill Beachy, owner of the stage line, who, on examining the horses and saddles left in Lewiston, became convinced of the robbery and death of Magruder, whose personal friend he was, and whose return was looked for with anxiety, owing to the prevalence of crime upon all the mining trails. With A. P. Ankeny and others he started in pursuit, but before they reached Portland the murderers had taken steamer for San Francisco, where they were arrested on a telegraphic requisition, and after some delay brought back to Lewiston December 7th to be tried. The only witness was Page, who had turned state's evidence, revealed minutely all the circumstances of the crime, and guided Magruder's friends to the spot where it was committed, and where the truth of his statement was verified.

Meanwhile a vigilance committee had been formed at Lewiston, which met the prisoners and their guard on their arrival, and demanded the surrender of the murderers; but Beechy, who had promised them an impartial trial, succeeded in persuading the people to await the action of the law. On hearing the evidence, the jury, without leaving their seats, rendered a verdict of guilty, January 26, 1864, and Judge Parks sentenced

Howard, Romaine, and Lowery to be hanged on the 4th of March, which sentence was carried into effect, the gallows being surrounded by a detachment of the 4th United States infantry from Fort Lapwai.[21] Page was himself murdered by Albert Igo in the summer of 1867.

The Magruder massacre alarmed the whole country, and gave a stronger motive for the formation of vigilance committees than anything that had occurred up to that time west of the Rocky Mountains. Nevertheless, the Lewiston committee, seeing that the courts were disposed to administer justice, disbanded about the middle of April, having hanged three murderers and thieves, and exiled 200 gamblers and highwaymen, whose absence left the place as quiet and orderly as a New England village.

But these outlaws were still in the territory or on its borders. Owyhee, while having its mining quarrels and occasional crimes, was not infested with criminals to the extent of needing a vigilance committee.[22] South Boisé and the Lemhi mines were cursed with the presence of desperadoes overflowing from Montana, where a very active committee of safety was in operation; while on the other hand Warren had never been a resort of villanous characters—why, it would be difficult to say, since they followed up the trails to the paying diggings in every other instance.[23]

[21] This was the first case in the courts of Idaho, and was tried at a special term, the term of court at Idaho City being postponed on account of it. The legislature of Idaho authorized the payment of Beechy's expenses, amounting to $6,244. Suit was brought against D. B. Cheeseman, superintendent of the branch mint at San Francisco, to recover a large amount of gold-dust deposited there by the murderers. *Portland Oregonian*, Jan. 16, 1864. Beechy died in S. F. May 24, 1875.

[22] Maize says: 'Society was exemplary, except some high gambling. If a man was caught doing anything wrong, we just killed him, that's all.' *Early Events*, MS., 7.

[23] 'Nobody thought of stealing anything in those days,' says Mrs Schultz, who kept a boarding-house at Warren in 1862–4; 'and it is well they didn't. There was only one shooting scrape in Warren, and it was the most exemplary town in Idaho.' *Early Anecdotes*, MS., 3–4. James H. Hutton, in his *Early Events*, MS., 5, in which is given the history of Nez Percé and Idaho counties, says that Warren, in the spring of 1863, contained 6 stores and 30 residences, the miners living in cabins on their claims. It became the county seat of Idaho co. in 1869. John Ramey was first sheriff. Hutton and

The Boisé basin was distinguished above every other part of Idaho as "the seat of war," from the frequency with which blood was spilled upon its soil. As the state of society had not improved with the introduction of courts of justice, and as politics entered into the division of the community into classes, the union men of Idaho City organized themselves to meet the coming crisis, precipitated by the democratic victory in 1864.

As I have before said, robberies and horse-stealing were carried on by organized bands, who had little difficulty in clearing the 'horse ranchos' where the miners left their animals to be cared for; and none the less that the keepers of these ranchos were often in league with the thieves. Settlers and farmers in the Boisé and Payette valleys suffered equally with the miners, the Indian and the white robbers leaving them often without a horse to draw a plough or carry their products to market. This was the plight in which W. J. McConnell, a gardener on the Payette, found himself in October 1864; and out of this condition grew the first vigilance committee in the Boisé basin.

Having discovered one of his horses in a stable in Boisé City, in recovering it by process of law, he found the costs in a justice's court to exceed the value of the animal. This he paid amid the jeers of a crowd composed of idlers and disreputable characters, who rejoiced in the discomfiture of 'the vegetable man.' Thereupon he addressed them in a short speech, which contained the following pertinent words: "I can catch any damned thief who ever

Cocaim built the first quartz-mill in 1868, on the Rescue mine. Leo Hofen, later of S. F., in a *History of Idaho County*, MS., with an account of the rise and fall of placer-mining, says of Warren: 'One thing was peculiar, that it was free from the hordes of moneyless, lazy adventurers that followed Florence and other strikes. The population was made up of old steady California miners; and for the 10 years I lived there, there was no murder or robbery committed.' 'Politically,' says Hutton, 'Idaho county was as 200 to 30 in favor of the democratic party, but the republicans often elected their men, owing to the loss of returns at crossing of Salmon River.' 'Fort Lemhi and vicinity contained a hard set of men, much unlike those of Warren.' *Early Events*, MS., 6. See also *Walla Walla Statesman*, Aug. 1, 1863.

stalked these prairies, and the next one who steals a horse from me is my Injun; there will be no lawsuit about it."

A few days later $2,000 worth of horses and mules were taken from his rancho and those adjoining. McConnell and two others immediately pursued, overtaking the robbers near La Grande, killing three and mortally wounding a fourth, in a short and sharp conflict. Finding the leader of the gang had gone to La Grande for supplies, McConnell followed. By a series of well-devised manœuvres, the man was captured and taken to camp. A confession was exacted of all the names of the organizations of thieves with which these men were connected, and the prisoner was shot.

The knowledge thus gained by McConnell induced him to offer his services to recover any stolen property, on which proclamation most of the farmers throughout that part of Idaho joined with him in a compact to allow no future depredations to go unpunished. This association was called the Payette Vigilance Committee, or Committee of Safety, whose history is full of strange and exciting adventure.

During the winter of 1864–5 an effort was made to put down the Payette Vigilance Committee, by arresting between thirty and forty of the members as violators of law. They were taken to Boisé City, where the business men engaged counsel, held meetings, and accomplished their release. The organization continued to exist, and the farmers had no further trouble with horse-thieves, although travellers still continued to be despoiled at a distance.[24]

Among the many crimes committed in Boisé county in 1864 were two that created unusual feeling in the breasts of its solid citizens; namely, the unprovoked

[24] *McConnell's Idaho Inferno*, MS., 1–53. The organization was never disbanded, says McConnell in his narrative, but exists to-day. This manuscript is a vivid picture of a condition of society which can exist only for a limited time and under peculiar conditions.

shooting of J. R. Seeley, an inoffensive and respectable resident of Idaho City, at a public ball, by John Holbrook; and the equally unprovoked shooting of John Coray by Fitz-Gibbons. Holbrook was arrested, and on the impanelling of the first grand jury in the county was charged with murder in the first degree, but on trial the jury failed to agree, and it was found impossible in his case, as in that of all the others, to convict him of murder in the first degree.[25]

Coray was arrested and confined in the county prison, while elaborate funeral ceremonies reminded the community hourly of its bereavement. Murmurs of mob violence gathered strength, which prompted the stationing in the jail-yard by the authorities of a large posse armed to protect the prisoner. On returning from the burial of Coray about 100 men halted on the brow of the hill above the jail and prepared to make a descent. Judge Parks, who was present, induced them to desist. Nevertheless, Fitz-Gibbons was not convicted of murder in the first degree when his trial came.

The election of October, by putting A. O. Bowen,[26] a tool of bad characters, in the office of sheriff, in place of Sumner Pinkham, a good and brave man, did not mend matters. In December Ada county was set off from Boisé by the legislature, with Boisé City as the county seat, D. C. Updyke, a rogue, being chosen sheriff. Thus the Boisé basin was at the mercy of desperadoes in office and out of it. About this time, flour and bread becoming scarce, the idlers and desperadoes attempted to help themselves, and a riot ensued. This was followed by the destruction of Idaho City by fire.

In July 1865 the crisis came in Boisé county, when Ferdinand J. Patterson, a gambler and disreputable

[25] The attorney of Boisé district stated, in 1865, that about 60 deaths by violence had occurred in the county since its organization, without one conviction for murder. *Boisé City Statesman*, Sept. 3, 1865.

[26] 'A vascillating wretch,' Butler calls him. *Life and Times*, MS., 5.

person,[27] shot and killed Pinkham, the murder being well-known to be a political one. The affair happened at the warm springs, near Idaho City, on the 23d of July. Patterson coming suddenly upon his victim with a threatening expression, Pinkham attempted to draw, when he was instantly despatched. Patterson was arrested as he was escaping, and examined before Milton Kelly of the 3d judicial district, who had him committed for murder; but his case being presented to the grand jury, the indictment was ignored by four of the jurors, eleven being for indictment. A preliminary examination before Chief Justice McBride, successor of Edgerton and Silas Woodson, resulted in his commitment to await the action of the next grand jury.

Previous to the killing of Pinkham, who was regarded as the leader of the loyal element of Boisé society, no vigilance committee had existence within the precincts of the mining district proper, but the action of the grand jury in ignoring this crime, and threats made by desperate characters to burn the town a second time, brought about an organization. A meeting was called by C. S. Kingley, methodist preacher, and the business men of the city were invited to participate, an organization being formed similar to that of the Payette committee of safety, Orlando Robbins[28] being sent to confer with McConnell, the president of that organization, and to solicit his aid. The meetings were held in one of the underground warehouses of which I have spoken, where, between rows of boxes and barrels, their anxious faces dimly revealed by flickering lanterns, half a hundred earnest men re-

[27] Staples of Portland was killed by Patterson, who was acquitted when it was shown that there was a quarrel. Patterson was educated in Texas, where his father was a man of good social position. He came to Cal. in 1850, and fell into evil ways, but not for some years did he engage in those street fights which gave him the reputation of being a dangerous character. He was shot in 1856 at Yreka, was again wounded at Sailor Diggings, Or., in 1859, and engaged in several other shooting affairs before killing Staples at Portland in 1861. According to McConnell, he scalped his mistress, unintentionally however, while threatening to cut off her hair for some offence. He had been but a short time in Boisé when he killed Pinkham.

[28] Robbins was in 1878 U. S. marshal of the 3d district.

solved to adopt measures for the better protection of life and property. The hanging of Patterson was determined upon, but the purpose of the committee becoming publicly known, the sheriff, James T. Crutcher, rallied the rough element, and to avoid a general conflict, the case was allowed to go to trial. Patterson was acquitted, and realizing that his life was in peril among the friends of Pinkham in Idaho, he lost no time in leaving the country. But the avenger was upon his track, and he was shot down at Walla Walla, in the spring of 1866, by order of the committee.[29] Patterson was followed to the grave by a large concourse of persons of his class, of whom there were many in Walla Walla at that time.[30] His death seemed to serve as a warning, and there was a perceptible lessening of the crime of murder in the Boisé basin thereafter.

But the struggle with desperadoes was not ended, when Idaho City and vicinity experienced some relief. All along the stage route from Boisé City to Salt Lake robberies were frequent and murders not rare. As in other places, resort was had to committees of safety. In April 1866 John C. Clark, a gambler, shot and killed Reuben Raymond in a quarrel over some accounts. He was placed in the guard-house at Fort Boisé, but was taken out in the night by vigilants and hanged.[31] A few days afterward David C. Up-

[29] See *Popular Tribunals*, passim, this series. Patterson was killed by Thomas Donovan, who was a night-watchman in a hotel at Walla Walla. McConnell says about the case: 'Arrangements were made to have him killed in Walla Walla. He was killed in a cowardly, cold-blooded way, as he had killed Pinkham. The man who killed him was afraid of him, he having threatened the man's life.' *Idaho Inferno*, MS., 71. Donovan was tried, the jury disagreeing, 7 being for acquittal. He was rearrested in S. F., brought back to Walla Walla, and finally released.

[30] McConnell states in his *Inferno* that he left Idaho in the autumn of 1866, because there was 'a hand lurking in every haunt to deprive him of life,' for the part he had taken in endeavoring to suppress outlawry. *Idaho Inferno*, MS., 88-9.

[31] See *Dalles Mountaineer*, Apr. 4, 1865. On one of the posts of the gallows was pinned this notice: 'Justice has now commenced her righteous work. This suffering community, which has already lain too long under the ban of ruffianism, shall now be renovated of its thieves and assassins...This fatal example has no terror for the innocent, but let the guilty beware and not delay too long, and take warning.' *Boisé City Statesman*, April 10, 1866.

dyke, ex-sheriff of Ada county, and Jacob Dixon, formerly of Shasta county, California, were hanged on a tree on the road to South Boisé. Updyke had resigned his office of sheriff on being detected in trading in county warrants and failing to pay over to the county the tax money collected. A grand jury was called, which preferred two indictments, and some papers issued preparatory to his impeachment, when suddenly a *nolle prosequi* was entered, and the whole matter dismissed. Such was the power of his friends who had elected him. The attention of an organization of vigilants extending from Boisé to Salt Lake City, of men in the service of the stage company,[32] was called to the movements of Updyke, who was finally proved to belong to a band of highwaymen guilty of various crimes, among which were some aggravated cases of stage-robbery, one within six miles of Boisé City and another in Port Neuf Cañon, near Fort Hall,[33] in the first of which a passenger was wounded, and in the second the driver killed. For these and other crimes Updyke was hanged with one of his accomplices,[34] the others escaping through the courtesy of the law. The act which led to the ex-sheriff's taking-off was the malicious burning of a quantity of hay belonging to the stage company. The perpetrators were traced to their rendezvous and captured, when Updyke made a general confession, which revealed the names of the gang that for two

[32] 'Ben Holladay,' says McConnell, 'was a splendid organizer. He had a lot of men around him who were, as we term them, thoroughbreds. Every one was a fighting man.' *Idaho Inferno*, MS., 55.

[33] The governor of Idaho issued a requisition for three suspicious characters detained by the governor of B. C., viz., George Smith, Lawrence Dulligan alias Brocky Jack, and one Murphy. They were taken, but owing to a delay about the papers were released, and escaped in a boat. The Idaho officers who were in pursuit chartered a schooner, which they armed with 2 swivel-guns, traced them to and captured them at Orcas Island in the Fuca Sea, where was a large amount of property concealed, with boats in which the robbers made their plundering expeditions.

[34] On the body of Updyke was fastened a card reading: 'David Updyke, the aider of murderers and horse-thieves.' On Dixon's body was this: 'Jake Dixon, counterfeiter, horse-thief, and road-agent generally. A dupe and tool of Dave Updyke.' Both cards were signed XXX. *Boisé City Statesman*, April 17, 1866; *Owyhee Avalanche*, April 21, 1866.

years had infested the road. This, with the extermination of Patterson, cleansed somewhat public morals. Whether or not the same end could have been attained in any other way under the peculiar condition of the territory, overrun with the concrete ruffianism which for fifteen years had been gathering on the Pacific coast, to which protection was extended by a political party, will never be known. It has been estimated that in Idaho, and in Montana which was even more tormented,[35] no less than 200 outlaws were executed by committees between 1861 and 1866. Such a carnival of sin and violence could never be repeated.

Had crime been confined to professional criminals, vigilance committees might have crushed it. But such were the temptations to dishonesty, that few of those who had the handling of public money came out of office with clean hands. The first United States marshal, D. S. Payne, was removed for corruption in office. Alfred Slocum, treasurer of Boisé county, was arrested in November 1865 for defalcation in the amount of $13,000. Charles D. Vajen, treasurer of Boisé

[35] The vigilance committee in Montana—then eastern Idaho—in 1863-4 hanged many. The desperadoes had become so bold that if a man ventured alone any distance from his house he was attacked, robbed, and often murdered. Charles Allen was set upon 200 yards from his own door, robbed of a little money, and beaten about the head with a revolver until he was thought to be dead, though he recovered. After many such outrages the work of retribution began. In Dec. and Jan. 1863–4 the vigilants of Virginia City hanged 21 professional rogues. Their organization numbered 1,000, with detectives in every mining camp, and they acted with the utmost secrecy and celerity, swooping down upon a brace or a double brace of the men they had marked at the most unexpected times and places. In 15 minutes they hanged them up and went their way. *Walla Walla Statesman*, April 15, 1864; *Boisé News*, April 23, 1864. On the other hand, the sheriff of Virginia City, Henry Plummer, was himself the leader of a band of outlaws scarcely less well organized, and was able for some time to thwart the ends of justice. But he did not long escape. He was hanged early in 1864 at Bannack, being one of the 21. On his person were found the names of 85 of his clan, with records of their proceedings. When he was taken he wept and begged for mercy. *Salt Lake Vidette*, Feb. 5, 1864. Boone Helm, long a terror on the Pacific coast, was hanged at the same time, 'hilarously hurrahing for Jeff Davis.' Helm had a fearful reputation. He attempted, in 1858, to make the trip from The Dalles to Salt Lake with several others, all of whom perished, Helm being suspected of murdering them, as they had considerable money, and he was distinctly accused of living on their flesh, and of boasting of it. He killed several men in the mines. *Portland Oregonian*, Jan. 23, 1863. Of this class of men, a correspondent of the *Rocky Mountain News* of May 1864 says the vigilants had hanged 27 before the middle of March.

county in 1863–4, was found to have been a defaulter to the amount of between $6,000 and $7,000. It was notorious that many officers failed to render any account of their trusts in Idaho for the first few years, during the reign of mining excitements and mob law, and it was little that the territorial judges could do to bring about a better condition of society, juries, grand and petit, being tampered with, and witnesses as well. The chief justice, McBride, maintained a character for integrity and industry during the three years of his judgeship; but it is still a conspicuous fact in the history of the territory that, notwithstanding the great number of capital crimes committed in the first two years after the organization of the territory, the murderers of Magruder were the only ones hanged by the legally constituted authorities, and that robbery in office as well as highway robbery found its defenders in society.

Governor Lyon left affairs in the hands of the secretary, C. De Witt Smith, a native of New York, a young man of promise, educated for the bar, and for some time employed in one of the departments at Washington, but who could not withstand the temptations with which he found himself surrounded in Idaho. His honor was tainted with suspicion of peculation, and he died from the effects of dissipation, at Rocky Bar, on the 19th of August, 1865, six months after his arrival.[36]

The territory was thus left without either governor or secretary. Horace C. Gilson of Ohio, who had been serving as acting secretary under Smith, was commissioned secretary in September, and became acting governor. In the following summer he too became a defaulter in the sum of $30,000, and absconded to China; and Governor Lyon made such unwise use of the public funds as to amount in effect to robbing the territory.[37]

[36] *Portland Oregonian*, Aug. 25, 1865; *Boisé Statesman*, Aug. 27, 1865; *Idaho World*, Aug. 26, 1865.

[37] *Sac. Union*, April 4, 1867; *Idaho Scraps*, 194.

Thus while the county officers sequestered the county funds, the territorial officers either stole or squandered the money appropriated by congress. One of the channels through which the public funds were embezzled was the territorial prison. An act of the legislature of 1864–5 made the territorial treasurer ex-officio prison commissioner, with a general supervision of the territorial prisoners, the county jails of Nez Percé and Boisé being designated as territorial prisons, and their respective sheriffs keepers. The next legislature made the Boisé county jail alone the territorial prison. Thirty per cent of the whole revenue of the territory was set apart for the expenses of this prison, besides which it had at the end of two years brought the territory $22,000 in debt.[38]

The first legislative assembly left the capital at Lewiston as appointed by the governor; but the legislature of 1864 passed an act removing it to Boisé City, and appointing Caleb Lyon, C. B. Waite, and J. M. Cannady commissioners to receive a deed of a plat of ground in that town, known on the map as Capitol Square, and the secretary was authorized to draw upon the territorial treasury for the money to pay the expense of removing the archives and other property of the territory, the law to take effect after the 24th of December, 1864. Such was the reluctance of the people of Lewiston to having the capital removed, that the majority of the county commissioners refused to acknowledge the legality of the proceedings of the assembly, on the ground that the members had never taken the oath required, but had met at a time not authorized by the law, with other quibbles. Meetings were held, and the execution of the act removing the capital was enjoined, bringing the case into the courts.[39] Associate Justice A. C. Smith decided in favor of the Lewiston party, against

[38] *Idaho Laws*, 1864–5; message of Governor Ballard, in *Idaho Scraps*, 208.

[39] *Idaho Laws*, 1864, 427; *Walla Walla Statesman*, Dec. 30, 1864; *Portland Oregonian*, Jan. 12, 1865; *Richardson's Missis.*, 500; *Bristol's Idaho*, MS., 3; *Boisé Statesman*, March 25 and May 20, 1865.

the law-and-order party; though if the truth were told, neither cared much for order or law, but only to carry out their schemes of ambition or theft. Governor Lyon had escaped all responsibility by leaving the territory, and the new secretary sided with the legislature and Boisé party.

There seemed to be no way out of the controversy except to appeal to the supreme court, which the law said should be held "at the capital" in August of each year. But the judges did not hold a court in either of the two places claiming to be the capital, and for ten months there was anarchy. Secretary Smith died in the midst of the quarrel, and for a while there was neither capital nor governor, nor even secretary, as I have said. Finally United States Marshal Alvord received orders from Washington to take the archives and convey them to Boisé City, the capital of Idaho. The men of Lewiston dared not resist the authority of the general government, and the change was effected in the latter part of October.

The county of Adá was created out of the southwestern part of Boisé county, at the legislative session of 1864, with the county seat at Boisé City. Lahtoh county was created out of the territory lying north of the Clearwater and west of Shoshone county, with the county seat at Cœur d'Alêne. The remainder of the narrow strip of territory reaching up to British Columbia was organized into the county of Kootenai, with the county seat at Sinnaacquateen.[40]

The legislature of 1864 does not seem to have made any requests of congress,[41] nor was there anything

[40] The county boundaries of Idaho gave much trouble on account of the mountainous nature of the territory, and the lines of most of them were several times altered. Five new ones were organized after 1865: Lemhi in 1869, with the county seat at Salmon City; Cassia in 1879, county seat at Albion; Washington in 1879; Custer in 1881; and Bear Lake in Jan. 1875, with Paris for the county seat.

[41] The following were members of the council of 1864: J. Miller and E. Smith, Boisé county; E. B. Waterbury, Nez Percé; S. Capps, Shoshone; S. S. Fenn, Idaho; S. B. Dilly, Alturas; J. Cummins, Owyhee, president. Members of the house: H. C. Riggs, W. H. Parkinson, J. B. Pierce, and J. McIn-

more remarkable in its legislation than the number of bills passed granting charters showing the improvements in roads, ferries, and bridges. The legislature of 1865–6 [42] passed a large number of memorials asking for appropriations for public buildings, and other matters, and for some changes in the organic act, so that the territorial auditor, treasurer, and superintendent of public instruction might be elected by the people, besides praying that the probate courts might have jurisdiction in all civil cases where the sum in dispute did not exceed $1,000, and also that the justice's courts might receive authority from the legislature to settle cases where no more than $250 was involved.

The act passed by the first legislature providing for the increased compensation of the officers of the territory was amended so as to exclude the governor from the benefit of the act, and to increase the benefits accruing to the attachés of the legislature.

Late in the autumn of 1865 Lyon [43] returned to

tosh, Boisé county; E. C. Latta and Alexander Blakely, Idaho; George Zeigle and T. M. Reed, Nez Percé; E. C. Sterling and Solomon Hasbrouck, Owyhee; W. A. Goulder, Shoshone; W. H. Howard, Alturas and Oneida. Blakely, speaker.

[42] Members of the council of 1865–6 were S. P. Scaniker, H. C. Street, A. E. Callaway, and George Ainslie of Boisé county; H. C. Riggs of Ada; S. S. Fenn of Idaho; E. Bohannon of Owyhee; and S. B. Dilly of Alturas and Oneida. Bohannan, president. Members of the house: H. Allen, F. Campbell, M. G. Looney, I. L. Tiner, J. Carr, J. B. Pierce, C. D. Sayrs, of Boisé county; J. D. Agnew, M. Smythe, M. R. Jenkins, of Ada; E. T. Beatty, B. Crosson, of Alturas; J. W. Carter, D. P. Barnes, E. J. Worley, of Owyhee; Alex. Blakely, J. A. Ripson, of Idaho. Blakely speaker. *Idaho Jour. Council*, 1865–6, 4–9; *Idaho Jour. House*, 1865–6, 4–5.

[43] Butler says of him: 'He was a conceited, peculiar man, and made many enemies, and misappropriated much public funds.' *Life and Times*, MS., 8. Lyon accepted his reappointment in the hope of gain. While in New York, pending his confirmation, he was approached by one Davis, who had in his possession a number of small stones which he declared to be Idaho diamonds, found in Owyhee county. One of them sold for $1,000, and others for less. The secret was to be kept until they met in Idaho, but Lyon arriving first, and after waiting for some time, having become convinced that Davis was drowned on the *Brother Jonathan*, went to Owyhee and imparted his secret to D. H. Fogus, to whom he presented one of his diamonds, receiving in return a silver bar worth $500. One evening the governor and the miner stole away over the hills toward the diamond-fields, as described by Davis, under cover of night, to make a prospect. But the sharp eyes of other miners detected the movement, and they were followed by a small army of treasure-seekers who aided in the search. 'The result,' says Maize, 'of two days' hunting was several barrels full of bright quartz and shiny pebbles.

Idaho, having been reappointed governor, and interested himself in creating a diamond insanity which ruined many a better man, while he lent his signature to any and every bill of the most disloyal and vulgar-minded legislature that ever disgraced the legislative office, except the one that followed it, the single act which he dared not sign being one to nullify the test oath. His appointments were equally without regard to the welfare of society and the territory; and after six months of such an administration, he once more abandoned his post, suddenly and finally. The territorial secretary, Gilson, was succeeded by Lyon's private secretary, S. R. Howlett, who filled the executive office until June 1866, when David W. Ballard of Yamhill county, Oregon, was appointed, and arrived in the territory to inaugurate a different condition of gubernatorial affairs, Howlett being appointed to fill the secretary's office.

The organic law gave members of the legislature four dollars per diem, and four dollars for every twenty miles of travel to reach the capital. The territorial law gave legislators six dollars per diem additional, which sum of ten dollars a day was not too great during the first year or two of territorial existence, when the necessaries of life cost high. But this was now uncalled for. The same act which raised the per diem of the legislators doubled the salary of the governor, making it $5,000 per annum, and also doubled that of the secretary, making it $3,000, while the pay of clerks and other officers was proportionately increased, the whole territorial tax to support this extra pay amounting to $16,000 yearly. The legislature of 1865 had passed an act abolishing the extra pay of the governor and secretary, but retaining, and even increasing,

Lyon was greatly disappointed, and showed us the specimens, which I saw, and on one of which the carbon was not completely crystallized.' *Early Events*, MS., 9. Maize says that he has found stones described in mineralogical works as allied to the diamond, a number of times, along the beach line of the ancient sea which once filled the Snake River basin. A newspaper correspondent calls Lyon 'a revolving light on the coast of scampdom.' *Idaho Scraps*, 194.

their own or that of their clerks. Becoming ashamed of this arbitrary exercise of power, they restored it a few days afterward by another act.

Ballard, learning that the present legislature was about to deprive him of his extra pay, and that of the secretary, sent in a special message, very artfully worded, approving of the measure, and suggesting that the territory might be saved the whole of the $16,000, and congress relied upon to furnish the funds necessary to support the federal branch of the government, as in other territories. Upon this provocation there began and continued throughout the session a series of insults to the executive, requiring extraordinary nerve to meet with self-possession.[44]

A quarrel was also sought with the secretary, who was treated with scorn, as successor to the scandals of his office. With a virtuous air, the legislature demanded information concerning the amount of federal appropriations, the money received, and the correspondence with the treasury department. Howlett replied that the statement given in the governor's annual message was correct; that he found Secretary Smith to have expended $9,938 for the territory, but that he had no knowledge of any other money having been received by previous secretaries, nor had he received any, although he had applied for $27,000 on the approval of his bond for $50,000.[45]

The legislature chose to ignore Howlett's answer, and telegraphed to McCulloch, secretary of the United States treasury, alleging that Howlett had refused to give the information sought. This brought the statement from the department that $53,000 had been placed at the disposal of former secretaries, and

[44] Said S. P. Scaniker: 'Does he suppose we shall consent to it? By the eternal God, I will never consent to it, and I do not believe the house will submit to it, for the governor to say we shall act thus and so. When we want any recommendations of that sort we will let him know. We didn't appoint him governor. We didn't elect him governor. He is no part or parcel with us.' This language was tame in comparison with some of the blasphemous abuse heaped upon the 'imported governor from Yamhill county, Oregon.' *Idaho Scraps*, 193.

[45] *Idaho Jour. Council*, 1866–7, 62; *Idaho Scraps*, 193.

that $20,000 had that day been placed to Howlett's credit. This was the knowledge that they had been thirsting for, as it was a promise of the speedy payment of their per diem.

Meantime the governor was resolutely vetoing such bills as conflicted with the organic act, and other congressional acts or established and beneficent laws of the territory. Few of the members had taken the prescribed oath of office, but had devised an oath which evaded the main point in all official oaths, allegiance to the government, which was passed over the governor's veto. In this manner was passed the act abolishing the extra pay of the governor and secretary; an act taking from the executive the appointing power, regardless of the organic act, and lodging it with themselves, or the county commissioners; and a bill appropriating $30,000 for sectarian schools. This bill, a substitute for an act passed at the previous session to establish a common-school system, provided for the issue of territorial bonds to the amount of $30,000, drawn in favor of F. N. Blanchet, archbishop of Oregon, bearing interest at the rate of ten per cent per annum, and redeemable by funds arising from the sale of the 36th section of school lands.[46] And so with every bill vetoed by the governor, they passed it over his head by acclamation. With the exception of a few harmless acts, all were made with a motive to defy the administration, and grasp the money and the power derived from it and from the territorial officers. Howlett, during these proceedings, had been in correspondence with the treasury department, and had given information concerning the refusal of the majority of the members to take the oath of office, on which instructions had been issued to him to withhold their pay. This order raised a tempest. Resolutions were passed charging the secretary with everything vile, and demanding

[46] *Idaho Times*, in *Owyhee Avalanche*, Jan. 19, 1867. Congress had the power to disapprove, and did disapprove, of these laws.

his removal from office. This was followed by threats of personal violence. The secretary then called on the United States marshal for protection, who in turn called upon the military at Fort Boisé, and a squad of infantry was stationed in front of the legislative hall, which only increased the violence of the disloyal members. To avert a collision, judges McBride and Cummings recommended Howlett to pay all such as would then take the oath of allegiance, which, on the following day, the majority consented to do, and the threatened émeute was prevented.[47] This law-making body, elected by rebellion sympathizers, has been styled the 'guerrilla legislature.' "The third session," writes one, "was by all good men, irrespective of party, pronounced infamous, but this one is Satanic."[48]

Ballard's policy as governor was such that his political opponents very much desired to get him out of office.[49] Holbrook had been reëlected[50] delegate in 1866, and was in Washington for the furtherance of any schemes concocted by his constituents, the principal one being a plan by which Ballard could be unseated and a man put in his place who could be used

[47] *Idaho Jour. House*, 1866–7, 412; *Owyhee Avalanche*, Jan. 19, 1867; *Boisé Statesman*, Jan. 15, 1867.

[48] *Sac. Union*, Jan. 25, 1867. The members of the council in 1866–7 were S. P. Scaniker, H. C. Street, George Ainslie, E. A. Stevenson, of Boisé county; H. C. Riggs of Ada; A. M. Quivey of Alturas; L. P. Brown of Nez Percé; S. S. Fenn of Idaho; M. A. Carter of Oneida; R. T. Miller of Owyhee; W. H. Hudson of Shoshone. Ainslie, president. Members of the house: F. W. Bell, George Stafford, W. L. Law, W. H. Parkinson, of Boisé county; G. W. Paul, John Cozad, A. W. Flournoy, Ada; B. J. Nordyke, Nelson Davis, Alturas; D. G. Monroe, A. Englis, Owyhee; A. McDonald, J. C. Harris, Idaho; W. F. McMillen, Shoshone; Henry Ohle, Oneida; J. S. Taylor, Nez Percé. Flournoy speaker. *Idaho Jour. Legisl. Assembly*, 1–7, 221–3.

[49] David W. Ballard was a native of Indiana, and an immigrant to Oregon in 1852. He was a physician by profession, but had served in the Oregon legislature from Linn county. A mild-mannered man, but fearless. *Boisé Statesman*, April 4, 1868; *Idaho Scraps*, 194.

[50] Holbrook is said to have studied at Oberlin college, Ohio. He came to the Pacific coast in 1859, and practised law for a short time at Weaverville, Cal. He followed the rush to the Nez Percé mines, and thence to Boisé. He drank whiskey freely, and had pluck and assurance, although his attainments were mediocre. His age, when elected in 1864, was under 30 years. His services to the territory were the securing of the penitentiary appropriation and U. S. assay office. He was shot and killed by Charles Douglass while sitting in front of his law office in June 1870. *Boisé Statesman*, June 25, 1870.

for gain; and in this they were so nearly successful that in the summer of 1867 President Johnson was induced to suspend Governor Ballard and nominate Isaac L. Gibbs. But before the commission was made out Johnson had changed his mind. A letter containing a notice of suspension had, however, been sent to Ballard, which, being forgotten, was not revoked until November, when he was restored to office.[51]

Idaho continued to be democratic, but gradually the more objectionable representatives of the party were discountenanced and dropped out of sight. In 1868 J. K. Shafer[52] was elected delegate over T. J. Butler, founder of the *Boisé News*, the pioneer newspaper of southern Idaho.[53] The last two years of

[51] John M. Murphy of Idaho was first nominated. The trickery by which the suspension of Ballard was effected has been explained thus: In March 1867 congress appropriated several hundred thousand dollars to be expended by the Indian department in Idaho, and this money it was desirable to have disbursed by democratic officers. To this end the department was brought to declare that it did not recognize Ballard as superintendent, although by the organic law of the territory that was his office. Frandulent charges and false certificates were used, and influences brought to bear amounting to the repudiation of Ballard as governor by the territory; consequently the money, which must be disbursed to put an end to Indian wars, could not be paid out until another appointment was made. Gibbs' name being sent in, and the senate about to adjourn, the nomination was confirmed. But some facts coming to light, the senate withdrew its confirmation by reconsidering the matter, and finally laying it on the table ten minutes before adjournment. *Boisé Statesman*, Sept. 14, 1867. President Johnson then reappointed, under the provisions of the tenure-of-office law permitting him, during a recess of congress, to suspend on satisfactory evidence of crime, misconduct in office, or disability. Within 20 days after the reassembling of the senate the protest of the loyal people of Idaho was laid before it, and Ballard was reinstated, Attorney-general Stanberry holding that his removal during recess was not legal. *Owyhee Avalanche*, Sept. 21, 1867.

[52] Shafer was a lawyer of ability; immigrated to Cal. in 1849; was a native of Lexington, Va, and graduate of the college at that place; 'was first dist atty of San Joaquin co., and for 10 years judge of the dist court of said county;' went to Idaho as a pioneer; possessed fine literary attainments and irreproachable character. Died at Eureka, Nev., Nov. 22, 1876. *Owyhee Avalanche*, Dec. 2, 1876.

[53] There were a few newspapers started for political effect about this time. The *Times* of Idaho City was independent. The *Idaho Index*, published at Silver City, Owyhee, by W. G. T'Vault, about June 1, 1866, was democratic. The *Territorial Enterprise* was started in 1866; the *Salmon City Mining News* in 1867 by Frank Kenyon, afterward removed to Montana; the *Boisé Democrat*, first issued Nov. 29, 1867, at Boisé City, by Buchanan & Carleton, former proprietors of the *Bulletin* of Silver City; in Feb. 1868 the *Democrat* was sold to Bail & Carleton, and in June 1868 it was discontinued. The *Lewiston Journal* was issued Jan. 17, 1867, by A. Leland & Son; a non-par-

Ballard's administration was peaceful as it was wise and energetic. On the expiration of his term of office two thirds of the citizens of Idaho territory voluntarily petitioned for his reappointment,[54] but another appointment had been made,[55] that of Gilman Marston of New Hampshire. Secretary Howlett was also displaced by the appointment of E. J. Curtis, who—Governor Marston not yet having arrived—delivered the annual message to the legislature of 1870, and remained acting governor[56] for a year and a half, during which time Marston resigned and Thomas A. Bowen was appointed governor,[57] who also resigned, when Thomas W. Bennett[58] was appointed, and accepted. Idaho did not appear to men at a distance to be much of a paradise, politically or otherwise. The republicans again put forward, in 1870, T. J. Butler as a candidate for the delegateship, but he was again defeated by the democratic candidate, S. A.

tisan journal. It suspended in Feb. 1872. The newspapers which succeeded the *Journal* at Lewiston were the *Signal*, begun immediately after the suspension of the *Journal*, which lived about two years, to be succeeded by the *Northerner* for two years more, and again by the *Teller*, A. Leland editor and proprietor, in 1876. The *Idaho Herald* was started at Boisé City in October 1871, surviving only until April 1872. The *Boisé Republican*, established at Boisé City March 1, 1879, was at that date the largest journal published in Idaho, and by its prosperity illustrated the change in political sentiment. Published by Daniel Bacon. The *Yankee Fork Herald* was established at Bonanza City July 24, 1879, by Mark W. Musgrove, who also started the *Alturas Miner* in 1880. See *Shoup's Idaho Ter.*, MS., 9; *Yankee Fork Herald*, April 3, 1880; *S. F. Alta*, Oct. 6, 1867; *U. S. 9th Census, Pop.*, 482–93.

[54] See farewell letter, in *Boisé Statesman*, July 23, 1870.

[55] Samuel Bard was first appointed to succeed Ballard. He was from New York, but in 1866 was editing the *Atlanta New Era*, and declined. A. H. Conner was also spoken of as governor. He was of Indianapolis, Ind.

[56] The *Boisé Statesman* of Feb. 5, 1870, says: 'He has brought order out of confusion in the books and papers of the office, and has labored hard and successfully at the formation of a working state library.' Curtis was a native of Massachusetts, and a lawyer. He came to Cal. in 1849; resided in Siskiyou co., which twice elected him to the legislature; was judge of the court of sessions in Trinity co. for two years; came to Owyhee in 1865, and settled finally in Boisé City in the practice of the law. *Owyhee Avalanche*, Nov. 13, 1875.

[57] Bowen was a southern republican; had been district judge of Arkansas.

[58] Bennett was born in Ind. Feb. 16, 1831, graduated at Asbury university in 1854, and studied law. On the breaking-out of the civil war he enlisted as a private, but was chosen captain of a company in the 15th Indiana vols. He was commissioned major of the 36th Ind., and afterward col of the 67th; brevetted brig.-gen. March 5, 1865; visited Europe in 1867; was elected mayor of Richmond, Ind., in 1869. *Richmond Herald*, in *Owyhee Avalanche*, Dec. 9, 1871.

Merritt. In 1872 the republican candidate, J. W. Huston, was overwhelmingly defeated by John Hailey, democrat.[59]

The chief justiceship was left vacant by the resignation of McBride, until the appointment of David Noggle in 1869, a man whose brain was affected, and who allowed himself to be made the instrument by which thieving politicians carried their points.[60] The associates of Noggle were William C. Whitson in the 1st and J. R. Lewis in the 3d districts.[61] Lewis was an upright, able judge, and became immediately obnoxious to the dominant political ring, which, to get him out of office, resorted to the device of sending a forged resignation to Washington.[62] Before the trick was discovered, M. E. Hollister[63] had been appointed in his place.[64] Hollister succeeded Noggle as chief justice in 1875, and John Clark succeeded Hollister in the third district. Whitson died in December 1875, when Henry E. Prickett was appointed judge of the first district,[65] which position he held

[59] Hailey was a business man, and employed a large number of persons, who worked for his election, while Huston's friends were not thoroughly organized. Huston was a good public speaker, and had been district attorney. *Boisé Statesman*, Nov. 16, 1872.

[60] David Noggle was from Monroe, Wis., where he was a leading lawyer and campaign speaker. For 9 years he served as a circuit judge in that state. He held the office of chief justice of Idaho for 6 years. Soon after his removal his disease, softening of the brain, developed fully, and his errors in office were imputed to it. He died July 18, 1878, at his home in Wisconsin. M. Kelly, in *Boisé Statesman*, July 27, 1878.

[61] Thomas J. Bowers of Cal. was appointed chief justice in the latter part of 1868, but did not serve. R. T. Miller was also appointed judge of the 3d district before Whitson, but did not accept. *Idaho Laws*, 1868–9, 149; *Camp's Year-Book*, 1869, 493.

[62] *Boisé Statesman*, April 15 and May 13, 1871; *S. F. Chronicle*, May 7, 1877. The same means was used to get rid of Lewis in Washington, by the whiskey-sellers of Seattle.

[63] Hollister was from Ottawa, Ill., and a pioneer of that state. *Boisé Statesman*, May 13, 1871.

[64] Whitson was from Oregon. He had been chosen county clerk of Polk when 21 years of age, and elected co. judge at 28 years. He was a man of liberal education, and a successful law practitioner.

[65] Alanson Smith of Boisé City was the people's choice for judge—a choice expressed by petition; but trickery again prevailed, and Prickett was made associate justice. His antecedents were anything but creditable, as he had been confidential clerk to J. C. Geer, collector of internal revenue, who defaulted to the amount of $21,000. He had been a member of the legislative council in 1874–5.

down to 1884, from which it would appear that he administered the laws in a manner satisfactory to the majority in his district.

Governor Bennett was succeeded by D. P. Thompson of Oregon, a rising man in his state.[66] Bennett, while still in office, ran on the republican ticket for delegate to congress, against S. S. Fenn, democrat. There were some irregularities in the election returns, and the election was contested. Coming before congress, Fenn was declared elected, and in 1877 was returned to the same office for another term.[67] Thompson did not long retain the gubernatorial office, his private affairs requiring his presence in Oregon. He was succeeded in 1876 by M. Brayman, Curtis continuing in the secretary's office until 1878, when

[66] Thompson was born in Harrison co., Ohio, in 1834, where he resided until he migrated to Oregon, overland, in 1853. The following spring he engaged in the public surveys under Surveyor-general Gardiner, and continued in the service until 1872. During this period he ran the base line of Oregon across the Cascade Mountains to the Blue Mountains, and the Columbia Guide Meridian north to the Big Bend of the Columbia, and south to California. He was state senator from 1868 to 1872, from Clackamas co. In 1872 he was appointed commissioner to allot lands to the Indians of Grand Rond Indian agency. He was one of the presidents and business manager of the Oregon City Woollen Mill, in which he was joint owner with Jacobs Bros and L. White & Bro. From 1872 to 1878 he was extensively interested in mail contracts, having at one time over a hundred contracts in the states and territories. He was appointed by President Grant governor of Idaho in 1875, but resigned in 1876 for business reasons, returning to Oregon. In 1878 he was elected a representative from Multnomah co. to the lower house of the Or. legislature, and the year following was chosen mayor of Portland, resigning in 1882. The Portland Savings Bank, of which he was president, was organized by him in 1880; and he was one of the organizers of the First National Banks of Walla Walla, of Baker City, of Union, and president of the Bank of McMinnville. He built and equipped the railroad around the Falls of the Willamette, between Oregon City and Canemah. It was a horse-railroad, cost $23,000, and in one year paid dividends amounting to $48,000. He was a member of the Willamette Falls and Lock Company, which constructed a substantial canal, with locks about the falls. In 1880 he was one of the organizers of the Oregon Construction Company, which opened up a large portion of eastern Oregon and Washington by means of railroads, building the Umatilla and Baker City Railroad, Or., and the Columbia and Palouse Railroad, Wash. In 1882 the board of trade of Portland sent him as a special commissioner to Washington city to obtain from congress an appropriation for the improvement of the Columbia River bar, in which he met with his customary success. Enterprising, energetic, and far-seeing, he presented a standing example of what these qualities may be made to achieve for society and one's self.

[67] *H. Misc. Doc.*, 82, 44th cong. 1st sess. Fenn was not the popular candidate of his party in 1874, but was taken as a compromise between Ensign and Foote. *Helena Independent*, Dec. 20, 1874.

R. A. Sidebotham was appointed. At the expiration of Brayman's term, J. B. Neil became governor, and Theodore F. Singiser secretary. In 1878 George Ainslie was elected to succeed Fenn as delegate to congress. At the expiration of his term he was again returned to this place.

A matter which greatly troubled the people of the Idaho panhandle was their isolation and want of a community of interest with the southern counties. On the removal of the capital in 1864–5, they desired the reannexation of this portion of the territory to Washington. For the purpose of advocating this measure, the *Radiator* newspaper was established at Lewiston, and the subject was not soon suffered to drop, either by the people of northern Idaho or by those of Washington, who, as I have before shown, were equally desirous of recovering this lost territory.

The Idaho legislature of 1865–6 passed a memorial to congress praying that the portion of the territory lying south of the Salmon River Mountains might dissolve connection with the panhandle, and receive instead as much of Utah as lay north of 41° 30′; while that portion of Montana lying west of the Rocky Mountains, the northern part of Idaho, and the eastern part of Washington, should constitute a separate commonwealth, to be called the territory of Columbia. The people of the Walla Walla Valley, being strongly in favor of a readjustment of boundaries, aided the agitation, which in 1867 was at its height, meetings being held and memorials adopted in Lewiston and Walla Walla.[68] But neither Montana nor southern Idaho, on reflection, would consent to the division. Montana wished to retain the Bitter Root Valley, and southern Idaho feared to have its burden of taxation increased by parting with any of its population, already diminishing with the exhaustion

[68] *Idaho Laws*, 1865–6, 293; *Lewiston Journal*, Oct. 3, 1867; *Walla Walla Statesman*, Oct. 4 and Nov. 1, 1867.

of its placer mines.[69] Still another proposition was made in 1869 by the legislature of Nevada, to readjust the boundary of Idaho, by annexing to that commonwealth the rich mineral territory lying south of Snake River between the eastern boundary of Oregon and the eastern limit of Nevada, or, in direct terms, the Owyhee country. This project was also strongly protested against by Idaho, and was rejected by congress.[70]

But much dissatisfaction still existed concerning the manner in which the extensive district lying between the Cascade and Rocky mountains had been partitioned off in the hurry of forming new territories. It had always been held by a considerable portion of the Oregon people that the natural boundary of their state on the east was the Cascade range; but if they were to retain the country east of the mountains, they desired to have the Snake River for their boundary on the north as well as the east, giving them the Walla Walla Valley. Washington, while less willing to part with its eastern division, was positive about never yielding the Walla Walla Valley to Oregon, and so the two communities could never agree to the same scheme of redivision. The Idaho legislature of 1870 again memorialized congress for a change, but none that would leave the territory less able to maintain the burden of government, interfere with the congressional ratio of representation, or decrease the prospect of arriving at the dignity of statehood. A plan was then discussed by journalists of making a state out of eastern Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

About the same time the citizens of the town of Corrinne in Utah petitioned, but in vain, to have that portion of Utah north of the north line of Colorado annexed to Idaho, not being in sympathy with the government of the Mormon church. The boundary

[69] *Boisé Statesman*, Sept. 21, 1867; *H. Misc. Doc.*, 100, 39th cong. 1st sess.

[70] *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1869, 23; *Id.*, 1871, 175; *Misc. Doc.*, 32, 42d cong. 1st sess.; *Cong. Globe*, 1870–1, 966; *Boisé Statesman*, June 23, 1869; *Id.*, Jan. 29, 1870.

line between Utah and Idaho was not then established, but was surveyed in 1871, when it was found that several large settlements which had previously paid taxes and tithings in Utah were over the line in Idaho. Defining this boundary gave Idaho about 2,500 inhabitants more than previously claimed, and a considerable addition to its wealth, as nine tenths of the population thus acquired belonged to a class of large farmers and cattle-raisers.[71] The proposition to reunite northern Idaho to Washington was revived in 1873, with the unification of the great Columbia basin under the designation of Columbia,[72] a plan dear to the hearts of the people east of the northern branch of the Columbia.

The surface of Idaho, after taking all the territory east of the Rocky and Bitter Root mountains to create Montana in 1864, to enlarge Dakotah, and to organize Wyoming in 1868, was over 86,000 square miles, or nearly as large as New York and Pennsylvania together. Its northern boundary was latitude 49°, and its southern 42°. At its greatest width it was seven degrees of longitude, also, in extent. There was grand and wonderful scenery, great mineral and manufacturing resources, and, what was not known at the time of its settlement, good agricultural lands in all its sunny vales. Most of the disorders which attended its infancy as a territory soon disappeared. Hidden in a great mass of sin and folly were the elements of social excellence, which, with an opportunity to germinate, spread their goodly branches throughout the land.[73]

[71] The addition thus made consisted of the settlements of Franklin, Weston, Malade, Fish Haven, Ovid, Bloomington, Paris, and St Charles. The larger portion of Bear Lake was also found to be north of the line. *Rept Sec. Int.*, i. 159, 42d cong. 3d sess; *Cong. Globe*, 1870–1, app. 362, 366; *Zabriskie's Land Laws*, 1118.

[72] *Lewiston Signal*, Nov. 1 and Dec. 13, 1873, and March 28, 1874.

[73] The following is a list of the federal and territorial officers, and members of the legislature from the organization of the territory of Idaho to 1884. The lists of legislators down to 1866 have been given. 1864: governor, W. H. Wallace, resigned to become delegate; secretary, W. B. Daniels; auditor, E. F. Lambkin; treasurer, D. S. Kenyon; marshal, D. S. Payne; chief justice, Sidney Edgerton; associate justices, Samuel C. Parks and Alex. C. Smith;

attorney of 1st district, Thomas M. Pomeroy; 2d district, George C. Hough; 3d, vacant; clerk of court, J. C. Henly.

1865: governor, Caleb Lyon of N. Y.; secretary, C. De Witt Smith; delegate, E. D. Holbrook; judiciary same as in 1864; clerk of court, E. C. Mayhew.

1866: governor and supt of Ind. affairs, Caleb Lyon; secretary, H. C. Gilson of Ohio; chief justice, John R. McBride of Or.; associate justices, Milton Kelly of Wis. and A. C. Smith of Or.; U. S. marshal, J. H. Alvord of N. Y.; U. S. revenue assessor, M. C. Brown of Me; U. S. collector, John Cummins of Or.; territorial treasurer and ex-officio prison commissioner, E. C. Sterling; comptroller and ex-officio librarian, H. B. Lane; supt of public instruction, J. A. Chittenden; attorney of 2d district (McBride's), C. B. Waite; clerk, W. B. Smith.

1867: governor, David Ballard of Or.; secretary, S. R. Howlett of Idaho; judiciary, McBride, Kelly, and John Cummins; marshal, Alvord; U. S. revenue assessor, Austin Savage of Idaho, vice George Woodman; U. S. collector, J. C. Geer of Idaho (formerly of Or.); surveyor-general, L. F. Carter of Idaho; attorney 1st dist, Frank Dalton; clerk, Warren A. Belcher; atty 2d dist, J. J. May; clerk, W. B. Smith; 3d dist atty, E. J. Curtis; clerk, R. E. Halleck.

1868: governor, David Ballard; secretary, S. R. Howlett; judiciary same as above; U. S. attorney, Henry E. Prickett, vice Hough; Hough made Indian agent; registrar U. S. land-office, R. H. Brown; receiver, J. C. Carroll; comptroller, R. W. Bishop; attorney of 1st district, W. W. Thayer; of 3d district, L. P. Higbee; other officers same as in preceding year.

The members of the 5th legislature, 1868–9, were—councilmen: G. W. Paul of Ada county; V. S. Anderson of Alturas; W. M. Vance, R. G. Allen, A. J. Bonner, and C. C. Dudley of Boisé; S. P. C. Howard of Idaho; J. S. Taylor of Nez Percé; F. E. Ensign of Owyhee; J. M. Taylor of Oneida; B. F. Yantis of Shoshone; Taylor president. Members of the lower house: Thomas H. Calloway, S. B. Wright, Thomas B. Hart of Ada county; Meredith Kelly, Lewis Linbeck, of Alturas; W. S. Harley, S. T. Hussman, D. McGrew, D. B. Moody, S. Goodenough, Bailey Hayden, V. Marx, Thomas Foy, of Boisé; E. T. Beatty, E. Mulkey, of Idaho; G. W. Bell, V. S. Zeigle, of Nez Percé; Patrick Campbell, Seth Catlin, P. S. Quinn, of Owyhee; F. M. Shoemaker of Oneida; W. A. Goulder of Shoshone; Beatty speaker. The attachés of the council were: George Ainslie secretary; A. H. Purdy asst-sec.; Thomas Sweeney enrolling clerk; W. W. Habusham engrossing clerk; S. B. Dilley sergt-at-arms; Lewis F. Alpey doorkeeper; Robert Gillespie page. Attachés of the lower house: H. F. Sayrs chief clerk; E. Raynor asst-clerk; George Ish engrossing clerk; J. H. Slater enrolling clerk; John Donovan, sergt-at-arms; J. Wells doorkeeper; George W. Butterfield page.

1869: governor, David Ballard; secretary, S. R. Howlett; chief justice, David Noggle of Wis.; associates, William C. Whitson, and M. E. Hollister, vice J. R. Lewis, resigned; U. S. marshal, H. W. Moulton; surveyor-general, Edward Rugger; receiver, James Hunt.

1870: governor, Thomas W. Bennett of Ind., vice Gilman Marston and Thomas A. Bowen, resigned without acting; secretary, E. J. Curtis of Idaho; delegate to congress, S. A. Merritt; judiciary as above; U. S. dist attorney, J. W. Huston; U. S. marshal, Joseph Pinkham; surveyor-general, L. F. Cartee; registrar Boisé land district, T. Donaldson; receiver, James Stout; assessor U. S. revenue, A. Savage; collector, J. C. Geer; territorial treasurer, John S. Gray; comptroller, D. Crane; clerk supreme court, Thomas Donaldson; register in Boisé City, H. W. O. Margary.

Members of the 6th legislative assembly, 1870–1—councilmen: I. N. Coston of Ada county; John McNally of Alturas; R. G. Allen, W. Lynch, N. M. Vance, and H. A. Mattox of Boisé; S. P. C. Howard of Idaho; B. J. Nordyke of Lemhi; C. C. Call of Nez Percé; J. H. Stump of Oneida; D. G. Monroe and Gilmore Hays of Owyhee; B. F. Yantis of Shoshone; D. G. Monroe president. Members of the lower-house: W. A. Yates, W. T. Por-

ter, T. D. Calahan, and P. Everett of Ada county; R. W. Marshall and E. B. Hall of Alturas; J. H. Wickersham, D. B. Mooney, J. J. Tompkins, A. E. Calloway, John West, J. H. Hawley, Julian Smith, and J. G. Hughes of Boisé; Perry Clark and P. Cleary of Idaho; Jefferson Williams of Lemhi; J. P. Silverwood and H. H. Wheeler of Nez Percé; J. W. Morgan of Oneida; J. B. Pierce, W. P. Upsher, P. Campbell, J. R. Crawford, and W. H. Van Slyke of Owyhee; W. B. Yantis of Shoshone. W. A. Yates speaker.

Members of the 7th legislative assembly, 1872-3—councilmen: I. N. Coston and J. B. Wright of Ada; John McNally of Alturas; Benjamin Willson, J. V. R. Witt, and H. A. Mattox, Boisé; S. P. C. Howard, Idaho; B. J. Nordyke, Lemhi; Gilmore Hays and L. P. Higbee, Owyhee; J. H. Stump, Oneida; Stanford Capps, Shoshone; I. N. Coston president. Members of the lower house (their counties are not given in the journal): Harvey Hall, N. B. Willey, J. W. Garrett, Charles Himrod, Peter Adams, A. Dean, John B. Sissins, M. J. Biddy, G. W. Tomer, J. J. Apperson, G. M. Parsons, A. B. Anderson, J. H. Tranger, A. E. Calloway, F. Campbell, S. S. Fenn, James H. Bennett, L. H. Hatch, A. T. Huffaker, Thomas Elder, Matt. Davis, J. M. Short, S. M. Jeffries, P. McMahon, and A. L. Simondi. S. S. Fenn speaker.

Members of the 8th legislative assembly, 1874–5—councilmen: A. H. Robie and H. E. Prickett of Ada county; John NcNally of Alturas; J. M. Cannady, J. H. Hawley, and R. E. Foote of Boisé; S. P. C. Howard of Idaho; E. T. Beatty of Lemhi; L. P. Brown of Nez Percé; Angell and H. Martin of Owyhee; A. Stalker, Oneida; W. A. Goulder, Shoshone. Members of the lower house: J. H. Paddock, Orlando Robbins, J. H. McCarty, and J. B. Pierce of Ada county; R. A. Sidebotham and V. S. Anderson of Alturas; E. A. Stevenson, Charles W. Stewart, Frederick Campbell, G. B. Baldwin, Calvin R. White, James W. White, Matthew G. Luney, and Joseph Cave, Boisé; George Shearer and Philip Cleary, Idaho; George L. Shoup and T. C. Tuthill, Lemhi; J. C. Waldrip and William Groat, Nez Percé; Hunt, Culp, Pool, and Moore of Owyhee; Clemens of Oneida; C. T. Nelson of Shoshone.

1876: governor, D. P. Thompson; secretary, E. J. Curtis; delegate to congress, S. S. Fenn; chief justice, M. E. Hollister; associates, W. C. Whitson and John Clark; district attorney, J. W. Huston; U. S. marshal, Joseph Pinkham; surveyor-general, L. F. Cartee; register of Lewiston land-office, Seth S. Slater; receiver, R. J. Monroe; register of Boisé land-office, W. P. Thompson; receiver, James Stout; agent Nez Percé Indians, J. B. Monteith; internal revenue collector, Austin Savage; territorial treasurer, John Huntoon; territorial comptroller, Joseph Perrault.

1877: governor, M. Brayman; secretary, E. J. Curtis; delegate to congress, S. S. Fenn. Members of the 9th legislative assembly, 1876–7—councilmen: W. T. Baker and I. N. Coston of Ada county; R. A. Sidebotham of Alturas; E. A. Stevenson and J. V. R. Witt of Boisé; E. T. Beatty of Lemhi; L. P. Higbee of Oneida; R. Tregraskis and F. C. Porter of Owyhee; S. P. C. Howard of Idaho; William Budge of Bear Lake; W. G. Langford of Nez Percé; D. W. C. Dunwell of Shoshone. E. T. Beatty president. Members of the lower house: F. K. Froman, Thomas Gray, H. K. Hartley, J. F. Griffin, and B. L. Warriner of Ada county; T. J. Curtis and C. K. Davis of Alturas; James H. Hart of Bear Lake; Stephen Dempsey, M. G. Luney, John H. Myer, George W. Richards, and I. S. Wieler of Boisé; Philip Cleary of Idaho; Jesse McCaleb and Leonard G. Morse of Lemhi; S. P. Edwards and F. Points of Nez Percé; P. A. Tutt, R. L. Wood, E. H. Moore, G. W. Gilmore, and John Ward of Owyhee; J. N. High and W. T. Norcross of Oneida; E. Hammond of Shoshone. T. J. Curtis speaker.

1880: governor, J. B. Neil; secretary T. F. Singiser; delegate to congress, George Ainslie. Members of the 10th legislative assembly, held in Jan. and Feb. 1879, according to an act passed at the previous session changing the time of beginning from Dec. to Jan—councilmen: J. B. Pierce and M. R. Jenkins of Ada county; George M. Parsons of Alturas; Joseph Travis and George Pettengill of Boisé; J. W. Hart, Bear Lake; N. B. Willey, Idaho; George L. Shoup, Lemhi; William Clemens, Oneida; B. J. Nordyke and Philip A. Regan,

Owyhee; George A. Manning, Nez Percé; W. B. Yantis, Shoshone. N. B. Willey president. Members of the lower house: William Allison, T. Gray, A. E. Calloway, C. B. Humphrey, and H. J. G. Maxon of Ada county; W. H. Butler and A. Leonard Myer of Alturas; Joseph C. Rich of Bear Lake; J. W. White, Robert Spenser, M. G. Hardin, G. B. Baldwin, and R. H. Robb of Boisé; William C. Pearson of Idaho; D. B. Varney and W. Birdseye of Lemhi; William King and J. J. Bonner of Nez Percé; Alex. Stalker and D. R. Jones of Oneida; G. W. Newsom, P. Weatherman, William Cooper, George Chapin, and William Nichols of Owyhee; Robert T. Yantis of Shoshone. W. Birdseye was elected speaker on the 102d ballot.

Under the reapportionment act of June 3, 1880, there were elected the following members of the 11th legislative assembly, 1880–1—councilmen: R. Z. Johnson of Ada county; John S. Hailey of Ada and Washington; James Murray of Boisé; S. B. Dilley of Boisé and Alturas; J. W. Poe of Nez Percé; I. B. Cowen of Nez Percé, Shoshone, and Lahtoh; L. P. Wilmot of Idaho; H. Peck and L. C. Morrison of Oneida; Charles Cobb of Cassia and Owyhee; William Budge of Bear Lake; W. F. Anderson of Lemhi. John Hailey president. Members of the lower house: A. E. Calloway, A. S. Gray, P. J. Pefly, and J. Brumback of Ada county; Stephen Dempsey and Frederick Campbell of Boisé; I. W. Garrett of Alturas; James Hart and J. C. Rich of Bear Lake; R. L. Wood of Cassia; E. B. True and T. W. Girton of Idaho; James L. Onderdonk and J. J. Gilson of Lemhi; I. M. Hibbs, S. J. Langdon, and J. M. Hedrick of Nez Percé; J. W. Cummings of Owyhee; W. L. Webster, Joseph Dudley, Alex. Stalker, and David R. Jones of Oneida; William Nichols of Shoshone; Thomas M. Jeffrey of Washington. E. B. True speaker. The official register of 1881 contains the names of George Ainslie congressional delegate; John T. Morgan chief justice; Norman Buck and Henry E. Prickett associate justices; Wallace R. White U. S. district attorney; E. S. Chase U. S. marshal; A. L. Richardson clerk of supreme court; E. A. Stone agent at Lemhi Indian reservation; C. D. Warner agent at Nez Percé reservation; R. W. Berry collector of internal revenue; D. P. B. Pride, C. P. Coburn, and George W. Richards deputies; William P. Chandler U. S. surveyor-general; T. W. Randall chief clerk; John B. Miller, Jonathan M. Howe, and August Duddanhausen registers; J. Stout, R. J. Monroe, and A. W. Eaton receivers of public money

1883: governor, John N. Irwin.

Members of the 12th legislative assembly, 1882–3—councilmen: J. V. R. Witt of Ada county; Thomas C. Galloway of Ada and Washington; Joseph Travis of Boisé; E. A. Wall of Boisé and Alturas; C. E. Robinson of Bear Lake; E. P. Johnson, Custer and Lemhi; P. A. Regan, Cassia and Owyhee; James Odle, Idaho; W. L. Webster and Henry Peck, Oneida; William S. Taylor, Nez Percé; J. B. Cowen, Nez Percé, Shoshone, and Kootenai. E. A. Wall president. Members of the lower house: D. W. Fouch, J. P. Wilson, I. N. Coston, and H. K. Hartley of Ada; E. M. Wilson of Alturas; R. H. Robb and F. Campbell of Boisé; Amos R. Wright and H. S. Woolley of Bear Lake; J. C. Shoup of Custer; W. C. Martindale of Cassia; W. C. Pearson and Robert Larimer of Idaho; O. A. Dodge of Kootenai and Shoshone; James A. Haywood of Lemhi; A. Buchanan, K. Larson, and G. W. Toner of Nez Percé; J. M. Harbour of Owyhee; C. J. Bassett, D. L. Evans, M. L. Gruwell, and J. B. Thatcher of Oneida; F. M. Mickey of Washington. D. W. Fouch, speaker. Hollister was succeeded as chief justice, Jan. 13, 1879, by William G. Thompson; and Thompson, June 10, 1879, by John T. Morgan, who held till 1885. Norman Buck succeeded Clark as associate justice in the 1st district. Case Broderick was appointed to the 2d dist in May, 1884. The chief justice took the 3d dist in 1879.

1884, federal officers: governor, William M. Bunn; secretary, D. P. B. Pride; delegate, T. F. Singiser; surveyor-gen., Wm F. Chandler; chief justice, John T. Morgan; ass. justice, 1st dist, Norman Buck; 2d dist, Case Broderick; clerk, A. L. Richardson; asst U. S. dist atty, W. R. White; asst U. S. dist atty, Alanson Smith; marshal, F. T. Dubois; reg. land-office, E. L. Curtis; receiver, M. Krebs.

CHAPTER IV.

THREATENING ASPECT OF AFFAIRS.

1861-1874.

TRIBAL AND TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF THE ABORIGINES—ATTITUDE OF THE NEZ PERCÉ NATION—GOLD DISCOVERY ON THE NEZ PERCÉ RESERVATION—COUNCIL AT LAPWAI—TERMS OF TREATY DISREGARDED BY THE WHITE MEN—ABORIGINAL DIPLOMACY—BIG THUNDER AND THE MISSIONARIES—TERMS OF THE NEW TREATY—CLAIM OF EAGLE-FROM-THE-LIGHT—SPEECH OF LAWYER—CONFERENCE WITH JOSEPH.

THE native races of Idaho were divided by the Salmon River range of mountains, the Nez Percés being the representative nation of the northern division, and the Shoshones of the southern. The condition and character of the former were relatively higher than those of the latter.[1]

During the five years' war from 1863 to 1868, the history of which I have given, the Nez Percés remained quiescent, taking no part in the hostilities, although they were not without their grievances, which might have tempted other savages to revolt. The troubles to which I here refer began in 1855, with the treaties made with them and the other tribes of eastern Oregon and Washington by Palmer and Stevens, superintendents respectively of the Indians of those territories. At this council there were two parties among the Nez Percés, one for and one against a treaty—a peace and a war party—but in the end all signed the treaty, and observed it, notwithstanding the strong influences brought to bear upon them by the

[1] See *Native Races*, passim; *Hist. Or.*, passim, this series.

surrounding tribes, who went to war after agreeing to its terms. They were conquered, and the country opened for settlement.

It was at this period, when the discovery of gold on the reservation of the Nez Percés caused white men to overrun it without regard to the rights of the Indians, that their loyalty was most severely tried, and that a division occurred in the nation. A war at this time was narrowly averted by the combined efforts of Superintendent Hale of Washington, and Lawyer, the head chief of the Nez Percés, together with the establishment of a military post at Lapwai.[2]

At a council held in August 1861, at Lapwai, Eagle-from-the-light gave his voice for war, and for a coalition with the Shoshones. Looking-glass, the former war chief, was now too old to lead in battle, but Eagle-from-the-light was eager to succeed to his honors. A number of sub-chiefs were ready to support this measure; but on the other hand, the powerful interest represented by Lawyer was against it, and a company of dragoons under Captain Smith, stationed at Lapwai ostensibly to protect the Indians from the impositions of the miners, was a standing menace to the Nez Percés, should they break the peace. The council finally adjourned without agreeing upon anything in particular.[3]

This condition of the Indian mind was strongly represented in congress, to procure an appropriation of $50,000 for the purpose of holding a treaty with the Nez Percés for the purchase of an important

[2] I am aware it has been said that before the war of 1877 the Nez Percés never shed white blood; but this is an error, as in 1862 they did commit several murders, which is not surprising under the circumstances. *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1862, 396. A white man was also killed by them near Lapwai in 1865.

[3] Nathan Olney, who is good authority in Indian matters, writing to *The Dalles Mountaineer* in 1861, said that all the tribes except a part of the Teninos Wascoes and Des Chutes were only waiting for the consent of the Nez Percés to join with the Shoshones in a general war against the white population. *Portland Oregonian*, July 1, 1861. The conduct of the Cayuses called on Steinberger's command at Walla Walla to punish them, which he was forced to do. *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Nov. 1, 1862.

part of their reservation, $40,000 of which was appropriated, and expected to be in the hands of the agents by November 1862. Meanwhile the reservation was freely occupied by white men, who dug gold, built towns, laid out roads, and sold whiskey upon it, contrary to law. Even the military guard was withdrawn, because the commander of the military district dared not subject a company to temptation by placing it on the border of a rich mining region, lest it should desert. The irritability of the Indians becoming more manifest, General Alvord determined upon the establishment of a permanent post at Lapwai, on the return of Maury's command from an expedition to Fort Hall, in the autumn of 1862.[4]

November came, and the Indians were gathering to the promised council when the commissioners appointed were forced to announce that no funds had come to hand, and to defer the conference until the following May. Even the well-disposed Nez Percés found the unaccountable delay anything but reassuring, and were only kept on friendly terms by the efforts of William Craig and Robert Newell, in whose probity they had the greatest confidence. At length the 15th of May, 1863, was fixed upon for the council. As a means to the peaceable ending of the conference, four companies of the 1st Oregon cavalry were stationed at Lapwai, and much display was made of the power and material of the military branch of the government, as well as its munificence in entertaining the whole Nez Percé nation, for which a village of tents with regularly laid out streets was spread upon a beautiful plat of ground about a mile from the fort.

Looking-glass had died in January, but Eagle-from-the-light, Big Thunder, and Joseph, all chiefs opposed to another treaty, were present with their 1,200 followers, and Lawyer and his sub-chiefs with his people,

[4] Fort Lapwai was built under the superintendence of D. W. Porter of the 1st Oregon cavalry. It was situated upon the right bank of Lapwai Creek, 3 miles from its confluence with the Clearwater. The reservation was one mile square.

numbering about 2,000. On the part of the United States, there were Superintendent Hale, agents Hutchins and Howe, and Robert Newell. When all else was ready, a delay of two weeks occurred, because the Indians would have no interpreter but Perrin B. Whitman, who was in the Willamette Valley and had to be sent for. So much time thus allowed for discussion gave opportunity for recalling all the grievances of the past, and prognosticating for the future. The Palouses, taking advantage of this period of idleness, invaded the Nez Percé camp, bent upon mischief, one of them going so far as to strike Commissioner Howe with a riding-whip, when they were ordered off the reservation by Colonel Steinberger, and Drake's company of cavalry assigned to the duty of keeping them away.[5]

About the last of the month the council was allowed to begin. The lands to be treated for embraced an area of 10,000 square miles, containing, besides the mines, much good agricultural land. It was at this conference that the disaffected chiefs put in their claims to certain parts of the former reservation as their peculiar domain. That spot where the agency was located, and which was claimed also in part by the representatives of the American Board of Foreign Missions,[6] was alleged by Big Thunder to belong to him. Eagle-from-the-light laid claim to the country on White Bird Creek, a small branch of Salmon River, and adjacent to the Florence mines. Joseph declared his title to the valley of Wallowa Creek, a tributary

[5] *Rhinehart's Or. Cavalry*, MS., 6–7.

[6] Although a section of the organic act of Oregon gave a mile square of land to each of the missions in actual occupation at the time of the passage of the act, Aug. 1848, and the Lapwai mission had been abandoned in 1847, with no subsequent occupation, an attempt was made after the Indian agency buildings and mills had been erected on the land, and the country contiguous to the reservation was becoming settled, to establish a title to the Lapwai station under the organic act. The first claimants were Spalding and Eells, for the A. B. C. F. M., and the second was W. G. Langford, a lawyer, who purchased the pretended rights of the A. B. C. F. M. for a nominal sum, and attempted to extort from congress $120,000 for the improvements made by appropriations of that body. *Lewiston Idaho Signal*, April 12, 1873. The claim was not allowed.

of the Grand Rond River; and each holding for himself and band declined to sell.

The lands reserved by the treaty of 1855 embraced all the country enclosed by a line beginning at the source of the south fork of the Palouse, extending south-westerly to the mouth of the Tucannon, up the Tucannon to its source in the Blue Mountains, along this range in a general southerly direction to a point on Grand Rond River, midway between the Grand Rond and Wallowa Creek, along the divide between the Wallowa Creek and Powder River, crossing Snake River at the mouth of Powder River, thence in an easterly direction to Salmon River fifty miles above the mouth of the Little Salmon, thence north to the Bitter Root Mountains, and thence west to the place of beginning, comprising an area which later constituted five counties.

The first proposition of the commissioners was that the Nez Percés should sell all their lands except five or six hundred square miles situated on the south side of the south fork of the Clearwater, and embracing the Kamiah prairie, to be surveyed into allotments, with the understanding that a patent was to issue to each individual holding land in severalty, with payment for improvements abandoned. But to this the nation would not agree. The next proposition was to enlarge this boundary so as to double the amount of land, embracing, as before, the Kamiah prairie, the agricultural lands to be surveyed, and the provisions of the treaty of 1855 to be continued to them. There was to be expended, besides, $50,000 in wagons, farm stock, and agricultural implements, $10,000 in mills, $10,000 in school-houses, $6,000 for teachers for the first year, and half that amount annually for fourteen years for the same object. Buildings for teaching blacksmithing and carpentering were to be furnished. Between $4,000 and $5,000 was to be paid for the horses furnished Governor Stevens and the volunteers during the war of 1855–6. The Indians might sell their

improvements to private individuals or the government; and the whole of the stipulations should be carried out within one year after the ratification of the treaty by the senate of the United States. This proposition was to be final.

Lawyer then made a speech containing a remarkable mixture of diplomacy and sarcasm—the sarcasm being a part of the diplomacy—giving evidence of those peculiar talents which enabled this chief always to outgeneral his rivals. He assured the commissioners that he and his chiefs and people fully understood the present position of the government toward the Nez Percés, who were a law-abiding people, while the government itself had broken its own law, the treaty of 1855. He had understood that there were two opinions in congress concerning the making of a new treaty. As to the old one, he was willing to adhere to that, as he had done heretofore, having always regarded himself sacredly bound by it, and the chiefs who refused to be governed by it as beyond the pale of the law, and not acknowledged by him to be chiefs. Although satisfied that the first treaty was preferable, he would like to hear what the United States proposed to give for the reservation lands, and that the government was disposed to be just.[7]

The object of this speech was fourfold: to show that he was in a position to object to the proffered treaty, to arraign the government of the United States, to make this the ground for securing additional benefits should he consent to the propositions of the government agents, and to proclaim as outlaws all the other chiefs who did not follow his direction, by which proclamation his alliance with the government would be strengthened, this being the foundation of his power with his own people. After this speech of Lawyer's, the rival chiefs, Big Thunder, Three Feathers, Eagle-from-the-light, and Joseph, who had held aloof from the conference, came into the council,

[7] *Rhinehart's Or. Cavalry*, MS., 6; *Or. Argus*, June 2, 1863.

when Lawyer with great adroitness appeared to side with them, and declared the Nez Percés would never sell their country, though they might be brought to consent to gold-mining upon it for a sufficient consideration. Some of the chiefs questioned the authority of the commissioners to make a treaty, and the Indians appeared to be drifting farther away from a friendly feeling as the negotiations continued. Superintendent Hale, affecting to resent the imputation upon his authority, replied that the doubt would terminate the council, and he had nothing further to submit.

The withdrawal of the commissioners changed the attitude of Lawyer, who intimated that in a few days he would offer a proposition of his own. On the 3d of June a grand council was again called, at which all the chiefs of both divisions of the Nez Percés were present except Eagle-from-the-light. The objections of Lawyer were answered, the grievances of the Indians explained away by the commissioners, and the thanks of the government tendered for the loyal services of the tribe in the past. They were assured that the government desired their welfare, and believed it would be promoted by locating on a reservation where they could be protected, and their land secured to them forever in severalty by a patent from the government; but if they were unable to come to any conclusion, the council would be immediately terminated.

On the evening of that day Lawyer offered to give up the land on which Lewiston was situated, with twelve miles around it, including the Lapwai agency and post, which was promptly rejected. There was now a lengthened consultation among the Indians; and again several meetings of the council were held, the non-treaty chiefs being present. They were told by Commissioner Hutchins that their sullen and unfriendly manner was the occasion of the disagreements among the Nez Percés, and that although they might

persist in refusing to accept their annuities, as they had done heretofore, such action would not release them from the obligations of the treaty they had signed in 1855. To this they severally replied without altering their attitude of passive hostility, and withdrew from the council, Eagle-from-the-light being already absent, but represented by a deputation of his warriors.

Affairs now assumed a threatening aspect, the commissioners fearing the defection of the whole tribe, and having apprehensions for their safety. A message was despatched to the fort, and a small detachment of cavalry, under Captain Curry, ordered to the council-ground. It arrived about one o'clock at night, finding everything quiet except at one of the principal lodges, where fifty-three chiefs and head-men were assembled in earnest debate, the arguments being continued until almost daybreak, when, being still unable to agree, the principal chiefs on each side dissolved, in a solemn but not unfriendly manner, their confederacy, and having shaken hands, separated, to go each his own way with his followers. The seceders were Eagle-from-the-light, Big Thunder, Joseph, and Coolcoolselina, with their head-men.

At the next meeting of the council, Lawyer, for himself and the nation, accepted the proposition of the commissioners, somewhat altered and amended, and the 9th of June was set for the signing of the new treaty, and the distribution of presents. Hope was entertained that the disaffected chiefs would finally yield, but in this the commissioners were disappointed.[8] From the subsequent action of one of these chiefs, it is presumable that they believed that by refusing to sign the treaty made with the majority of

[8] *Report of the Adjutant-general of Oregon*, 1865–6; *Lewiston Golden Age*, June 17, 1863; *Or. Argus*, July 6, 1863. There is an able monograph on the subject of this treaty by H. Clay Wood, colonel U. S. A., called *The Status of Young Joseph and his Band of Nez Percé Indians under the Treaties between the United States and the Nez Percé Tribe of Indians, and the Indians' Title to Land.* Portland, 1876.

the nation, they would be able to hold their several favorite haunts.

The terms of the new treaty reserved an extent of country bounded by a line beginning at a point on the north bank of the Clearwater, three miles below the mouth of Lapwai Creek, crossing to the north bank at Hatwai Creek and taking in a strip of country seven miles wide along the river, reaching to the North Fork, thence in a general southerly course to the 46th parallel, and thence west and north to the place of beginning, containing 1,500,000 acres, or about 500 acres to every individual in the nation, and embracing Kamiah prairie and many small valleys, as well as some mountain land, the whole being less than one sixth of the former reservation. By this division, Lawyer retained his home at Kamiah, and Big Thunder his location at Lapwai, these two being the principal men in the nation.

The consideration agreed to be paid for the relinquished lands, in addition to the annuities due under the former treaty, and the goods and provisions distributed at the signing of the treaty, was $260,000, of which $150,000 was to be expended in removing and settling on the reservation such families as were outside the new limits, and ploughing and fencing their lots, which were also to be surveyed for them, four years being allowed for the completion of this part of the contract. The sums already mentioned as offered for farm-wagons and implements, mills, school-houses, and schools, were to be paid, with an additional $50,000 for boarding and clothing the children, and two years additional of the school appropriation at $2,000 a year. To build two churches within a year after the ratification of the treaty—one at Lapwai and one at Kamiah—$2,500 was provided. Provision was made for two subordinate chiefs, with a salary of $500 each, and houses furnished. Inasmuch as several provisions of the former treaty had not been carried out, $16,000 was agreed upon to sup-

ply the deficiency. To the chief Timothy, who led Colonel Steptoe into the midst of his enemies in 1858, was allowed $600 to build him a house. The Nez Percé claim for horses was to be paid in gold coin, and all the conditions of the first treaty not abrogated or changed were to remain in force, the United States reserving the right to lay out roads across the reservation, build hotels or stage-stations, and establish the crossings of streams; but the profits of ferriage, licenses, and rents accruing from these improvements were reserved to the Indians, as well as the timber, springs, and fountains on the reservation.[9]

I have dwelt thus particularly upon the conditions of the Nez Percé treaty because of the prominence of this aboriginal nation among the tribes of the northwest, and in order to explain what is to follow. Congress being fully occupied with the complex questions arising during the civil war, and in consequence of it, gave little attention to Indian affairs, and had little money to expend upon treaties. The Nez Percés meanwhile had much to complain of. The treaty of 1855 was not ratified until 1859. No appropriation was made until 1861, and then only a partial one. Another partial payment was made in 1862. Meanwhile evil-disposed persons poisoned the minds of that portion of the tribe which had always been disaffected, saying that the government was broken up by the rebellion and could not redeem its promises, and that the Indians were fools to observe their part of the compact. There was much justification for apprehension of fraud or failure in the overrunning of the reservation by miners, and the location of the capital of the territory upon it. It was to do away

[9] The only privilege asked other than here named was that of a grant of land at Lewiston to their friend Robert Newell, which was acceded to in the 9th article of the treaty. They had requested at the former treaty that William Craig might be allowed to remain as a settler on the reservation, which request was granted. In 1873 an Indian agent endeavored to compel Craig's heirs to leave this improved land, but the government gave them a patent to it. *Lewiston Idaho Signal*, Jan. 10, 1875.

with these fears and establish the status of both white and red men that the new treaty was proposed.

But here again the government was remiss. It neither honored the old treaty nor confirmed the new. In 1865 I find the agents writing that no money has been received since June 1863; that the white settlers insisted upon the terms of the new treaty not yet confirmed, while the Indians clung to the old, and there was danger that a hostile confederacy would be formed between the people of Eagle-from-the-light and the Blackfoot and Crow nations for the extermination of the white settlers of Idaho and Montana. At length, upon the representations of Governor Lyon, a sum little short of $70,000 was placed in his hands for the benefit of the Indians, but for $50,000 of which he failed to account.[10] Thus time and money slipped away.

In 1867, the senate having amended the treaty of 1863, a special agent was appointed in conjunction with Governor Ballard and others,[11] to induce the Nez Percés to accept the amendments; but this being refused, the treaty was finally ratified in its first form[12] by six hundred of the nation, and in the following year Lawyer, Utsemilicum, Timothy, and Jason, chiefs, attended by P. B. Whitman, interpreter, and Robert Newell, made a journey to Washington City, by permission of the president, to talk with him and the head of the Indian department about the still existing differences of construction put upon those articles. Utsemilicum died in Washington soon after arriving, but Lawyer, who could better bear the strong rays of civilization's midday sun, lived to profit by his visit, and returned with Jason to instruct his people.

[10] *Rept of Com. Ind. Aff.*, in *Boisé Statesman*, Feb. 21, 1867. Lyon went to Washington in 1866 ostensibly to make good this defalcation, but claimed that he was robbed en route.

[11] The commissioners were D. W. Ballard, ex-officio superintendent, Judge Hough, special agent, James O'Neil, regular agent of the Nez Percés, Robert Newell, and Major Truax. *Portland Oregonian*, June 26, 1876.

[12] *Rept Sec. Int.*, 1867-S, pt ii., 14-15; *Owyhee Avalanche*, June 15, 1867.

Some amendments to the treaty[13] as it existed were proposed by Lawyer, who complained, among other things, that the reservation was too small. He was afraid of being crowded.

In 1869 the government made a change in the administration of affairs at the various Indian agencies, by assigning to each a military officer as agent, and Lieutenant J. W. Wham was appointed to the Lapwai agency. The superintendent of Indian affairs was also a military officer, whom we have met in southern Oregon, Colonel De L. Floyd Jones. But by an act of congress, passed in July 1870, it was made necessary to relieve officers of the army from this service, and the next change made was that of placing the appointment of Indian agents in the choice of religious societies, to each of whom certain agencies were assigned by the department. The Nez Percés were placed in charge of the presbyterians, who nominated a man of their church, J. B. Monteith.

None of these, however, were as satisfactory to the Indians as their former agents had been. D. M. Sells, who relieved Wham in February 1870, was much complained of for a 'scandalous fraud' in fencing the Indian farms,[14] and Monteith was obnoxious on account of his sectarianism, a part of the Indians being catholic, and desiring catholic teachers. Then the government appointed another commission to inquire into this and other grievances, which reported that catholic[15] interference would destroy the effect of the

[13] The amendments agreed upon were, that in the event of the land within the reserve not being sufficient for the selection of 20-acre lots of good agricultural ground, then 20-acre lots of improved land might be made outside of the reserve; and also that the cutting of timber on the reservation should be prohibited, except when done by the permission of the head chief and the U. S. Indian officers. *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 4, 1868.

[14] See rept of special com., in *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1873, 159.

[15] The commissioners this time were John P. Shanks, Gov. Bennett, and Henry W. Reed. They gave it as their opinion that 'the strife between two religious denominations is a great detriment to the Indians, as they are not well prepared to see that there is no religion in such a contest. If the catholics are allowed to build a church on the reservation, it will measurably destroy the schools on the reservation, or compel the establishment of other schools than those provided for by treaty.' *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1873, 158. The late superintendent, Jones, had reported that the jesuit fathers were anxious

instruction given by the government under the presbyterians. The other causes of dissatisfaction related to the presence of certain white persons upon the reservation whom the agent wished removed, but whom Jacob, who had been elected head chief, desired to remain.[16]

These were important issues on a reservation, and employed the politicians of the Nez Percé nation, who had little else to do, in a continual attempt to show cause why they should not be satisfied, although the treaty of 1863, when finally ratified, had been pretty faithfully observed. The greatest obstacle in the way of the welfare of the Indians was the same now that it had been when Spalding first taught amongst them—an abhorrence of labor. The reservation system, although made unavoidable by the danger to the Indians of contact with white men's vices, encouraged idleness by providing for the wants of the Indians until such time as the benefits of their treaties should expire, and they be compelled to work.

But it was not only that the Nez Percés on the reservation required much soothing; ever since the council of 1863 there was a threatening faction among the non-treaty Nez Percés who had never removed to the reserve. Eagle-from-the-light spent most of his time east of the Rocky Mountains among the warlike tribes of Montana and the plains. Several petty chiefs resided on tributaries of the Salmon and Snake rivers in Idaho, and Joseph, son of that chief Joseph who had been a member of Spalding's church at Lapwai away back in 1844, made the valley of Wallowa Creek in Oregon his summer resort for fishing and

to get control of the schools at Lapwai and Kamiah, and that in his opinion it would be better they should, as it would take the children away from the influence of their parents.

[16]See *Lewiston Signal*, May 17, June 21, Aug. 23, Nov. 29, and Dec. 20, 1873; *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1873, 158. These were keepers of inns or stage-stations, who under the treaty were allowed to occupy a few acres for a food supply and grazing. The complaint of the agent was that they cultivated more land than was intended in the treaty, and sold the productions. On the other hand, the agent was accused of taking the property of the Indians, provided by the government under the treaty, for his own use.

grazing his stock, but for the rest of the time roamed where he pleased.[17]

Joseph's people came in contact with the Shoshones, and with a bad class of white men, neither of which were profitable as associates. The longer he remained off the reservation and under these influences the worse it was for everybody—at least, so thought the inhabitants of Idaho, who had an experimental knowledge of Indian disturbances, and who, alarmed by the Modoc war, arising from almost exactly similar circumstances, urged the Indian department to take measures to remove all the Indians to their reservations.

Accordingly, in March 1873, Superintendent Odeneal of Oregon, and Agent Monteith, under instructions from the secretary of the interior, held a conference with Joseph and his followers at Lapwai, to listen to their grievances and report to the secretary. At this conference Joseph entirely repudiated the treaty of 1863, and declared his refusal to go upon either the Umatilla or Nez Percé reservations, as proposed. Upon this report, the secretary issued an order that Joseph's band should be permitted to remain in the Wallowa Valley during the summer and autumn, promising that they should not be disturbed so long as they remained quiet. The secretary also directed that a description of the country should be sent to him, that he might make an order setting apart this valley for the exclusive use of the Indians, prohibiting its further settlement by white people, and enabling him to purchase the improvements already made. On the 16th of June the president set apart a reservation for the non-treaty Nez Percés under Joseph, including the Wallowa and Immaha valleys, the latter being the usual residence of this chief.

This infraction of the treaty of 1863 by the secre-

[17] The Wallowa Valley is a high region, and fit only for grazing; but as a stock country it is unsurpassed, and therefore became settled by stock-raisers, whose presence was an irritation to the Nez Percés, who claimed it.

tary and president occasioned much disapprobation, and gave further cause for alarm, being a repetition of the course pursued toward the Modocs, which resulted so disastrously. The newspapers warned the people to be ready in case of an outbreak, with their arms in order and ammunition on hand. A company of volunteers was raised at Mount Idaho, which being on the border of the reservation was in the most exposed situation. The governor of Idaho made a requisition upon the ordnance department of the United States, which shipped to him 500 Springfield rifled muskets, and ammunition in large quantity, which arms and ammunition were to be issued to organized military companies, under certain restrictions and pledges.

These precautions were not without good reason, there being much uneasiness among all the tribes in Idaho, caused, it was believed, by the Modoc war, and frequent instances were reported of insolent and threatening behavior, with occasional thefts and murders, which were generally attributed to the Shoshones. The Cœur d'Alênes and other northern tribes partook of the excitement, and Odenal and Monteith were directed to negotiate with them, after which a council was held, July 29, 1873, between the Cœur d'Alênes and the commissioners before mentioned as having been appointed in this year. These Indians had never entered into treaty relations with the United States, but had remained friendly after the punishment administered in 1858 by Colonel Wright. A reservation had been assigned to them in 1867 by order of the president, upon which, however, they had never been confined, and which interested persons had caused to be changed, to their injury. Agents who had been appointed to reside among them to protect their rights had not done so. Of some of these they complained that their practices and examples were scandalous. These abuses the commissioners promised should be corrected, and a

new reservation was agreed upon, extending from the mouth of the Okanagan River eastward by the course of the Columbia and Spokane rivers to the boundary line between Washington and Idaho, and east of that five miles, whence it ran north to the 49th parallel and west along that line to the middle of the channel of the Okanagan River, and thence to its mouth. This large area was reserved for the several tribes residing upon it, namely, the Lower Spokane, Lake, San Poel, Colville, Pend d'Oreille, Kootenai, and Methom bands, as well as the Cœur d'Alênes. All the improvements of white persons were to be purchased and presented to the Indians, except those of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had been paid for in the award to that company. To any head of a family desiring to begin to farm for a livelihood, a certificate was to be issued securing the possession of 160 acres, with assistance in putting in a crop and building houses. Schools were to follow in good time. Every child of a white father and Indian mother should be entitled to inherit from the estate of the father, and cohabitation should be considered to constitute marriage in a suit for the rights of inheritance.[18]

On the part of the Indians, they promised to surrender their title to the country south and east of the tract reserved, and asked no pay, in money or goods; but if the United States wished, they would accept such help as above named. A year afterward congress had taken no action in the matter, and the Indians were still roaming and unsettled.

[18] This provision was aimed at the practices of certain men, who, the Indians complained, took their women and begot children, which they left for the tribe to support. Among these were Park Winans, former agent, Sherwood, Winan's farmer, Perkins, and Smith, who wanted to be made agent. Rept of special com., in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 102, 43d cong. 1st sess.

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN WARS.

1874–1878.

MARCH OF THE CAVALRY—ATTITUDE OF JOSEPH—HIS OPINION OF INDIAN RESERVATIONS—INDIAN OUTBREAKS—MILITARY COMPANIES IN THE FIELD—THE GOVERNORS OF WASHINGTON, OREGON, AND IDAHO—BATTLE OF COTTONWOOD—JEALOUSIES BETWEEN REGULARS AND VOLUNTEERS—BATTLE OF CLEARWATER—FLIGHT OF JOSEPH—BATTLE OF RUBY CREEK—ON SNAKE CREEK—SURRENDER OF JOSEPH—ANOTHER INDIAN TREATY—DISAFFECTION OF THE BANNACKS—FURTHER FIGHTING—END OF HOSTILITIES.

AFTER the close of the Modoc war, General Davis ordered a march by the cavalry of 700 miles through the country threatened by dissatisfied tribes, in order to impress upon their minds the military force of the United States. But the reservation set apart for Joseph and his non-treaty followers remained unoccupied, and he continued to roam as before. The settlers on the Wallowa were impatient to know whether their indemnity money was to be paid, or what course the government would pursue, and wrote to their representative in congress, who replied that the commissioner of Indian affairs had assured him that the reservation order would be rescinded, and the settlers left undisturbed.[1] With this understanding, not only the settlers who were in the valley remained, but others joined them, and when the Indians overrun their land claims with imperious freedom, warned them off. It was not until June 10, 1875, that the president revoked his order, thereby formally

[1] *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1874, 57–8; *Lewiston Signal*, June 13, 1874.

releasing 1,425 square miles from any shadow of Indian title.

But Joseph regarded neither president nor people, and in 1876 another special commission was appointed by the Indian department at Washington to proceed to Idaho and inquire into the status of Joseph with regard to his tribe and the treaties. The commissioners were D. H. Jerome, O. O. Howard, William Stickney, A. C. Barstow, and H. Clay Wood. They arrived at Lapwai in November, where Joseph met them after a week of the customary delay, and proceeded to measure his intellectual strength with theirs.

When plied with questions, he had no grievances to state, and haughtily declared that he had not come to talk about land. When it was explained to him that his position in holding on to territory which had been ceded by the majority of the nation was not tenable according to the laws of other great nations; that the state of Oregon had extended its laws over this land; that the climate of the Wallowa Valley rendered it unfit for a reservation, as nothing could be raised there for the support of the Indians, with other objections for setting it apart for such a purpose, and a part of the Nez Percé reservation was offered instead, with aid in making farms, building houses, and instruction in various industries—he steadily replied that the maker of the earth had not partitioned it off, and men should not. The earth was his mother, and, sacred to his affections, too precious to be sold. He did not wish to learn farming, but to live upon such fruits as the earth produced for him without effort. Moreover, and this I think was the real motive, the earth carried chieftainship with it, and to part with it would be to degrade himself from his authority. As for a reservation, he did not wish for that, in the Wallowa or elsewhere, because that would subject him to the will of another, and to laws made by others. Such was substantially his answer, given in a serious and earnest manner, for Joseph was a

believer in the Smohollah doctrine, whose converts were called 'dreamers,' an order of white-man-hating prophets which had arisen among the Indians.[2]

The commissioners recommended that the teachers of the dreamer religion should not be permitted to visit other tribes, but should be confined to their respective agencies, as their influence on the non-treaty Indians was pernicious; secondly, a military station should be established at once in the Wallowa Valley, while the agent of the Nez Percés should still strive to settle all that would listen to him upon the reservation; thirdly, that unless in a reasonable time Joseph consented to be removed, he should be forcibly taken with his people and given lands on the reservation; fourthly, if they persisted in overrunning the lands of settlers and disturbing the peace by threats or otherwise, sufficient force should be used to bring them into subjection. And a similar policy was recommended toward all the non-treaty and roaming bands.

The government adopted the suggestions as offered, stationing two companies of cavalry in the Wallowa Valley, and using all diligence in persuading the Indians to go upon the reservation, to which at length, in May 1877, they consented, Joseph and White Bird for their own and other smaller bands agreeing to remove at a given time, and selecting their lands, not because they wished to, but because they must, they understanding perfectly the orders issued concerning them. Thirty days were allowed for removal. On the twenty-ninth day the war-whoop was sounded, and the tragedy of Lost River Valley in Oregon was reënacted along the Salmon River in Idaho.

For two weeks Indians of the bands of Joseph, White Bird, and Looking-glass had been gathering on Cottonwood Creek, at the north end of Camas

[2] They held that their dead would arise and sweep the white race from the earth. Joseph said that the blood of one of his people who had been slain in a feud, by a white man, would 'call the dust of their fathers back to life, to people the land in protest of this great wrong.' See *Sec. Int. Rept*, 603, 45th cong. 2 sess.

prairie, which lay at the foothills of the Florence Mountains, about sixty-five miles from Lewiston, with the ostensible purpose of removing to the reservation. The white settlements extended along the prairie for considerable distance, the principal one—Mount Idaho—being central. Other settlements on Salmon River were from fifteen to thirty miles distant from Mount Idaho, in a south and south-west direction.

General Howard was at Fort Lapwai, and cognizant of the fact that several hundred Indians, with a thousand horses, were on the border of the reservation without coming upon it. On the afternoon of the last day of grace he directed Captain Perry, whom we have met before in the Modoc country, to have ready a small detachment which should start early on the morning of the 15th to obtain news of the actions and purposes of the Indians. That same evening the general received a letter from a prominent citizen of Mount Idaho, giving expression to his fears that the Indians did not intend to keep faith with him, but took no measures to prevent the execution of their design should the settlers' fears prove true. In the morning, at the time and in the manner before indicated, the detachment trotted out toward Cottonwood Creek to bring in a report. It returned at noon, having met two reservation Indians excitedly bearing the news that four white men had been killed on John Day Creek, and that White Bird was riding about declaring that the non-treaty Indians would not go on the reservation.

Howard hastened to the agency to consult with Montieth, taking with him the Indian witnesses, who, on being questioned, represented that the white men were killed in a private quarrel. This report necessitated sending other messengers to prove the truth of the Indian statement before the general commanding in Oregon would feel justified in displaying any military force. Late that afternoon they returned, and with them another messenger from Mount Idaho

with letters giving a detailed account of a general massacre on Salmon River,[3] and the destruction of all the property of the settlers, including their stock, which, if not driven off, was killed.

There were at Fort Lapwai two companies of cavalry—Captain Perry's troop F, and Captain Trimble's troop H—numbering together 99 men. On the night of Friday, 15th, Perry set out with his command, and came upon the Indians in White Bird cañon early Sunday morning. Perry immediately attacked, but with the most disastrous results. In about an hour thirty-four of his men had been killed and two wounded, making a loss of forty per cent of his command. The volunteers, who were chiefly employed holding the horses of the cavalrymen, sustained but a slight loss. A retreat of sixteen miles to Grangeville was effected, the dead being left upon the field.

In the mean time Howard was using all despatch to concentrate a more considerable force at Lewiston and Lapwai; the governors of Oregon and Washington were forwarding munitions of war to volunteer companies in their respective commonwealths; and Governor Brayman of Idaho issued a proclamation for the formation of volunteer companies, to whom he could offer neither arms nor pay, but for whom a telegraphic order from Washington soon provided the former.[4]

[3] So far as can be gathered from the confused accounts, the first four men killed were on White Bird Creek. They were shot June 14th as they sat playing cards, the Indians being about 20 in number who did the shooting. That same morning they shot Samuel Benedict through the legs while about his farm-work. In the evening they went to his house and murdered him, together with a German named August, Mrs Benedict and two children escaping by the aid of an Indian.

[4] The first company of volunteers was organized at Mount Idaho, where a fortification had been erected. A part of these, under A. Chapman, were with Perry on the 17th. Another company, organized for defence merely, was at Slate Creek. The governor of Idaho ordered to the hostile region, June 20th, a company under Orlando Robbins of Idaho City. A company was organized at Placerville, under J. V. R. Witt. Capt. Hunter of Columbia county, Washington, with 50 volunteers, reported to Howard on the 22d; also Capt. Elliott from the same county with 25; Page of Walla Walla with 20 men, and Williams with 10; and about the same time Capt. McConville of Lewiston with 20 volunteers—making altogether a force, in addition to the regulars, of about 150 men.

Not until the 22d were there troops enough brought together, from Wallowa, Walla Walla, and other points, to enable Howard to take the field. At that date 225 men, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, were ready to march.[5] Such defensive measures as were possible were taken to secure the settlements, and the little army commenced a pursuit which lasted from the 23d of June to the 4th of October, with enough of interesting incidents to fill a volume.[6] The first skirmish took place on the 28th, when Howard, who had two days before arrived at White Bird cañon to collect and bury Perry's dead, and been reënforced with about 175 infantry and artillerymen,[7] discovered the Indians in force on the west side of Salmon River not far from opposite the mouth of White Bird Creek. They flaunted their blankets in defiance at the soldiers, dashed down the bare hillside to the river bank, discharged their rifles, and retreated toward Snake River, uninjured by the fire of the troops. Crossing the turbulent Salmon with no other aid than two small row-boats, the army took up the stern chase on the 2d of July. Before starting upon it, Whipple was sent on a march of forty miles toward Kamiah to check the reported preparations for war of the band of young Looking-glass, son of the old chief of that name; but having to rest his horses at Mount Idaho,

[5] Companies L, Capt. Whipple, and E, Capt. Winters, cavalry; companies D, Capt. Pollock, I, Capt. Eltonhead, E, Capt. Miles, B, Capt. Jocelyn, H, Capt. Haughey, 21st infantry; and E, Capt. Miller, 4th artillery. Howard's rept, in *Sec. War Rept*, 1877–8, 120. Capt. Bendire from Camp Harney and Maj. Green from Fort Boisé were ordered to the valley of the Weiser to prevent Joseph's retreat to Wallowa, and to cut off communication between him and the Malheur Shoshones, or Winnemucca's Piutes.

[6] A very good narrative of the campaign is contained in a pamphlet of 47 pages by Thomas A. Sutherland, a newspaper writer who accompanied Howard as a volunteer aide-de-camp, entitled *Howard's Campaign against the Nez Percé Indians*, 1877. Portland, 1878. There is also a partial review of the campaign, written by C. E. S. Wood, in the May number of the *Century* magazine, 1884, which contains also a portrait of Joseph. My account is drawn chiefly from the different official reports in the *Sec. War Rept*, 1877–8.

[7] Companies M, Capt. Throckmorton, D, Capt. Rodney, A, Capt. Bancroft, and G, Capt. Morris, 4th artillery; and E, Capt. Burton, 21st infantry. A company of volunteers under Capt. Page of Walla Walla, scouting along the ridge to the right of the cañon, discovered the Indians. This company returned home on the 29th, escorting, together with Perry's company, a pack-train under Lieut Miller of the 1st cavalry to Lapwai, for supplies.

the chief gave him the go-by, and escaped to Joseph, with his people, leaving over 600 horses in the hands of the troops. Whipple then marched back to Cottonwood, where there was a stockade, and scouted to keep the road from Lapwai open for the supply train under Perry.

Meantime Howard was following Joseph through the mountainous region on the west side of the Salmon. When he arrived at Craig's crossing of the river he learned that the Nez Percés had already recrossed at a lower point, and doubling on their track had returned to Camas prairie, and were keeping the cavalry at Cottonwood penned up in the stockade.

One of two scouts sent out to reconnoitre in the direction of Lawyer Creek cañon was captured. The other escaping to the quarters of the troops, Whipple despatched to the assistance of the captive ten men under S. M. Rains, guided by the survivor. Before the main command could mount and overtake this detachment, the whole twelve had been ambushed and slain. This was on the 3d of July. On the 4th Whipple marched to meet Perry, and escorted him to Cottonwood without encountering Indians; they were surrounding the station with the design of capturing the supplies. Rifle-pits and barricades were constructed, and Gatling guns placed in position. Skirmishing was kept up until nine o'clock that evening, but so inadequate was the force to the situation that the enemy was suffered to move off unmolested toward the Clearwater the following morning. A company of seventeen volunteers, D. B. Randall captain, coming from Mount Idaho, encountered the enemy within a mile of Cottonwood, and escaped, after a severe engagement, only by the assistance of a company of cavalry from that place, which rescued them after half an hour of exposure to the Indian fire.[8]

[8] When Randall saw their intention and his situation, he ordered, not a retreat, but a charge through the Indian line, a dash to the creek bottom about a mile from Perry's camp, there to dismount and return fire, until relief should be sent them from that place. The order was obeyed without falter-

When Howard heard of the appearance of the Indians on Camas prairie he treated it as the rumor of a raid only, and ordered McConville's and Hunter's volunteers to reënforce Perry, in command at Cottonwood. This force performed escort duty to the wagon conveying the wounded and dead of Randall's command to Mount Idaho, and returned in time to meet the general when he arrived at Cottonwood via Craig's ferry, sixteen miles distant from that camp. McConville then proposed to make a reconnoissance in force by uniting four volunteer companies in one battalion, and discover the whereabouts of the Indians. Accordingly, he soon reported them within ten miles of Kamiah, and that he with his battalion occupied a strong position six miles from Kamiah, which Howard requested him to hold until he could get his troops into position, which he did on the 11th, McConville withdrawing on that day[9] to within three miles of Mount Idaho to give protection to that place should the Indians be driven in that direction.

Joseph was at this time in the full flush of success. He had abundance of ammunition and booty. His return to Camas prairie and the reservation grounds had drawn to him about forty of the young warriors

ing and the position gained, but Randall was mortally wounded in the charge. He sat upon the ground and fired until within five minutes of his death. The remaining sixteen made no attempt to run toward camp, trusting in the commander of the troops to be rescued, which rescue was afforded them after an hour of hard fighting. In the mean time B. F. Evans was killed, and A. Bledland, D. H. Houser, and Charles Johnson wounded. The other members of this brave company were L. P. Willmote, J. Searly, James Buchanan, William Beemer, Charles Chase, C. M. Day, Ephraim Bunker, Frank Vancise, George Riggings, A. D. Bartley, H. C. Johnson, and F. A. Fenn.

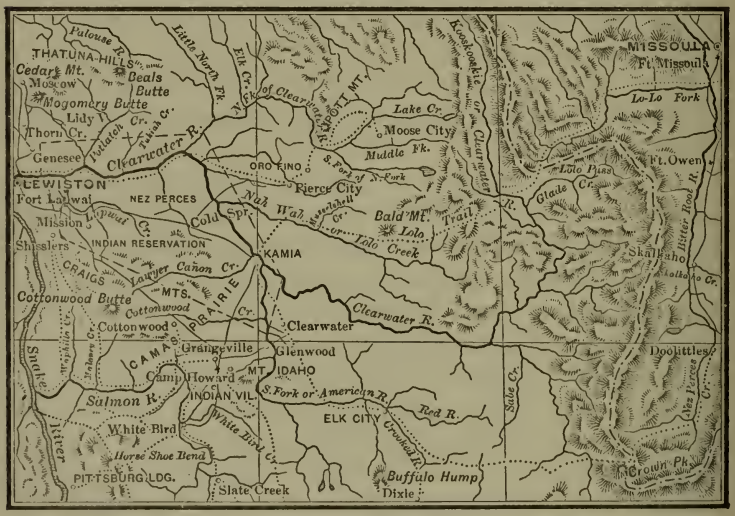
[9] There seem to have been the usual jealousies and misunderstandings between the regulars and volunteers. McConville was blamed for leaving his position, which Howard designed him to hold as a part of the enveloping force; but the volunteers certainly did not lack in courage. They were only 90 strong, and were attacked by the Indians on the night of the 10th, losing 50 of their horses. Howard was then across the south branch of the Clearwater, 4 miles beyond Jackson's bridge, undiscovered by the Indians, who were giving their whole attention to the volunteers, who thus performed a very important duty of diverting observation from the army while getting in position. Being separated from Howard by the river, and having lost a large number of their horses, it was prudent and good tactics to retire and let the Indians fall into the trap Howard had set for them, near their own camp, and to place himself between the settlements and the Indians. See Howard's report, in *Sec. War Rept*, 1877–8, 122; *Sutherland's Howard's Campaign*, 6.

of the treaty bands, and twenty or more Cœur d'Alênes, thirsting for the excitement of war. He expected to be attacked, but from the direction of the volunteers, on which side of his camp he had erected fortifications. On the other he had prepared a trail leading up from the Clearwater as a means of escape in case of defeat, and made many caches of provisions and valuable property. The camp lay not far from the mouth of Cottonwood Creek, in a defile of the high hills which bordered the Clearwater. A level valley of no great width was thus bounded on either side of the river. When Howard placed his guns in position for firing into the enemy's camp he found that on account of the depth of the cañon which protected the Indians he only alarmed instead of hitting them, and they ran their horses and cattle beyond range of the artillery up the stream, on both sides of the Clearwater, getting them out of danger in ten minutes.

Hurrying the guns to another position around the head of a ravine, a distance of a mile and a half, the Indians were found to have crossed the river, and thrown up breastworks ready for battle. Firing commenced here, and Howard's whole command was posted up and down the river for two miles and a half, in a crescent shape, with supplies and horses in the centre. So active were the Indians that they had almost prevented the left from getting into position, and had captured a small train bringing ammunition, which the cavalry rescued after two packers were killed. Their sharp-shooters were posted in every conceivable place, and sometimes joined together in a company and attacked the defences thrown up by the troops. To these fierce charges the troops replied by counter-charges, the two lines advancing until they nearly met. In these encounters the Indians had the advantage of occupying the wooded skirts of the ravines, by which they ascended from the river bottom to the open country, while the soldiers could only

avoid their fire by throwing themselves prone upon the earth in the dry grass, and firing in this position. All the time the voice of Joseph was heard loudly calling his orders as he ran from point to point of his line. And thus the day wore on, and night fell, after which, instead of the noise of battle, there was the death-wail, and the scalp-song rising from the Nez Percé camp. The only spring of water was in the possession of the Indians, and was not taken until the morning of the 12th.

Howard then withdrew the artillery from the lines, leaving the cavalry and infantry to hold them, and Captain Miller was directed to make a movement



THE LOLO TRAIL.

with his battalion, piercing the enemy's line near the centre, crossing his barricaded ravine, and facing about suddenly to strike him in reverse, using a howitzer. At the moment Miller was about to move to execute this order a supply train, under Captain Jackson, was discovered advancing, and Miller's battalion was sent to escort it within the lines, which

was done with a little skirmishing. This accomplished, he marched slowly past Howard's front, and turning quickly and unexpectedly, charged the barricades, about two o'clock in the afternoon. After a few moments of furious fighting, the Indians gave way, their defences were taken, and they fled in confusion, the whole army in pursuit, the Indians retreating to the Kamiah ferry and the trail to the buffalo country by the Lolo fork of the Clearwater.

Joseph was not in a condition to leave Idaho at once. He therefore encamped four miles beyond Kamiah, over a range of hills, and sent word to Howard that he wished to surrender. The general had spent the 14th in reconnoitring, and had started on the 15th to march with a column of cavalry twenty miles down the Clearwater and cross at Dunwell's ferry, hoping the Indians would believe he had gone to Lapwai. But Joseph had been once taken by a strategic movement of that kind, and had no fear of another. He rose equal to the occasion, and by another ruse de guerre induced Howard to hasten to Kamiah to listen to his proposal of surrender. At Kamiah he met, not Joseph, but a head-man from his staff, who entertained him with a talk about his chiefs, while one of his people fired on the general from an ambush. This put an end to negotiations; the messenger surrendered with his family, and a few recruits from the neighboring tribes whom the battle of Clearwater had satisfied with war, and Howard again prepared to follow Joseph.[10]

It was not until the 17th that the pursuit commenced. On that day Colonel Mason, with the cavalry, the Indian scouts, and McConville's volunteers, were ordered to make a two days' march to discover the nature of the trail, and whether the Indians were

[10] Sutherland says that Joseph really desired to surrender, and was only deterred by the answer of Howard, that if he would come in with his warriors they would be tried by a military court, and get justice, with which prospect Joseph was not satisfied. Howard, however, states in his report that he regarded the proposition to surrender as a ruse to delay movements.

keeping on toward the buffalo country. They found the trail leading over wooded mountains, where masses of fallen timber furnished frequent opportunities for ambuscades, and on the 18th, when within three miles of Oro Fino Creek, the scouts and volunteers ran into the enemy's rear-guard. Only the tactics of the scouts, by drawing the attention of the attacking party, saved the volunteers from severe loss. Three of the scouts were disarmed, one wounded, and one killed. The enemy sustained a loss of one warrior killed, and two pack-animals. After this involuntary skirmish, the troops hastily retreated to Kamiah, where they arrived that night.

The retreat of the cavalry was followed by the return of a small force of the hostile Nez Percés, who, scattering themselves over the country in search of plunder, caused great alarm to the white inhabitants and the reservation Indians. They pillaged and burned some houses on the north fork of the Clearwater, captured 400 horses from the Kamiahs, and rejoined their main army. This raid was the last one made by Joseph's people in Idaho. From this time they pushed on upon their extraordinary exodus, whose objective point became the British possessions.

By the battle of the Clearwater, Joseph's plans were disarranged. Had he been as successful here as up to this time he had been, all the ill-disposed reservation and non-treaty Indians would have gathered to his camp and the war would have been much more disastrous than it was. His loss in battle was twenty-three killed, and between forty and fifty wounded, a large percentage out of 300 fighting men. Taken together with the loss of camp equipage and provisions, he had sustained a severe blow, among the severest of which was the desertion of his temporary recruits. Henceforth he could not hope to increase the number of his followers in his own country. Howard's loss was thirteen killed, and two officers and twenty-two men wounded.

The last raid of Joseph had also interfered with the plans of Howard, by compelling him to remain in the vicinity of the places threatened until troops then on the way should arrive to protect them. It was his first intention to march his whole command to Missoula City in Montana, by the Mullan road, where he hoped to intercept Joseph as he emerged from the Lolo cañon in that vicinty. He had already telegraphed Sherman, then in Montana, and the commanders of posts east of the Bitter Root Mountains, information of Joseph's exodus by the Lolo trail, and asked for coöperation in intercepting him. On the 30th, two weeks after the Nez Percés started from their camps beyond Kamiah, Howard set out to overtake them with a battalion of cavalry, one of infantry, and one of artillery, in all about 700 men, another column having taken the Mullan road a few days earlier.

Captain Rawn of Fort Missoula, on hearing that Joseph was expected to emerge from the Lolo trail into the Bitter Root Valley, erected barricades at the mouth of the cañon to prevent it, and hold him for Howard. He had twenty-five regular troops, and 200 volunteers to garrison the stone fort. He committed the error of placing the fortifications too near the exit of the trail, outside of two lateral ravines, of one of which Joseph made use to pass around him and escape, having first consumed four days in pretended negotiations, during which time he made himself master of the topography of the country.

Once in the Bitter Boot Valley, they bartered such things as they had, chiefly horses, with the inhabitants, who dared not refuse,[11] and supplied themselves with what they most needed.[12]

[11] One merchant, Young of Corvallis, refused to trade with them, closed his store, and dared them to do their worst. Gibbon's rept, in *Sec. War Rept*, 1877–8, 68. Some, however, of the little town of Stephensville, sold provisions and ammunition to the Indians, and followed them in wagons to trade. *Sutherland's Howard's Campaign*, 23.

[12] This needs some explanation. There were a considerable number of old Indian traders and Hudson's Bay men in Montana, who could not resist the

There was but a single regiment in western Montana when Howard made his demand for aid. This was the 7th infantry, under Colonel John Gibbon. Withdrawing all he could from forts Benton, Baker, and Missoula, Gibbon started in pursuit of Joseph soon after he passed the latter post, July 27th. He had seventeen officers, 132 men, and thirty-four citizen volunteers. On the night of the 8th of August he succeeded in creeping close to Joseph's camp, which was situated on a piece of bottom-land on Ruby Creek, a small stream forming one of the head waters of Wisdom River. At daylight on the 9th he attacked, and the Indians being surprised, their camp fell into the hands of the infantry in less than half an hour. But while the soldiers were firing the lodges, the Indians, who had at first run to cover, began pouring upon them in return a leaden shower, which quickly drove them to hiding-places in the woods. Fighting continued all day without abatement, the Indians capturing a howitzer and a pack-mule laden with ammunition. During the night the Nez Percés escaped, leaving 89 dead on the field, of whom some were women and children. Gibbon had 29 killed and 40 wounded, himself being one of the latter.[13]

On the second morning after this battle, Howard came up with a picked escort, and Mason with the remainder of the cavalry arrived late on the 12th. On the 13th Howard took up the pursuit again with the addition to his battalion of fifty of Gibbon's command. Proceeding southward he was met by the report of eight men killed near the head of Horse prairie the previous night, and 200 horses captured.[14]

tempting opportunity to increase their stock from the herds of the fugitive Nez Percés. The U. S. officers complained of this in their reports, without discriminating between this class and American-born citizens.

[13] Of the killed, 6 were volunteers, viz.: L. C. Elliott, John Armstrong, David Morrow, Alvin Lockwood, Campbell Mitchell, H. S. Bostwick. Wounded volunteers: Myron Lockwood, Otto Syford, Jacob Baker, and William Ryan. Gibbon's rept, in *Sec. War Rept*, 1877–8, 72.

[14] This may refer to the same attack by the Nez Percés mentioned in Shoup's *Idaho Territory*, MS., 12–13, which says that Joseph's people met a large train coming over the mountains from Bannack City to Lemhi, and

But on the 15th he received a message from Colonel George L. Shoup, of the Idaho volunteers, informing him that the Indians had recrossed the mountains into Idaho, and surrounded the temporary fortifications at Junction, in Lemhi Valley, containing only forty citizens. Shoup with sixty volunteers had reconnoitred their camp west of Junction, finding them too strong to attack, and called for help. Before Howard could decide to send assistance, another courier informed him that Joseph had made a sudden movement toward the east, leaving the fortified settlers of Lemhi unharmed. Other couriers from the stage company intercepted him on the 16th, and reported the Indians on the road beyond Dry Creek station, in Montana, interrupting travel, and cutting off telegraphic communication, although a guard had been set upon every pass known to the commander of the pursuing army. It was not until the 18th that their camp was discovered near that place.

The following day was Sunday, and Howard, who had religious scruples, went into camp early in the afternoon, about eighteen miles from the encampment of the Nez Percés. The opportunity was a good one for Joseph, who commenced a movement on his own rear a little before sunset, cautiously approaching Howard's camp, and sending a few skilled horse-thieves into it, undertook to divert the attention of the troops by a sudden advance on the pickets, while they stampeded the pack-animals. At daylight three companies started in pursuit, and a skirmish ensued, which by continuance became a battle, the remainder of the force joining in. The result was one man killed, six wounded, and the loss of the pack-train, which was not recovered. Thus the chase was kept up as far as Henry Lake, where Howard awaited supplies, and rested his men and horses.

attacking them, drove them into the stockade in Lemhi Valley. They also captured and destroyed 8 wagons, loaded with goods for Shoup & Co. and Frederick Phillips, killing five men and the teams.

As for Joseph, he and his people seemed made all of endurance. They passed on into Wyoming and the national park by the way of the Madison branch of the Missouri. In the lower geyser basin they captured a party of tourists, resting but a short time near Yellowstone Lake. Although a large number of troops were put into the field, namely, six companies of the 7th cavalry under Colonel Sturgis, five of the fifth cavalry under Major Hart, and ten other cavalry companies under Colonel Merritt, to scout in every direction, Joseph again evaded them, and crossed the Yellowstone at the mouth of Clark Fork, September 10th, leaving both Sturgis and Howard in the rear. Sturgis, being reënforced and sent in fast pursuit, overtook the Indians below Clark Fork, and skirmishing with them, killed and wounded several, and captured a large number of horses. Nevertheless, they again escaped, crossing the Musselshell and Missouri Rivers, the latter at Cow Island, the low-water steamboat landing for Fort Benton, where they burned the warehouses and stores, and skirmished with a detachment of the 7th infantry engaged in improving the river near Cow Island. On the 23d of September they moved north again toward the British possessions.

When Howard found that the Nez Percés had escaped from Sturgis and himself at Clark Fork, he sent word to Colonel Miles, stationed at the mouth of Tongue River, who immediately organized a force to intercept them. This command left Tongue River barracks on the 18th, reaching the Missouri at the mouth of the Musselshell on the 23d, learning the direction taken by the fugitives on the 25th, and coming up with their camp on Snake Creek, near the north end of Bear Paw Mountains, on the 29th. An attack was made the next morning by three several battalions, the Indians taking refuge, as usual, in the mountain defiles.[15]

[15] Besides Miles' own regiment of the 5th infantry, he had a battalion of the 7th cavalry under Captain Hale, and another of the 2d cavalry under Captain Tyler, detailed to his command. *Sec. War Rept*, 1877–8, 74.

The first charge cut off from camp all the horses, which were captured, and half the warriors. In the second charge, on the rifle-pits, Captain Hale and Lieutenant Biddle were killed. As soon as the infantry came up, the camp was entirely surrounded, but as it was evident the fortifications could not be taken without heavy loss, Miles contented himself with keeping the enemy under fire until he should surrender. For four days and nights the Indians and the troops kept their positions. A white flag was several times displayed in the Nez Percé camp, but when required to lay down their arms they refused. At length, on the 5th of October, after three and a half months of war, meanwhile being ten weeks hunted from place to place, the Nez Percés were forced to surrender, and General Howard, who had arrived just in time to be present at the ceremony, directed Joseph to give up his arms to Colonel Miles. In the last action Joseph had lost his brother Onicut, a young brave resembling himself in military talent, Looking-glass, another prominent chief, and two head-men, besides twenty-five warriors killed and forty-six wounded. Miles lost, beside the two officers named, twenty-one killed and forty-four wounded. The number of persons killed outside of battle by Joseph's people was about fifty; volunteers killed in war, thirteen; officers and men of the regular army, 105. The wounded were not less than 120.

To capture 300 warriors, encumbered with their families and stock, required at various times the services of between thirty and forty companies of United States troops, supplemented by volunteers and Indian scouts. The distance marched by Howard's army from Kamiah to Bear Paw Mountains was over 1,500 miles, a march the severity of which has rarely been equalled, as its length on the war-path has never been surpassed.

The fame of Joseph became wide-spread by reason of this enormous outlay of money and effort in his

capture, and from the military skill displayed in avoiding it for such a length of time. It only shows that war may be maintained as well by the barbarian as by the civilized man, the best arms and the greatest numbers deciding the contest. When the Nez Percés surrendered, they were promised permission to return to Idaho, and were given in charge of Colonel Miles, to be kept until spring, it then being too late to make the journey. But General Sheridan, in whose department they were, ordered them to Fort Leavenworth, and afterward to the Indian Territory, near the Ponca agency, where they subsequently lived quietly and enjoyed health and comfort. That this was a judicious course to pursue under the circumstances, the behavior of a part of White Bird's band, who fled to the British possessions after surrendering, and returned to Idaho the following summer, satisfactorily demonstrated.[16]

Scarcely was the Nez Percé war over, and Joseph's people banished, before the territory was again agi-

[16] The number of Nez Percés, exclusive of Joseph's followers, still off the reservation in 1878, was 500. The progress of the Nez Percés who remained on the reservation was rather assisted than retarded by the separation from their fellowship of the non-treaty Indians. Four of the young men from Kamiah were examined by the presbytery of Oregon in 1877, and licensed to preach and teach among their tribe. The membership of the Kamiah and Lapwai churches in 1879 was over 300. They were presided over by one white minister, and one Nez Percé minister named Robert Williams, and contributed of their own means toward the support of their teachers. That a good deal of their christianity was vanity, was shown on the 4th of July, 1879, which day was celebrated by the Kamiah division of the tribe. As the procession formed to march from camp to the place selected for the exercises, those wearing blankets and adhering to aboriginal customs were excluded by the chief and head-men with a contemptuous 'no Indians allowed.' Such is the inexorable law of progress—no Indians allowed. In 1880 there were nearly 4,000 acres under cultivation by 170 Nez Percé farmers. Of the 1,200 who lived on the reserve, nearly 900 wore citizens' dress. In educational matters they were less forward. Notwithstanding the grant by treaty of $6,000 annually for educational purposes, for thirteen years, and notwithstanding missionary efforts, the number who could read in 1880 was 110. The number of children of school age on the reservation was 250, about one fifth of whom attended school. On the 1st of July, 1880, the Stevens treaty expired by limitation, and with it chieftainships and annuities were abolished. In most cases chieftainship had been a source of jealousy to the Indians and danger to the white people, as in the instances of Joseph, White Bird, and others; but the influence of Lawyer and his successor was probably worth much more than the salary he received, in preserving the peace. When it finally passed away, it was no longer needed for that purpose.

tated by the threatening attitude of the Shoshone and allied tribes. The origin of the outbreak was their dissatisfaction as wards of the government. For a few years after their subjugation by generals Crook and Conner the people of Idaho enjoyed a period of freedom from alarms, but in 1871 there was a general restlessness among the tribes of southern Idaho, from the eastern to the western boundary, that boded no good.[17]

In 1867, while the Shoshone war was yet in progress, Governor Ballard, in his capacity of ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs, made an informal treaty with the Bannack branch of the Shoshone nation in the eastern part of Idaho, by which they agreed to go upon the Fort Hall reservation before the 1st of June, 1868, provided the land should be set apart forever to them, and that they should be taught husbandry, mechanics, and given schools for their children. The Boisé and Bruneau Shoshones were also gathered under an agent and fed through the winter. In 1868 all these Indians were located on the reservation at Fort Hall, some of them straying back to their former homes. A formal treaty was this year made with the Bannacks, by which 1,568,000 acres were set apart for their use and that of kindred tribes. But the ardor with which some of these Indians set to work to learn farming was quenched by the results of the first year's effort, the grasshoppers destroying a large portion of their crop, in addition to which the government was, as so often happened, behind with its annuities. By the terms of the treaty the Indians were permitted to go to the buffalo-grounds, and to dig camas on Big Camas prairie, a part of which was agreed to be set aside for their use whenever they should desire it.[18] Affairs progressed favorably until

[17] The language of Norkok, a Shoshone chief, to the agent at the Bannack and Shoshone agency in 1869, on being refused annuity goods off the reservation, was that he supposed the only way to obtain presents was 'to steal a few horses and kill a few white men.' *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1869, 275.

[18] *Reversion of Indian Treaties*, 1873, p. 931, in *Sec. War Rept*, 1878–9, ii. 151.

the death of the principal chief, Tygee, in 1871, when the Indians began to present a hostile front. In 1872 an Indian from the Fort Hall reservation attempted to shoot a farmer at work making hay on the South Boisé River. He was seized, but finally liberated by the white man who took him, rather than incur the danger of bringing on a conflict with the tribe. Several similar affairs happened during the summer, and some murders were committed. In 1873 the government ordered the special commission before referred to, of which Shanks was chairman, to investigate causes of trouble in the district of Idaho. These commissioners made a modification of the former treaty with the Bannacks and Shoshones, by which they relinquished their right to hunt on the unoccupied lands of the United States without a written permit from the agent. But no reference was made in the amendments to Camas prairie privileges. Once at Camas prairie, the Indians proceeded under their different chiefs, in detachments, to the Weiser Valley, now being occupied by settlers, where they were met by the Umatillas from Oregon, and where they held a grand fair, horse-races, and exchange of property in the ancient manner. When thus assembled, they numbered, with the Umatillas, about 2,000, and the settlers felt unsafe from their proximity. The superintendency having been taken away from the governor, there was no appeal within the territory, except to the agent at Fort Hall, who justified the giving of passes on account of the meagreness of the commissary department at the agency.

Further trouble was caused in 1874 by an order from the Indian department for the removal of about a thousand Indians—among whom was a band known as the Sheep Eaters, who, five years previous, had been settled in the Lemhi Valley under an agent—to the Fort Hall reservation, these Indians refusing to be removed. In the following year the order was withdrawn, and a reservation set apart for them con-

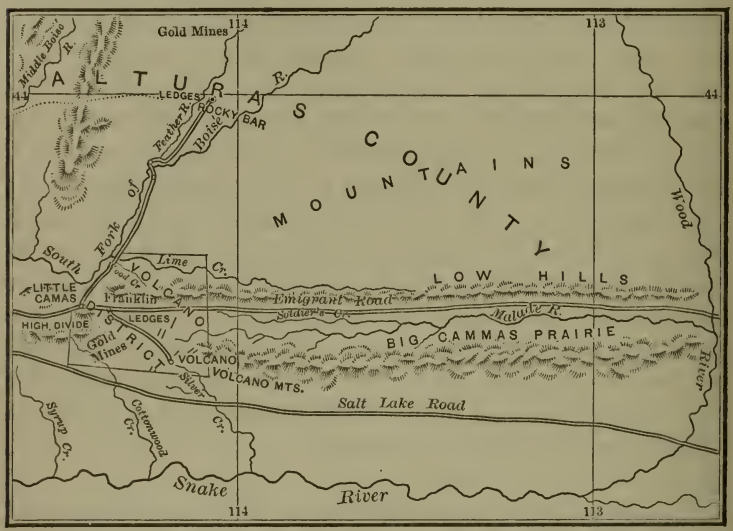
taining 100 square miles. In this year, also, an addition was made to the Malheur reservation in Oregon, which was still further enlarged, with new boundaries, in 1876.

But meantime the Modoc war and Joseph's attitude concerning the Wallowa Valley had their effect in disturbing the minds of the Indians, particularly those of the Oregon Shoshones and the Piutes associated with them. Three or four years of deceitful quiet followed the banishment of the Modocs. When the Nez Percé outbreak occurred, great alarm was felt by the white inhabitants lest the Shoshones and Piutes should join in the revolt. Winnemucca, chief of the Piutes, appeared on the Owyhee with all his warriors; but finding the people watchful, and the military active, they remained quiescent, and Joseph was permitted to do his own fighting. Yet the widespread consternation which this one band was able to create, and the injury it succeeded in inflicting, encouraged the Indians—many of whom were believers in the Smohallah doctrine of the conquest of the country by the red men—to think that a more combined attack would be successful.

In the summer and autumn of 1877 the Bannacks on the Fort Hall reservation became so turbulent as to require a considerable military force at the agency. When spring came there was not enough food to keep them all on the reservation,[19] would they have stayed; and being off, in May they commenced shooting white people on Camas prairie, to which, under the treaty, they laid claim equally with the United States. As the settlers kept swine, the camas root was destroyed by them in a wholesale manner very irritating to the Indians.

[19] It should be explained that the scarcity of food was partly occasioned by the Nez Percé war, which prevented the Indians from hunting as usual. Of this the Bannacks were as well aware as their agent. Congress appropriated $14,000 for their subsistence in 1877, but the deficiency mentioned and the greater number on the reservation caused a partial famine.

Their first demonstration, after threatening for some time, was to fire upon two herders, wounding them severely. They next captured King Hill stage-station, destroying property and driving off the horses, the men in charge barely escaping. About the same time they appeared on Jordan Creek, demanding arms and ammunition, and captured two freight-wagons near Glen's ferry on Snake River, driving off



CAMAS PRAIRIE AND VOLCANO DISTRICT.

100 horses, cutting loose the ferry-boat, and destroying several farm-houses from which the families had fled. The settlers of this region fortified themselves at Payne's ferry, and formed a volunteer company. All over the territory again, as in the preceding summer, business was prostrated, farms were deserted, and citizens under arms.

Again it required time to concentrate troops and find where to strike the Indians. Their movement seemed to be from Fort Hall west along Snake River to the Owyhee. The leader of the hostile Bannacks was Buffalo Horn, one of the Bannack scouts em-

ployed in the Nez Percé war, but who was said to have deserted Howard at Henry Lake because he would not be advised by him, and push on to Joseph's camp, which he insisted could be taken at that time. Evidently he had a taste for fighting which was not satisfied with Howard's tactics. The chiefs of the Piutes, Winnemucca and Natchez, maintained an appearance of friendship, while Eagan and Oits led the Indians of south-western Oregon and northern Nevada, Piutes and Malheurs, in their murderous raids. The Umatilla Indians were divided, many of them joining the war-making bands, and others volunteering to fight with the troops. There seemed imminent danger that the uprising would become general, from Utah and Nevada to British Columbia.

The first actual conflict between armed parties was on the 8th of June, when a company of thirty-five volunteers, under J. B. Harper of Silver City, encountered sixty Bannacks seven miles east of South Mountain in Owyhee county. The volunteers were compelled to retreat, with four white men and two Indian scouts killed, one man wounded, and one missing.[20] On the 11th the stage was attacked between Camp McDermitt and Owyhee, the driver killed, mail destroyed, and some arms and ammunition intended for citizens captured. The Indians on the Malheur reservation in Oregon had left the agency about one week previous, after destroying a large amount of property, going in the direction of Boisé. On the 15th Howard, who was near Cedar Mountain in Oregon, announced the main body of the enemy, 600 strong, to be congregated in the valley between Cedar and Steen mountains, and that he was about to move upon them[21] with sixteen companies of cavalry,

[20] See *Silver City Avalanche*, June 22, 1878. One of the killed was O. H. Purdy, one of the discoverers of the Owyhee mines. He insisted, against more cautious counsels, that it was the duty of the company to go to the assistance of the people of Jordan Valley, which was threatened. By doing so he lost his life, but diverted the Indians from their purpose for the time. Buffalo Horn was supposed to have been killed by Purdy in this skirmish.

[21] The companies in the field were those of Sandford, Bendire, Sumner, and

infantry, and artillery. This movement was commenced on the 23d, the advance, under Bernard, surprising himself and the Indians by running into their rear near Camp Curry the next morning at nine o'clock. The cavalry, four companies, charged the Indians, who rallied and forced Bernard to send for assistance. Not much loss numerically was sustained on either side, the Bannacks, however, losing their leader, Buffalo Horn, which was to them in moral force equivalent to a partial defeat. Before Howard came up, on the 25th, the Indians had disappeared, and left their course to be conjectured by the general. He believed that they would proceed north by Silver Creek and the south branch of John Day River, then up Granite Creek to Bridge Creek, to join the discontented Cayuses and other Indians in that vicinity, when they would make a demonstration still farther north. To provide for this, he sent Colonel Grover to Walla Walla to take command of five companies of cavalry, numbering 240 men, to intercept them, while he remained in their rear with 480 with whom to follow.

Being thus driven, the Indians moved rapidly north. On the 29th they poured into the valley of the south branch of John Day River, surrounding a little company of fifteen home-guards, killing one and wounding several. Wherever they went they pillaged and destroyed. Cattle were butchered by the hundreds and left to rot; valuable horses were killed or maimed, and whole herds of sheep mutilated and left to die. The appeals for military aid from beleaguered outlying settlements were as vain as they were piteous. Soldiers could not be spared for guard duty while employed in driving the Indians upon the citizens. Appeals to the governor of Oregon were equally fruitless,

Carr, under Col Grover, ordered to concentrate at Kinney's ferry, near old Fort Boisé; Bernard's and Whipple's, en route from Bruneau River, McGregor, and Bomus to join Bernard; Stewart's column, consisting of two companies of artillery and five of infantry, at Rhinehart's ferry on Malheur River; Egbert's reserve of five companies at Camp Lyon, to be reenforced by Cochran with one company of infantry. *Sec. War Rept*, 1878–9, 152.

as he was not permitted to call for volunteers, and was without arms to distribute to the unarmed settlers, or citizen companies.

On the 2d of July the loyal Umatillas, under their agent, Connoyer, met the enemy 400 strong, fighting them all day, killing thirty, with a loss of only two. This prevented a raid, but alarmed the thousand or more of helpless women and children gathered at Pendleton, and a petition for troops was sent to Walla

EASTERN OREGON.

Walla, where General Wheaton had a small force. Wheaton had been advised of the probable approach to the Columbia River of the raiders, and not yet having been joined by Grover, had moved his whole available force of fifty-four men to Wallula, where

they were to take a steamboat and patrol the river to observe if any Indians were crossing. But on receiving the call for help from Pendleton, he directed this company to proceed to that place.

All at once calls came from everywhere along the line of settlements, from Des Chutes to the head waters of John Day, showing hostile Indians all along between these points. At Bake Oven, fifty miles from The Dalles, on the 2d of July, they captured a wagon laden with arms and ammunition for the state militia, burned a house, killed one man, and wounded two others. At the same date they were fighting in the vicinity of Cañon City and raiding at other points. On the 5th of July Wheaton managed to get possession of a steamer, which he manned with ten ordnance soldiers and ten others, under Captain Kress, who, furnished with a howitzer and Gatling gun, started to patrol the Columbia in the vicinity of Wallula.

On the 6th General Howard was near Granite City, fifty miles south of Pendleton. Half-way between him and that place, at Willow Springs, a company of citizens was attacked, and Captain Sperry and nearly all his command killed or wounded. Hearing how the war was going, if war it could be called which was only a raid feebly resisted, governors Chadwick and Ferry hastened to Pendleton to confer with Howard. A large number of families were sent down the river to The Dalles on a special steamer. A few arms obtained at Vancouver were distributed at that place, and medical service rendered to the sick, of whom there were many, owing to the crowded condition of the town and the mental strain. The Portland militia companies tendered arms and services. The former were accepted, and a consignment of guns made to Governor Brayman of Idaho, arrested at Umatilla by permission, and furnished to the people in that vicinity. Governor Ferry also lent the guns belonging to Washington for use by the citizens of Oregon.

On the 8th of July three companies of cavalry from the department of the Clearwater, under Throckmorton, marching from Lapwai via Walla Walla and Pendleton, made a junction with Howard's force at Pilot Rock on Birch Creek, a branch of the Umatilla River, which skirts the reservation of the Umatilla Indians on the west, and near which, in Fox Valley, the Indian army had received a reënforcement of disloyal Umatillas, the number of the hostile Indians being now estimated at 1,000. The scouts at this point discovered the Indians in force six miles south-west of Pilot Rock, on Butter Creek, directly on the route to the Columbia, forty miles distant. Strongly posted on the crest of a steep hill, which could only be reached with difficulty by crossing a cañon, they awaited the approach of the troops, who skirmished to the top and drove them from their position, capturing some camp material, ammunition, and two hundred broken-down horses. Again they took a position among the pines which cover the crests of the Blue Mountains, but were soon dislodged by the cavalry under Bernard, and fled still farther into the mountains, where, owing to the roughness of the country, they were not pursued. In this skirmish the Indians sustained slight loss. Their best horses, with their families and property, were between them and the Columbia River, but, as Howard thought, going toward Grand Rond. On the same day several small bands effected a crossing to the north side of the Columbia, driving large bands of horses. Captain Kress with his armed steamboat intercepted one party below Umatilla, and Captain Wilkinson another above that place. The presence of boats at the crossings, notwithstanding Captain Worth, just from San Francisco with his company for this service, had been for several days engaged in seizing boats to prevent the passage of the Indians, showed the complicity of the Columbia River Indians.

Howard having satisfied himself that the principal

movement of the marauders was toward Snake River, through the Grand Rond, sent Sandford's three companies of cavalry and a company of infantry under Miles to follow them. The remainder of his force, under Forsyth, was ordered to Lewiston and Lapwai, to intercept the enemy at the Snake crossing. At Weston, on the 12th, he had a conference with governors Ferry and Chadwick, the latter endeavoring to show that the movement toward Lapwai was premature, and the country in danger if the troops abandoned Oregon at that time. He requested that Throckmorton, who was stationed on Butler Creek, should be ordered to the Umatilla agency. Howard maintained his belief that the Indians were hurrying toward Snake River, and departed the same afternoon for Lewiston by steamer, Chadwick returning to Pendleton. As he did so, he observed signal-fires on the Meacham road over the Blue Mountains, east of Cayuse station, where he had dined that day, and learned that the station had been attacked and burned, the raiding party pursuing the stage from Meacham's, and attacking another party of travellers, wounding two, one mortally.[22] Turning aside, he reached Pendleton by a different route during the night, finding the towns-people greatly agitated, the Indians being within six miles of that place, on the reservation. The governor had just despatched the few arms at his command to La Grande, and could do nothing toward arming the citizens. He had hastened a courier after Howard, who did not, however, return; and to give the people confidence, organized a battalion of three hundred men,[23] who ignorantly believed they were to be armed.

In the mean time, however, couriers had overtaken Miles, who was not far from Pendleton with one com-

[22] George Coggan, proprietor of the St Charles Hotel, Portland, died of his wounds. Alfred Bunker of La Grande and a man named Foster were with him. Foster escaped.

[23] Chadwick, in *Historical Correspondence*, MS.; *Governor's Message, Or.*, 1878, 13–22.

pany of infantry, one of artillery, and Bendire's cavalry, and who, being joined by a company of volunteers, gave the Indians battle on the morning of the 13th, and drove them in confusion several miles, or until they again escaped to the Blue Mountains. Five Indians were killed, and many wounded, while the loss on the side of the troops was two wounded.

On the same day Wheaton, being informed that Indians were approaching Wallula by the Vansycle cañon, sent an order to the cavalry under Forsyth, moving toward Lewiston, to turn back and intercept them. On learning of the invasion of the reservation, Forsyth was ordered to hasten to the assistance of Miles, and Wheaton himself joined the commands at the Umatilla agency on the 15th. Sanford, who had by this time reached La Grande, was ordered by telegraph to return and coöperate with Forsyth's column, which was in pursuit of the Indians, in attacking the Indian position on the head of McKay Creek, in the mountains, not far from Meacham's station on the road to La Grande. He found his force too small to meet the Indians congregated at the summit, and retreated to Grand Rond, where, with the assistance of volunteer companies, he kept watch upon the passes into that valley.

On the 16th, while Wheaton was marching toward Meacham's station, a company of Umatilla Indian volunteers pursuing the raiders killed their chief, Eagan, and brought in his head for identification, together with ten scalps. These sanguinary trophies looked less horrible after finding the bodies of seven teamsters killed along the road to Meacham's, and the contents of their wagons strewn upon the ground for miles. Again on the 17th the Umatillas, in charge of three white scouts, found the trail of the savages near the east branch of Birch Creek, on the Daly road to Baker City, and battled with them, killing seventeen and capturing twenty-five men, women, and children. Egbert's command on Snake River had taken

an equal number of prisoners. These reverses, and particularly the death of Eagan, dispirited these Indians, who had never shown the persistence or the bravery of the Nez Percés under Joseph. They were soon scattered in small parties, endeavoring to get back to Idaho or Nevada, and the troops were employed for several weeks longer in following and watching them. Little by little they surrendered. On the 10th of August 600 souls were in the hands of the commander of the department in Oregon. But it was some weeks later before depredations by small parties ceased in Idaho. The loss of property was immense. To the marauding parties were added, about the 1st of August, a portion of White Bird's band of Nez Percés, returned from the British possessions, where they had not met with satisfactory treatment from Sitting Bull, the expatriated Sioux chief, to whom they had fled on the surrender of Joseph. The close of hostilities soon after their arrival rendered them powerless to carry on war, and they became reabsorbed in the Nez Percé nation. The establishment of Camp Howard, near Mount Idaho, and Camp—later fort—Cœur d'Alêne, followed the outbreaks here described. After this no serious trouble was experienced in controlling the Indians.

CHAPTER VI.

NATURAL WEALTH.

1865–1885.

MINING PROSPERITY AND REVERSES—EARLY AND LATER DEVELOPMENTS—THE SEVERAL GOLD AND SILVER MINING DISTRICTS—THE SNAKE RIVER REGION—PRODUCTION—BASE METALS—IRON VEINS—SALT—SULPHUR—SODA—MICA—STONE—AGRICULTURE—SOIL—GRASSES AND GRAZING—FORESTS—CLIMATE—HEALTH—BOUNDLESS POSSIBILITIES.

FROM 1865, when quartz-mining was very promising in Idaho, to 1876, a fair degree of prosperity was enjoyed by the owners of mines. Prospecting was, however, much retarded by the Indian troubles from 1865 to 1868, an account of which has been given in my *History of Oregon*. Expensive milling machinery had been hastily introduced in the first excitement of quartz discoveries, which lessened the profits without much increasing the results of reducing the ores in arastras. But the straw which broke the camel's back was the defaulting of the secretaries of three of the richest mining companies in the Owyhee region, and the suspension of the Bank of California, which occurred about the same time. These combined misfortunes operated against investment from abroad, and checked the increase of home enterprise; and as mining property is taken hold of with great caution except in the excitement of discovery, the fame of the Idaho quartz lodes became overshadowed by later discoveries in other territories. There occurred no mining rush, no brain-turning find of incredible treasure, after the close of what might be termed the second period

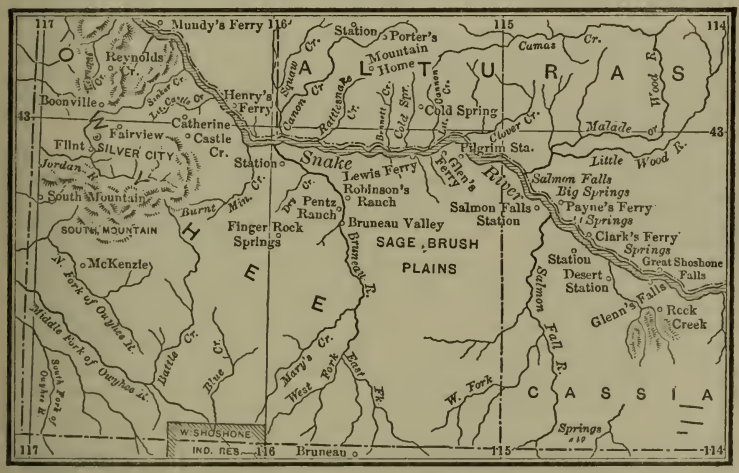
in the history of mining in Idaho, when placers were exhausted of their first marvellous wealth,[1] and veins

[1] Some of the first discovered veins, already mentioned in a previous chapter, retained their productiveness. The Gold Hill mine was sold in 1869, since which time to 1884 it produced $2,850,000. It was not until 1878 that the Banner district, north of Quartzburg, in Boisé county, began to be really developed. The mines of War Eagle Mountain, in Owyhee county, continued productive. Oro Fino, the first discovery, yielded $2,756,128 in six years, without any considerable cost to its owners. The Elmore, later called the Bannack, in one month in 1868 yielded $500,000, the ore being crushed in a twenty-stamp mill. This mine, irregularly worked, a few months at a time, produced from 1868 to 1886 $2,000,000. The entire production of the Poorman previous to its suspension was $4,000,000. This mine yielded a large quantity of extraordinary rich chlorides. Some masses of horn-silver looked like solid lead tinted with crimson, and was sixty per cent pure silver. Its second and third class ores yielded $230 to the ton in the early period of its development, and the first grade as high as $4,000. A block of this ore weighing 500 pounds was sent to the world's exposition at Paris in 1866, which obtained an award of a gold medal, and was regarded with much interest. But the Poorman, after various changes of management, owing to litigation, suffered a final blow to its prosperity in 1876, when the secretary of the company absconded with the funds, and it suspended work, along with every other incorporated mine in Owyhee except the Golden Chariot, which ran for some time longer. A period of depression, followed by the Indian disturbances of 1877 and 1878, involved many mining operators in apparently hopeless disaster. But in 1880 capital began once more to seek investment in the long-neglected quartz mines of Owyhee. It may be interesting hereafter to be able to refer to the names of mines discovered in Owyhee previous to 1865. They were the Whiskey Gulch, Oro Fino, Morning Star, Ida Elmore (Bannack), Golden Chariot, War Eagle, Minnesota, Silver Bullion, Hidden Treasure, General Grant, Noonday, Centurion, Golden Eagle, Allison, Blazing Star, Montana, Home Ticket, Floreta, Silver Legion, Eureka, Calaveras, Caledonia, Empire, Dashaway, Red Jacket. Poorman was discovered a little later than these. Between 1865 and 1880 many other mines were added to the list. Mahogany, Stormy Hill, South Chariot, Illinois Central, North Extension Illinois Central, Belle Peck, North Extension Poorman, South Poorman, Lucky Poorman, Big Fish, Boycott, Glenbrook, Clearbrook, Idlewild, North Empire, South Empire, San Juan, Dubuque, Silver Cloud, Louisiana, Ruby, Jackson, Silver City, Ruth, Sinker, By Chance, Potosi, Rattling Jack, St James, South Extension Morning Star, Northern Light, Trook & Jennings, Whiskey, Brannan, Home Resort, Savage, Piute, Miami, Lone Tree, Home Stake, Little Fish, Silver Cord, Golden Cord, Standard, Ruby and Horn Silver Lode, Philox, Webfoot, Wilson, Idaho, Gentle Emma, Stoddard, Ohio, Henrietta, Tremont, Crown Point, Redemption, Boonville, Empire State, Florida Hill, Seventy-Nine, Paymaster, Black Jack, Leviathan, Sierra Nevada, Owyhee, Treasury, Yreka, Crown Point, Avenue, Rose, Hudson, Phœnix No. 1, Phœnix No. 2, Phœnix No. 3, and Carson Chief, were all more or less prospected, and about half them being worked to some extent.

The mining districts of Owyhee were five in number. Carson district began on the summit of War Eagle Mountain, and ran west 8 miles, and north and south 15 miles. French district began on the summit of the same mountain, and ran easterly toward Snake River, and north and south about 12 miles. Steele district adjoined French, and was about 8 miles from Silver City. Flint district was 9 miles south of Silver City. Mammoth district was 12 miles south-west of the same place, and Wagontown district 7 miles north-west. South Mountain was 30 miles south of Silver City. The mineral characteristics of the several districts were gold and silver in the War Eagle and Florida mountains; geologically, War Eagle was granite and Flor-

of gold and silver quartz were eagerly sought after. For several years no one thought of mining on Snake

ida porphyritic. In the Flint district were found refractory ores and tin; geologically, it was granitic and porphyritic, as was also Wagontown, which produced silver and milling ores. South Mountain produced argentiferous galena, its rocks being limestone, porphyry, and granite, with some metamorphosed slates. Lithologically, the two extremes of the Owyhee region, War Eagle and South Mountain, were separated by a mass of basalt and lava. The gold veins ran almost due north and south; the silver veins, north-west and south-east. At the centennial exposition, 1876, medals were awarded to the gold ores from Golden Chariot and South Chariot, and silver ores from Home Resort and Leviathan; for silver-gold ores from Oro Fino; for lead bullion from South Mountain; and silver-lead ores from the Silver Chord mine.



SOUTH-WESTERN IDAHO.

In 1881 the depth to which Owyhee mines had been worked varied from 150 to 1,500 feet. I am indebted to a series of articles by Gilbert Butler which appeared in the *Silver City Avalanche*, in 1881, for much knowledge of the condition and history of the Idaho mines down to that period.

The Owyhee Treasury on Florida Mountain furnished ore, one hundred feet down, that yielded seventy-five cents to the pound. A 'stringer' in the mine yielded nearly $46 to a pound of ore, worked in a common mortar. From 120 pounds was taken $2,344.80; but the ordinary milling ore was rated at $50 per ton. Several mines in the vicinity promised nearly equal riches. The bullion output for Owyhee county in 1881 was nearly $300,000. *Silver State*, June 24, 1881. Sold to the Varkoff Mining, Smelting, and Milling Company were the mines Catalow, Graham, Tuscarora, Venice, New York, Gazelle, Belcher, Mono, Black Warrior, New Dollar, and Red Fox, aggregating 14,200 linear feet. *Silver City Avalanche*, May 7, 1881.

For many years it was known to prospectors that the Wood River country contained large ledges of galena ores. The first lode was discovered by W. P. Callahan, while on his way to Montana, in 1864. Nothing was done until 1872, when Callahan returned and relocated it, naming it after himself. It was on

River, that stream not presenting the usual features of a placer mining district, although flour-gold was

the main Wood River, 11 miles above the crossing of the Boisé and Salmon City road. A little work was done on the vein annually, the ore being shipped to Salt Lake for smelting, at a great expense, where it sold in 1880 for $200 a ton. The second camp was 5 miles north of the road, and named after the discoverer, Frank Jacobs. *Silver City Avalanche*, March 13, 1880. The belligerent attitude of the Indians of southern Idaho, who knew that settlement followed mining, prevented the occupation of that region until after the subjugation of the Bannacks in 1878. During the summer of 1879–80 in an area of 60 miles square as many as 2,000 claims were taken up, the ore from which, shipped to Salt Lake, yielded on reduction from $100 to $500 per ton in silver. Several towns immediately sprang up. Bellevue had 250 houses at the end of the first seven months, and the Elkhorn mine had shipped $16,000 worth of ore, besides having left 150 tons. Rock from the Bullion mine assayed $11,000 per ton, and although not all showed equally rich, the yield of from $100 to $500 was common, making the belt in which the Bullion mine was situated, and which gave it its name, one of the richest as well as one of the most extensive in the world, being eighteen miles long, extending from Bellevue to Ketchum, and a part only of the silver-bearing region, which comprised between 4,000 and 5,000 square miles. The gross product of the Bullion mine in 1883 was $250,000.

The Bullion belt and district was the richest yet discovered. The geological formation was quartzite, slate, and porphyry. The ores were galena and carbonates, with antimony and copper, yielding sixty to eighty per cent of lead. On the east side of the river the best mineral was found in limestone, or limestone and granite. The ores were cube, leaf, and fine-grained galena and carbonates, yielding lead in about the same proportion as the Bullion belt, and silver at the rate of $100 to $300 per ton. South-west from the Bullion belt was the Ornament Hill and Willow Creek district. The ledges in this district were immense in size, and in a granite belt, containing, besides lead and silver, antimony and gold. Again, on the Wood River Mountains, on the east side, was another belt of mines in calcareous shale, limestone, and quartzite, yielding from $50 to $100 per ton. The Ornament Hill mines, very rich in silver and bearing traces of gold, were the only free-milling ores in the whole silver region. The Mayflower mine, discovered in 1880, was sold to a Chicago company and consolidated with two others. It had shipped in 1883 three thousand tons of ore; the first thousand tons yielding $152,000, the second $144,000, and the third $276,000. This mine adjoined the Bullion. On the same lode were the Jay Gould, Saturn Group of four mines, Ophir-Durango group, and Highland Chief. This was the middle one of three lodes running north-west and south-east. On the western lode were the Mountain View, Red Elephant, O. K., and Point Lookout. On the eastern lode were the Coloradan, Fraction, Chicago, Bay State, Iris, Eureka, Idahoan, Parnell, and Pass. There were in 1883 four smelters at work on Wood River between Bellevue and Galena, two of forty tons capacity per day and two of sixty tons, producing together an average of fifty tons of bullion daily. The names of other mines favorably known in the early days of Wood River were the Star, Minnie Moore, Gladiator, Concordia, Idaho Democrat, Solid Muldoon, Overland, Homestake, Guy, and Mountain Belle, in the lower Wood River or Mineral Hill district.

North of Mineral Hill district, which contained the above-mentioned mines, was the Warm Springs district, containing many locations considered of great value; north-west of this, the Saw Tooth district; and west of it, the Little Smoky district—each rivalling the other in promising ledges. There were the Imperial, Oriental, Greenhorn, Perry, and Maud May; the Kelly group, comprising the West Fork, West Fork 2, Yellow Jacket, Black Hawk, and Big Beaver; the Moffit and Irvin group, comprising 18 locations, among

known to exist in considerable quantities. But about 1871 the experiment was made, which resulted in find-

which were the Ontario, Niagara, North Star, Sunday, and Black Horse. The Mountain Lily, owned by Lewis, produced copper-silver glance assaying 900 ounces to the ton. *Wood River Miner*, Aug. 12, 1881. The Elkhorn mine, 4 miles from Ketchum, also belonged to Lewis, and produced very valuable ores. On the east fork of Wood River were the North Star, American Eagle, Silver Fortune, Champion, Boss, Paymaster, Summit, Silver King. The Elkhorn was discovered by John Rasmussin, the North Star by William Jaikovski. In the same district were the Star Mountain group, consisting of the Ohio, Lulu, Hawkeye, Commodore, Bellevue, Star Mountain, Garfield, Amazon, Empire, and Hancock. On Deer Creek were the Narrow Gauge, N. G. No. 2, Banner, Kit Carson, Saturday Night, and Monumental. The Little Smoky mines were at the head of Warm Springs Creek, and assayed from 100 to 3,000 ounces smelting ore to the ton. Among them were the Climax and Carrie Leonard.

Wood River Mineral Districts.

In the Upper Wood River or Galena district, in a formation of slate and lime with some porphyry, was another group of mines averaging from $175 to $200 to the ton of smelting ore. Among the locations in the Galena district were the Shamrock, Signal, Western Home, Adelaide, White Cloud, Gladiator, Accident, Little Chief, Big Chief, Eunice, Wood River, J. Marion Sims, Baltimore, Dinero, Grand View, Lawrence, Senate, Red Cloud, Independence, Wellington, Leviathan, Highland Chief, Monarch, Our Girl, Clara, Garfield, and Serpent, the latter three being consolidated. These mines lay at an altitude of from 8,500 to 10 000 feet above sea-level. In the Saw Tooth district, which was divided from Wood and Salmon rivers by a high ridge called the Saw Tooth Mountains, in a granite formation, was a group of ledges bearing milling ores of a high grade, but sufficiently refractory to re-

ing good pay on the gravel bars in the vicinity of the Great Falls, the mouth of Raft River, Henry's Ferry,

quire roasting, the yield of bullion being from 250 to 500 ounces to the ton. The most noted of the early Saw Tooth mines were the Pilgrim, Vienna, Columbia, Smiley's, Beaver, Beaver Extension, Lucky Boy, Scotia, Atlanta, Nellie, Sunbeam, and Naples. This district was discovered in July 1879, by L. Smiley, a Montana pioneer and former superintendent of Utah mines, with a party of half a dozen men from Challis. An assay of the ore led to the return of Smiley in 1879, with E. M. Wilson, J. F. Kinsley, J. B. Richy, O'Leary, and others. Smiley located the Emma, Wilson the Vienna, Kinsley the Alturas, and many others were prospected during the season. *Silver City Avalanche*, March 20, 1880.

Lying north of Salmon River, and directly north of the Galena distict of Wood River, was the Yankee Fork district, discovered in 1870, but little worked before 1875, when the Charles Dickens gold-quartz lode was located by W. A. Norton, which paid $2,000 a ton. This renowned discovery was followed by the location of the Charles Wayne ledge by Curtis Estes, on Mount Estes, and a few months later by the location of the General Custer and Unknown on Mount Custer, by E. G. Dodge, J. R. Baxter, W. McKeen, and James Dodge. The Custer mine was in every respect a wonderful one. It was an immense ledge projected above the surface, requiring only quarrying instead of mining, and was as rich as it was large, and conveniently situated. It involved no outlay of capital; its face was good for a vast amount, which was easily extracted. The walls of this treasury had been nibbled away for several hundred feet by the tooth of time, exposing the solid mass of wealth to whoever would come and take it. A tunnel was run into this ore body and a tramway constructed, which served to convey the ore to the mill, 1,300 feet down the mountain. All the works were so nearly automatic in arrangement as to require at the mine and mill only fifty-two men to perform every part of the labor. The average value of the ore per ton was $135. From Feb. to Nov. 1881, the owners sent to market $800,000 worth of bullion, half of which was profit. Other well-known mines of this district, which is high and well wooded, were the Montana, Bay Horse, Ram's Horn, Skylark, Silver Wing, Utah Boy, Bull-of-the-Woods, Cuba, Juliet, River View, Post Boy, Hood, and Beardsley. The Montana produced from 700 to 1,000 ounces of bullion to the ton. *Wood River Miner*, July 20, 1881. The total value of 136,098 pounds of Montana ore, in 23 different lots, was $73,170.46. *Yankee Fork Herald*, Sept. 15, 1881. They shipped and sold 40 tons of ore which netted them $53,000. They are down 145 feet, and have a 165-foot level in $500 ore, 12 feet thick. *Shoup's Idaho Ter.*, MS., 9. The Montana mine was discovered by James Hooper, A. W. Faulkner, Duncan Cameron, Amos Franklin, and D. B. Varney. *Bonanza City Yankee Fork Herald*, July 24, 1879. The Ram's Horn was the longest vein known in the history of modern mining. There were 24 claims 1,500 feet long located on it. It assayed 800 ounces in silver per ton. Other mines on Mount Estes were the Tonto, Pioneer, Cynosure, Snow Bird, Hidden Treasure, General Miles, Colorado, Indiana, Manhattan, Golden Gate, North Star, Ophir, Polar Star, Last Chance, Lake, Snowshoe, King Idaho, Goldstone, and Bobtail. A rival to the Custer was the Montana, a gold mine on Mount Estes, near which Bonanza City was laid out in 1877. The vein was six and a half feet wide, and the rock fairly welded together with gold.

North-west of Yankee Fork district was the mining region of the middle fork of the Salmon, in which were a number of large ledges, on which locations were made in 1881. One mine, the Galena, assayed 190 ounces in silver to the ton; and the Northern Pacific, discovered by E. Miller and Harry Smith, assayed even richer. The Greyhound, 13 miles north-west of Cape Horn, on a high mountain, was on a 6-foot vein containing antimonial silver and chloride.

mouth of Catherine Creek, and other localities. In 1871 and 1872 several mining camps or towns sprang

Parallel to it, 60 feet north, was the White Dog, and 60 feet north of that the Lake View, 4 and 6 feet in width, and containing ore similar to the Greyhound. The Patrick Henry vein was 10 feet wide at the surface. The Colonel Bernard, Rufus, and Blue Grouse were of this group.

The Blue Wing silver district, 25 miles east of the Yankee Fork district; Texas Creek silver district, 75 miles north-west of the town of Camas in the northern part of Oneida county; Cariboo gold district in the eastern part of the same county; Squaw Creek silver district, 40 miles north-west of Boisé; Weiser gold, silver, and copper district on Weiser River; Lava Creek silver district, 70 miles west of Blackfoot in Oneida county, and Cariboo gold district, 75 miles north-east of Blackfoot—all contained mines of a high grade of ores.

The Cariboo district, when first discovered in 1870 by F. S. Babcock and S. McCoy, was mined as a placer district, and yielded for ten years $250,000 annually. The auriferous gravels were accumulated in what was known as Bilk gulch, which lies immediately under the summit of Cariboo Mountain, and consisted of abraded volcanic and sedimentary materials largely mixed with the red earth derived from the softer shales. The placers were distributed along Bilk and Iowa gulches, to the confluence with McCoy Creek, a distance of three miles, and on several small creeks and gulches in the neighborhood. Quartz was discovered in this district in 1874 by Daniel Griffiths and J. Thompson, who located the Oneida, a mine very rich in spots, and of good average yield; $35,000 was refused for the mine in 1880. In 1877 John Robinson discovered a porphyry belt on the north slope of the mountain, in which he located the Robinson mine at the head of Bilk gulch. The Austin, on the same belt, was developed along with the Robinson. These mines had a very large outcrop, extending more than 1,000 feet without a break, and having a width of 25 feet. Within 20 feet of this ledge was another parallel vein of great richness, and the intermediate porphyry gold-bearing.

On the southern slope of the mountain is another belt of porphyry, on which were the Northern Light, Virginia, Orphan Boy, Paymaster, and other mines. In the district were about eighty locations, carrying free gold from $10 to $1,200 per ton. Timber was plentiful in the district, and the ledges pronounced by experts to be true fissure veins. Other mines in Cariboo district were the Peterson, Nabob, Mountain Chief, Nealson, Oneida South, Northern Light Extension, N. S. Davenport, and Silver Star, more or less developed. Altitude over nine thousand feet. These discoveries conclusively proved Idaho a mining country. From the eastern to the western boundary, taking a wide swath through the central portion of the territory, the billowy swells and rugged heights were found full of minerals. Add to this central territory the country on the Clearwater, the lately discovered Cœur d'Alêne district, and the Owyhee region, there is but little left which is not metalliferous. It has long been known that gold existed in the Cœur d'Alêne region. A rediscovery was made in 1883, when the usual rush took place. The first eager gold-seekers pushed into the mines, dragging their outfits on toboggans (a kind of hand-sled, sometimes drawn by dogs), over several feet of snow. Eagle City started up with plenty of business; a saw-mill was erected at an enormous expense by Hood & Co., and a newspaper was started, called the *Nugget*, by C. F. McGlashan and W. E. Edwards. Considerable coarse gold was found and some valuable nuggets, but so far there seems nothing to justify any excitement. *S. F. Call*, March 31, 1884.

The placer mines of Idaho, as first discovered, were once supposed to be worked out to a degree to warrant only Chinese laborers on the ground. But the newer methods of bed-rock flumes and hydraulic apparatus have compelled the placers of Boisé basin to yield a new harvest, which, if not equal to the first, is richly remunerative. Ben. Willson, the 'placer king,' had 50

up along the river.[2] Thousands of ounces of gold-dust of the very finest quality were taken from the gravel in their neighborhood in these two years. The placers, however, were quickly exhausted on the lower bars, the implements in use failing to save any but the coarsest particles. The higher bars were unprospected and the camps abandoned. But about 1879 there was a revival of interest in the Snake River placers, and an improvement in appliances for mining them and saving the gold, which enabled operators to work the high bars which for hundreds of miles are gold-bearing. In many places they lift themselves directly from the water's edge, ten, twenty, a hundred, or two hundred feet, and then recede in a slope more or less elevated. At other points they form a succession of terraces, level at the top, varying from a few hundred feet to a mile or more in width.[3]

miles of ditches on Grimes Creek, costing $150,000. *Elliott's Hist. Idaho*, 175. The Salmon River placers, in Lemhi county, which gave rise to Salmon City in 1866, paid from five to seventeen dollars a day to the hand. Working them by the old methods they were practically exhausted in five years, but by the new method the same yield was obtained as at first. *Shoup's Idaho Ter.*, MS., 4. Ward and Napius discovered these mines. Loon Creek was discovered by Nathan Smith, a Cal. pioneer. In 1862 he came to Idaho, and was one of the discoverers of the Florence diggings. In 1869 he prospected Loon Creek, which he named from a bird of that species found on the stream. A thousand men were mining there at one time, and the town of Oro Grande was built up as a centre of trade. When the white men had taken off the richest deposits, the Chinese purchased the ground, and were working it, when in the winter of 1878–9 the Sheep Eater Indians made a descent upon them and swept away the whole camp, carrying off the property of the slaughtered Mongolians to their hiding-places in the mountains, from which Capt. Bernard had so much trouble to dislodge them the following summer. *Bonanza City Yankee Fork Herald*, Oct. 18, 1884.

[2] Mudbarville, Spring Town, Waterburg, and Dry Town were their euphonious appellations.

[3] The deposits were of various depths, the upper bed being from 25 to 50 feet deep, and lying on a hard-pan of pseudo-morphous rock from a few inches to three feet in thickness, beneath which is another deposit generally richer than the first. Or, in some places, the hard-pan is represented by a soft cement, found at a depth of from three to nine feet. The cost of opening a claim, and putting it in good order for working is about $5,000; and the receipts from it from $10 to $50 a day. Careful estimates, based on actual yields and measurements of ground, give the amount of gold obtained from an acre of ground as being from $5,000 to $10,000, at the rate of from $20 to $100 a day, with the gold-saving machines, which are furnished with an amalgamator.

The greatest hinderance to be overcome was the hoisting of water for mining purposes from the bed of the river, where there are no streams entering. The most feasible solution of this difficulty would be the construction of a

Coming to the actual production of the mines of Idaho, I find that, according to the annual report of the director of the mint of the United States, Idaho in 1879, when it was beginning to recover from the misfortunes of the previous decade, produced $1,150,000 in gold and $650,000 in silver, while the estimate in the tenth census is $1,944,203. In 1882 the product in gold and silver was $3,500,000, divided among ten counties, of which Custer, or the Wood River mines, produced more than one third.[4] But the report of the mint director is no more than a guide to the actual amount of gold produced, the larger part of which is shipped out of the territory by banking firms or in private hands, and goes to the mint at last without any sign of its nativity. The total gold product of Idaho down to 1880 as deposited at the mints and assay offices has been set down at $24,157,447, and of silver $727,282.60. But some $60,000,000 should be added to that amount, making the yield of precious metals for Idaho $90,000,000 previous to 1881, when the revival of mining took place. Strahorn estimates the output of 1881 in gold, silver, and lead at $4,915,100.[5]

canal taking water out of the river above, and carrying it to all the mines below. This device, besides making mining a permanent business on Snake River, would redeem extensive tracts of land which only need water for irrigation to change them from sage-brush wildernesses to gardens of delicious fruits and vegetables, or fields of golden grain. The principal claims were on the upper Snake River, at Cariboo, and above in Wyoming, and also at Black Cañon, where the Idaho Snake River Gold Mining Company had some rich ground, $100 a day to the man having been taken out with a rocker, a copper plate, and a bottle of cyanide of potassium. The average yield was $25 a day over 80 acres of auriferous gravel. The Lawrence and Holmes Company had a claim near Blackfoot paying from $19 to $50 a day to the man. Lane & Co., near the mouth of Raft River, obtained $25 a day to the man; and Argyle & Co., near Fall Creek, owned placers that paid $100 a day to the man. Other rich placers were mined in the vicinity of Salmon Falls. The best seasons for working, in reference to the stage of water in the river and the state of the weather, was from the 1st of March to the middle of May, and from the 1st of September to the 1st of November.

[4] That every county but four should be quoted as gold-producing shows a very general diffusion of precious metals. The proportion was as follows: Alturas $945,000; Boisé $310,000; Cassia $25,000; Custer $1,250,000; Idaho $240,000; Lemhi $210,000; Nez Percé $5,000; Oneida $35,000; Owyhee $430,000; Shoshone $50,000.

[5] See *Strahorn's Idaho Ter.*, 61. The *Virginia and Helena Post* of Jan. 15, 1867, makes the output of the Idaho mines in 1866 $11,000,000. When

Turning from the precious metals to the baser metals and minerals, we find that, besides lead, Idaho has abundance of iron, copper, coal, salt, sulphur, mica, marble, and sandstone. Bear Lake district contains copper ore assaying from 60 to 80 per cent, and also native copper of great purity. Galena ores 78 per cent lead with a little silver are found in the same district. Bituminous coal exists in abundance in Bear Lake county, where one vein 70 feet in thickness is separated from other adjacent veins by their strata of clay, aggregating a mass 200 feet in depth of coal.

Near Rocky Bar, in Alturas county, is a vein of iron ore seven feet in thickness, and fifty-six per cent pure metal. Near Challis, in Custer county, is a large body of micaceous iron, yielding 50 to 60 per cent metal. At a number of points on Wood River rich iron ores are found in inexhaustible quantities. In Owyhee county, a few miles east of South Mountain, is the Narragansett iron mine, an immense body so nearly pure as to permit of casting into shoes and dies for stamp-mills. A mammoth vein of hematite in the neighborhood carries thirty dollars a ton in gold. Deposits of iron ore are found not far from Lewiston, which yield seventy-five per cent pure metal; and similar deposits exist near the western boundary of Idaho, in Oregon, in Powder River Valley.

The Oneida Salt Works, in Oneida county, manufacture a superior article of salt from the waters of the salt springs, simply by boiling in galvanized iron pans.[6] The demand has increased the production from 15,000 pounds in 1866 to 600,000 in subsequent years, and to 1,500,000 in 1880. A mountain of sulphur, eighty-five per cent pure, is found at Soda Springs, on Bear River. It has been mined to some extent. The same locality furnishes soda in immense quantities. Mines of

Ross Browne made his report to the government on the gold yield of the Pacific states and territories he omitted Idaho, which had produced from $10,000,000 to $20,000,000 annually for 4 years. *Silver City Avalanche*, Feb. 9, 1867.

[6] This salt analyzed yields, chloride of sodium, 97.79; sulphate of soda, 1.54; chloride of calcium, .67; sulphate magnesia, a trace. *Strahorn's Idaho Ter.*, 63.

mica exist in Washington county, near Weiser River, from which thousands of tons are being extracted for the market. Other deposits of mica have been discovered in northern Idaho, as also white and variegated marbles, and beautiful granites and sandstones of the most desirable colors for building purposes, as also a quarry suitable for grindstones. There is little that a commonwealth needs, in the way of minerals, which is not to be found in Idaho.

But no matter what the wealth of a mineral country may be, it is never looked upon with the same favor by the permanent settler or home-seeker as the agricultural region, because there is always a looking-forward to the time when the mines will be worked out, while to the cultivation of the earth there is no end. Were Idaho as dependent upon its mines as in the days of its earlier occupation it was thought to be, it would be proper to treat it altogether as a mineral-producing territory, which with the better understanding now had it would not be proper to do.

The conditions necessary to agriculture are those pertaining to soil and climate. Of the former there are four kinds, and of the latter a still greater variety. Taking the valley lands, large and small, they aggregate, with those reclaimable by irrigation, between 14,000,000 and 16,000,000 acres. The soil of the valleys is eminently productive, containing all the elements, vegetable and mineral, required by grains, fruits, and vegetables. It is of a good depth, and lies upon a bed of gravel, with an inclination sufficient for drainage. Springs of water are abundant, both warm and cold. Wood grows in the gulches of the mountains which enclose the valleys. The climate is mild, with little snow in ordinary seasons. This phenomenon in so elevated a region is accounted for by the theory of a river of warm air from the heated table-lands of Arizona, the Colorado Valley, and the dry valleys of Chihuahua and Sonora passing through

the funnel of the upper Del Norte. There are other influences more nearly local, like the Yellowstone geysers and the Pacific warm stream. Deep snows fall in the more elevated regions, and brief periods of severe cold are experienced, but the longest Idaho winter is short compared with those of the Atlantic states. For Boisé Valley the average temperature for eight years, from 1874 to 1881, was between 51° and 53°, while the mean temperature for 1880 and 1881 in Lapwai Valley, much farther north, was 56.08°. Peach-trees frequently blossom in February at Lewiston. The extremes in the Boisé Valley for seven years have been 12° below zero in January, and 108° above in July; but the average temperature in January has been 26.01°, and for July 75.86°, this being the hottest month in the year. Spring and autumn are delightful. The average rainfall for seven years has been twelve inches; the lowest less than three, and the greatest over seventeen inches.

Taking Boisé for a standard of valley climate, it should be remembered that altitude to a considerable, and latitude to a less, extent influence temperature in Idaho. Boisé is 2,800 feet above sea-level; Lapwai, nearly three degrees farther north, and 800 feet lower, has an average temperature in July of 90° and in January of 20°, being both hotter and colder than Boisé. Other valleys vary in climate, in accordance with altitude and position with reference to the prevailing south-west wind. Another factor in the climate of Idaho is the dryness and rarity of the atmosphere, which lessens the intensity of heat and cold about twenty degrees, out-door labor being seldom suspended on account of either. The same general remarks apply to every portion of the country; the cold and snowfall are in proportion to altitude.

The soil of the mountains and wooded regions is deep, rich, black, and contains much vegetable mould. Its altitude would determine its fitness for cultivation. The valleys having an elevation of from 600 to

5,000 feet, it would depend upon the situation of the mountain lands whether they could be successfully farmed. The soil of the grass and sage plains in Snake River Valley is the best that nature has provided for the growth of cereals, would man but contrive the appliances for bringing water upon it. In the northern portion of Idaho, wheat and other grains may be grown without artificial irrigation, but not in the southern portion, which must be redeemed from drought. There is a limited amount of alkali soil, which produces only grease-wood, on which cattle subsist in the absence of or in connection with the native grasses.

Of grazing lands, it is estimated that there are not less than 25,000,000 acres in Idaho, a large proportion of which furnish food continuously throughout the year; hence it is essentially a cattle-raising country. The native grasses are the bunch, rye, timothy, red-top, and blue-stem varieties, which together with the white sage sustain and fatten immense herds of cattle and sheep.

The area of forest lands is computed at 7,000,000 acres, lying for the most part in the mountainous regions, which division of territory amounts to 18,400,000 acres. Out of this amount comes also most of the lake surface of Idaho, computed to be 600,000 acres. The waste lands are less than have been supposed.[7]

For salubrity of climate Idaho stands unequalled, the percentage of deaths in the army, by disease, being lower than in any of the United States. Thus nature provides compensations for her sternness of aspect by real benignity. Those who best know the resources of the territory predicted for it a brilliant and honorable future. This is the more

[7] No great accuracy can be attained. Gilbert Butler divides the area of Idaho as follows: Rich agricultural lands 5,000,000 acres; that may be reclaimed by irrigation 10,000,000; grazing lands 20,000,000; timber lands 10,000,000; mineral lands 10,000,000; lakes and volcanic overflow 3,328,160. *Silver City Idaho Avalanche*, June 29, 1881.

remarkable when the hardships and liability to accident of a new country are considered; the death rate being one third that of Colorado, one fifth that of California, and half that of Oregon.

The settlement of Idaho having been begun for the sake of its mineral productions, little attention was at first given to agriculture. Further than this, there was the prejudice against the soil and climate, resulting from false conclusions and ignorance of facts. Thirdly, there was the constant danger of loss by Indian depredations to discourage the stock-raiser, and the want of transportation to deter the farmer from grain and fruit raising beyond the demands of the home market.

CHAPTER VII.

MATERIAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

1864-1886.

ADA COUNTY—CREATION OF THE CAPITAL OF IDAHO—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TOWNS—FARMING SETTLEMENTS—ORCHARDS—STOCK-RAISING—PIONEERS—ALTURAS COUNTY—MINERAL AND AGRICULTURAL LANDS AND SETTLEMENT—BEAR LAKE COUNTY—BOISÉ, CASSIA, CUSTER, IDAHO, KOOTENAI, LEMHI, NEZ PERCÉ, ONEIDA, OWYHEE, SHOSHONE, AND WASHINGTON COUNTIES—PUBLIC LANDS IN IDAHO—SOCIAL CONDITION—EDUCATION—RELIGION—BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES—PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS—RAILROADS AND TELEGRAPHS.

I WILL now take up the progress and condition of Idaho. Ada county was created out of Boisé in December 1864, with Boisé City as the county seat. The location of Fort Boisé on the 5th of July, 1863, was the immediate cause of the location of the town, which followed on the 7th. But before either of these were founded, on the 3d of February of the same year, Thomas and Frank Davis and Sherlock Bristol took up a land claim and built a cabin on a part of the town site as subsequently located, where they had a vegetable garden. The town was laid off by C. Jacobs and H. C. Riggs, and incorporated by a company of seventeen men, including several officers of the fort,[1] who had it surveyed and a plan lithographed, as I have mentioned in another place, for the use of the legislature, to induce that body to

[1] Hughes, quartermaster, was one. Sherlock Bristol, who was president of the company and owned one ninth of the lots, furnished me a manuscript on the nomenclature of Idaho and scraps of early history. He was born in Cheshire, Conn., June 5, 1815. He removed in time to Fond du Lac co., Wis., and from there to Idaho in 1862. *Bristol's Idaho*, MS., 5.

make it the capital of the territory, as it did.[2] It prospered notwithstanding some contention as to ownership, which was settled by the government issuing a patent to the mayor, in 1870, of the town site, to be held in trust by him until the territorial legislature should prescribe the mode of the execution of the trust, and the disposal of the proceeds.[3] It had 300 inhabitants when it became the metropolis of Idaho, and a population in 1885 of 2,000.[4]

[2] *Walla Walla Statesman*, Sept. 5, 1863; *Boisé News*, Nov. 28, 1863; *Or. Argus*, Oct. 5, 1863; *Idaho Statesman*, Oct. 10, 1868.

[3] *Idaho Statesman*, Dec. 12, 1870. The act concerning the town site, passed by the legislature, made the mayor trustee to execute deeds to claimants on sufficient proof of the validity of their pretensions. For the purpose of defraying the expenses of procuring the title, the sum of from $1, $5, and $10 per lot, according to the situation, was required to be paid into the treasury of Boisé City and disbursed for that purpose, the residue, if any, to be expended under the direction of the common council. *Idaho Laws*, 1870–1, 29–31.

[4] Cyrus Jacobs, who purchased the first parcel of gold-dust taken from the Boisé basin, took a stock of goods to Boisé City in the summer of 1863, and sold them from a tent as fast as they arrived, by the help of H. C. Riggs and James Mullaney, clerks. Riggs and James Agnew erected the building known as Riggs' Corner in July, and about the same time J. M. Hay and John A. James erected a meat market. A well was dug by Thompson & McClellan. The first justice of the peace was D. S. Holton, his office being in a log cabin on the site of the present Overland Hotel. H. J. Adams was the first blacksmith, the shop being where Levy's shop now stands. The first school, started in the winter of 1863–4, was taught by F. B. Smith. First hotel was kept by Burns & Nordyke. The first newspaper, published by J. S. Reynolds & Co., has been noticed. The first contractors and builders were Joseph Brown and Charles May, brick-makers and masons. First dry-goods establishment was by B. M. Du Rell and C. W. Moore. *Idaho Statesman*, April 1, 1876. Du Rell and Moore opened a national bank in 1869. *Silver City Avalanche*, May 11, 1869. The first saw-mill was erected by A. H. Robie, in 1864, who removed his mill from Idaho City. The first church erected was by the catholics, in 1870, at a cost of $8,000. It was destroyed by a fire in 1871, which burned $57,000 worth of property. Not a mining, but a commercial centre, with the capital and a military post to give it standing, Boisé City is regarded as the most important as well as the most beautiful town in the territory. The Boisé River emerges from the mountains about seven miles above the town, where the valley proper begins. The city stands on the river bank, with the fort on a higher plateau a mile removed. The streets are wide and well shaded, the residences neat and tasteful, standing in flowery enclosures kept green by streams of living water flowing down the streets. The squares devoted to public buildings are well kept, and the edifices of brown stone. Up and down the river are many charming drives, and altogether the place is an attractive one. Its central location with reference to other commercial towns in the surrounding states and territories is likely to continue it in its present eminence as the chief town of Idaho.

Some other facts concerning the capital of Idaho may be of interest, as follows: Its altitude is 2,800 feet; latitude 43° 37′; distance from Chicago, 1,400 miles west and a little over 100 miles north; from San Francisco, 380 miles east and about the same distance north; from Portland, about 170 miles east and 140 south; from Salt Lake City, 200 miles north and 150 west. It had in

Among the first to take up farms in Ada county were Thompson and McClellan, who also kept a ferry on Boisé River at Boisé City. They located their claim May 28, 1863. S. A. Snyder, T. McGrue, L. F. McHenry, Samuel Stewart, the Purvine brothers, and Mooney took up claims the same year. Little was expected from farming by the pioneers; but land that in 1877 was a wilderness of artemisia was soon covered with fields of golden grain; and some of the finest orchards on the Pacific coast sprang up in Ada county. The agent which wrought this change was water.[5]

1883 two newspapers besides the *Statesman*, viz.: the *Idaho Democrat*, started in May 1877 as the semi-weekly *Idahoan* by A. J. Boyakin, and changed its name in 1879; and the *Republican*, started in March 1879 by Daniel Bacon. Started and failed, the *Boisé City News*, by John McGonigle in 1870; the *Boisé Democrat*, by J. C. Boyle & Co., and the *Capital Chronicle*, by D. C. Schwatka & Co. The latter was purchased by Boyakin and became the *Idaho Democrat*. In Boisé City was a large public school building, 7 teachers employed; number of children 710. The first protestant church organized in Idaho was the methodist, Nov. 23, 1872, by J. M. Jameson of the Rocky Mountain conference, presiding elder of the Corrinne district. A church edifice was completed, and dedicated on the 25th of April, 1875, the corner-stone having been laid October 4th by Gov. T. W. Bennett. The 1st presbyterian church was dedicated in 1879, and the 1st baptist church about the same time. The catholics rebuilt their house of worship, and the episcopalians erected a house for their congregation. One of the features of Boisé City was an equestrian, full-size statue of Washington, in military dress, fashioned out of mountain fir with a common axe, saw, gouge, and chisel. It was placed on a bronze pedestal in one of the public parks. The sculptor, to whom was paid $3,000 by the territorial legislature, was Charles Ostner, born in 1828 at Baden, who, involved in a Hungarian revolt, immigrated to Cal. in 1858, and thence to Idaho in 1862. From the Florence mines, Ostner went to the upper Payette Valley and settled himself upon a farm in 1864, also keeping a ferry. During the winter and at intervals he worked upon his statue, which was completed and set up in 1869 with imposing ceremonies, and speeches by Chief Justice McBride and others. *Boisé Statesman*, Jan. 9, 1869. The government had a signal station at Boisé City. A board of trade was organized in April 1883, J. A. Pinney president, Nathan Falk secretary, Charles H. Nimrod treasurer. A fire department was established, also several lodges of masons, odd fellows, good templars, champions of the red cross, turn-vereins, etc., a free library association, territorial law library, and literary and dramatic club.

[5] As early as 1864 a right was granted to William B. Hughes and others, who incorporated as the Vallisco Water Co., to take water out of the Boisé River above Rocky Point, and convey it in a ditch or aqueduct to Boisé City and Fort Boisé, and down to Snake River. *Idaho Laws*, 1864, 475–7. In Nov. 1879 W. D. Morris, supt of the North-western Stage Co., began the construction of a canal, to be 8 feet wide at the bottom and 12 at the top, and between five and six miles in length, carrying 3,000 inches of water, or sufficient to float logs to the saw-mills in the valley, and cord-wood to the farmers along its course, besides furnishing power for mills and factories, and water for irrigating and reclaiming 20,000 acres of land. The grade of the canal was

During the period between 1876 and 1886 extensive orchards were planted in the Boisé Valley, some of which produced from 25,000 to 40,000 bushels of fruit annually, few failures occurring in twelve years. L. F. Cartee at Boisé City had a vineyard in which grew forty varieties of grapes.[6]

Stock-raising was carried on to a considerable extent in Ada county. Fine breeds of cattle were imported, and from 500 to 2,000 grazed upon the grassy uplands.[7]

twenty inches to the mile, and the estimated cost $25,000. Morris died in May 1878. The property fell into the hands of W. Ridenbaugh, who completed the canal, and gave it a width of 20 feet at top, a mile more in length, a depth of four feet of water, which, moving at the rate of 27 lineal inches per second, equalled 6,000 miner's inches of water. A reservoir three miles from its head covered ten acres, and was used to hold saw-logs, which were floated down the river to the canal. The lands irrigated by this canal yielded 40 bushels of wheat to the acre, and enormous vegetable and root crops. Average crops in Idaho were 30 bushels of wheat, 25 of rye, 55 of oats, 40 of barley, 35 of corn, and 250 of potatoes to the acre. *Strahorn's Idaho*, 66. Morris became possessed, under the desert-land act, of 17,076 acres of valley land, by paying 25 cents an acre and constructing this canal. The act required the purchaser to pay an additional $1 per acre at the end of three years when the irrigation was furnished. The cost of the whole enterprise probably was some $60,000, the land reclaimed being worth $700,000.

[6] Cartee was born at Ithaca, N. Y., in 1823, graduated from St John's college at Cincinnati, and came to the Pacific coast in 1849, opening an office at Oregon City in 1850 as surveyor and engineer. In 1863 he went to Idaho, and erected the first saw-mill and quartz-mill at Rocky Bar. He was appointed surveyor-general in 1867, which office he continued to hold for more than 12 years. He was a successful pomologist and stock-raiser. Fruit-trees matured early, and were remarkably healthy. The orchard of Thomas Davis when 19 years old showed few signs of decay. No irrigation was necessary after the first four or five years. He had 10,000 trees on seventy-five acres. In 1880 the product of Davis' orchard was 40,000 bushels of large fruits and 500 bushels of berries. By large fruits is meant apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, apricots, plums, and prunes. A portion of them was dried for the winter market, a portion sold fresh in the mines, and another portion made into cider and vinegar.

[7] The cost of keeping cattle on the range varied from 50 cents to $1 each per annum, according to the size of the herd. In some of the higher valleys of Idaho winter feeding was followed to a slight extent, which increased the expense. Beef steers sold at from $21 to $24; stock cattle at $12; two-year-olds at $14; three-year-olds at $17; and yearlings $8. At these prices large fortunes were quickly made in raising stock. Ada county south of Boisé River in 1885 contained no towns except the railroad station of Kuna. Six miles west of Boisé City was the hamlet of Thurman's Mills, the establishment having a capacity of 50 barrels of flour daily. Aiken's mills, 4 miles west of Boisé City, Morris' mills, opposite the town, Russelville mills, one mile east, and Clark's mills, two miles east, were all flouring mills of good capacity. *Silver City Avalanche*, Feb. 12, 1881. Star, Middleton, Caldwell, and Riverside were on the lower Boisé road; Emmettville, Falk's Store, and Payetteville on the road to Washoe ferry. Emmettville was the only place of any importance, having a large lumbering interest A bridge was placed across

I have been thus particular in the description of one county in order to show of what other counties

the Payette River here, and two irrigating ditches opened, which watered about 60 sections of excellent land. Population of Ada county in 1885, 5,500. Total assessed valuation for 1882, $1,734,508. There were 200,000 acres of arable land, most of which was taken up in farms of 320 acres, about one fourth of which was, in 1885, in actual cultivation.

BOISÉ AND PAYETTE VALLEYS.

Calvin P. Bodfish, one of the pioneers of Ada county, was a native of Maine, whence he went to Australia in 1853, and thence to Cal. in 1858. He came to Idaho on the discovery of gold, and was one of the first settlers at Boisé City. He was a member of the first Idaho legislature, and was appointed assessor of internal revenue for the government. He died suddenly of apoplexy Nov. 7, 1865, at the age of 43 years. *Boisé Statesman*, Nov. 11, 1865. Jonathan Keeney was born in Missouri. He left his home at an early age in 1834 to join the fur companies in the Rocky Mountains; returned and married in 1837, and immigrated to Oregon in 1846, going to Idaho with the gold-seekers in 1863. He located himself at Keeney ferry, on Snake River, near the mouth of the Boisé, and resided there till about 1878, when he sold the property and retired to a farm on Willow Creek. He was accidentally shot on the 15th of August, 1878, at the age of 78 years, by a gun in his own hands. *Boisé Statesman*, Aug. 24, 1878. J. C. Henley, born in Ohio, came to Idaho in 1862 from Iowa, and settled at Idaho City in 1863. On the organization of the judicial system of the territory he became clerk of the U. S. district court for the 2d district, which office he held until 1865, when he became a partner in the law firm of Gilbert & Henley. He was an accomplished German scholar, a republican in politics, and for 4 years a member of the national republican committee. He died August 27, 1872, at Boisé City, aged 36 years, beloved and regretted. J. W. Porter, a native of Kentucky, came to Cal. from Iowa in 1850, served in the federal army in the civil war, and went to Idaho at its close, where he became private secretary to Gov. Ballard, and resided at Boisé City until his death, March 29, 1870.

are capable, according to their altitude, extent of valley land, and facilities for irrigating bench-land.

Hiram E. Talbot was born at Richmond, Va, Sept. 22, 1809, immigrated to Cal. in 1859, thence to Oregon, and again to Idaho in 1863, practising medicine in each of these commonwealths. He died Nov. 17, 1865, at the age of 56 years, leaving several sons and daughters. His obsequies were the most imposing known in Boisé City at that time. H. C. Crane, another physician of Boisé City's early days, was fatally stabbed by a nephew of the same name, in a fit of temporary insanity, in the autumn of 1868. John Lemp, a native of Germany, immigrated to Louisville, Ky, in 1852, at the age of 14 years. On the discovery of the Colorado mines he went to Denver and erected a brewery, but being caught by the rush to Idaho in 1863, went thither, and established a brewery at Boisé City in 1864. He made money, and married in 1866. In 1874–5 was elected mayor. James A. Pinney came to Cal. in 1850 at the age of 15, and went to Oregon in 1853, following the gold-hunters to Idaho in 1862, engaging in packing goods from Lewiston to the mines, and making money enough to set up as a merchant at Idaho City the following year, where he also served as postmaster. He was burned out in the great fires of 1865 and 1867, but recovered his hold upon fortune, and removed to Boisé in 1870, where he carried on a large stationery and book business. I. N. Coston, a native of Tompkins county, New York, was liberally educated and studied law. He immigrated to Idaho in 1862, and mined at Idaho City for two years, when he settled as a farmer in Boisé Valley. He was elected to the legislature in 1870 and 1872 as councilman from Ada county, and was president of that body in the latter year. He was again elected in 1876. He was a good representative. *Silver City Avalanche*, Dec. 30, 1876. Albert H. Robie was a native Genesee co., N. Y. He came to the Pacific coast as a member of Governor Stevens' exploring expedition, as I have noted in the previous part of this volume. After the Indian war of 1855–6 he was placed in charge of the Indians about The Dalles. In 1860, when the Nez Percé mines were discovered, he erected a saw-mill at Lewiston, removing thence to Idaho City, and again to Boisé City, where he was ever foremost in useful undertakings. He owned a large herd of cattle, which was grazed near Steen Mountain, in Oregon. When the Bannack war of 1878 broke out he was at his stock rancho and narrowly escaped with his life. Joining in the pursuit of the Indians, who had destroyed his herd, he fell a victim to an illness brought on by fatigue and exposure, and died July 26, 1878, at his home on Dry Creek, Boisé Valley, aged 46 years, leaving a wife and 5 children. *Boisé Statesman*, July 27, 1878. D. N. Hyde of Seattle, Washington, was a pioneer of Boisé City. Joseph Branstetter, one of the discoverers of Boisé basin, was a resident of this county. He was born in Berry co., Mo., April 17, 1842; immigrated to Walla Walla in 1860, and followed the mining rush to Idaho two years later. In 1870 he married Laura Marlette of Wisconsin. Branstetter's *Discovery of Boisé Basin* is a manuscript narrative of an expedition which resulted fortunately to many. John B. Pierce, a pioneer of Boisé Valley, born in Cumberland co., Ky, in 1827, removed with his parents to Ill. in 1830. His opportunities for education were limited, but being a good observer and a student of public affairs, acquired by reading considerable knowledge of politics and law. He removed to Mo. in 1844, and crossed the plains in 1850 to Oregon, settling the following spring in Siskiyou co., Cal., where he was engaged in mining, packing, lumbering, and other business of the country. In 1860 he was a member of the central committee of the county which supported John C. Breckenridge for president. In 1862 he prospected through eastern Or. and Wash., engaging in mining in Boisé basin among the earliest pioneers of that region. He assisted in organizing the democratic party in Idaho, and was nominated for the assembly at the first election, but was beaten. He joined with H. C. Street and J. H. Bowman in purchasing the *Boisé News* from its republican owners, and con-

With this in view, a brief mention of the others will convey all the information requisite to an understanding of the early condition of the territory.

Alturas county, named by some admirer of the Spanish word, signifying heights, or mountains,[8] had little valley land, and that was upon the margins of its numerous mountain streams.[9]

verting it into the *Idaho World*, for the support of democracy. He was offered the nomination for delegate to congress in 1864, but declined. He was several times elected to the legislature from Boisé and Owyhee and Ada counties, and served as chairman of the special code committee of the lower house in 1874, his popularity being attributable to his opposition to every kind of jobbery in politics, of which there has been much in Idaho in his own party. He was a prosperous farmer in Boisé Valley; was twice married, 2 of his sons having families of their own.

[8] Though the miners prefer the more figurative interpretation of 'heavenly' heights.

[9] Big Camas prairie was the chief body of agricultural land in this county, with an area of 14,000 square miles. It occupied a region 80 miles in length by from eighteen to twenty-five in breadth, and has an elevation of 4,000 feet. The Snake River lava-field appeared destined forever to be a waste; but the sage-plains west of Wood River proved capable of redemption, while the foot-hills and benches of the mountains in which the mines were situated afforded extensive cattle-ranges. For many years Camas prairie was thought only fit for a hay-field, and used as such. The summers were warm and pleasant, but there was a heavy snowfall in winter. Later settlers raised wheat, barley, corn, oats, vegetables, and melons successfully, the oat crop requiring no irrigation. The valley of Wood River, for a distance of fifty miles in length and from one to two in breadth, was a favorite location for farmers. The population of Alturas in 1883 was 9,000, and its assessed valuation, real and personal, $2,871,365. The number of children attending school 1,000. Esmeralda was the county seat when the county was organized, but Rocky Bar succeeded to the honor in 1864. *Idaho Laws*, 1864, 429. In consequence of the discovery of the Wood River mines in the summer of 1879, Hailey was chosen for county seat by popular vote, in 1881. Bellevue was the first town built in the Wood River mining region, being located and settled in 1880, and chartered in 1882–3. Its newspaper, the *Chronicle*, was owned by C. & J. Foster. Ketchum was next located, 16 miles above Bellevue, also in 1880, and Galena City, 26 miles farther north, in what was afterward Custer county, in the same year. Jacobsville and Marshall competed with other places for the dignity of being considered urban, but have remained only camps. Hailey, located in the spring of 1881, four miles north of Bellevue, then a thriving town of 400 inhabitants, having 83 school children and 2 churches, drew to itself most of the trade and population on account of being nearer to the principal mines. H. Z. Burkhart, with a machine, made a kiln of 80,000 brick in 1882. The court-house, hotel, school-house, railroad depot, and other buildings were constructed of brick. Lime was plentiful and cheap. A newspaper, the *Wood River News*, was started at Bellvue in the spring of 1881 by Clay, Allen, and George, and sold to Frank O. Harding, who removed it to Hailey, changing the title to *Wood River Miner*. Two other newspapers, the *Chronicle* and *Times*, are published in this county. Methodist, presbyterian, episcopal, congregational, independent, and catholic churches have been organized, but church edifices were as numerous as the societies in 1883. A good theatre was erected, Some warm springs in Croy Gulch were fitted up as a place of resort. The growth of Hailey resem-

Bear Lake county, the small south-east corner of the territory, previous to 1872 was supposed to belong to Utah. It was first settled by a colony of Mormons under C. C. Rich, and was called Rich county. The establishment of the boundary of Idaho

SOUTH-EASTERN IDAHO.

by survey threw the greater and better portion of Rich county into Idaho, together with its industrious and thrifty population, and it was considered as a part of Oneida county until its separate organization in January 1875. The first settlers were, like most of the Mormons, agriculturists. But their earlier efforts at farming were failures, owing to frost and grasshoppers, which together took the greater part of their crops for several years. The altitude of Bear Lake Valley is 6,666 feet, from which elevation came the frosts. The grasshoppers were a periodical

bles that of Idaho City in 1863–5. The rapid settlement of Wood River and Camas prairie was after 1880. Many of the incomers were from Norway, and do not fear the snows of winter. There were fifty families in 1881 where there were not a dozen the year before. Fifty homesteads were taken up in 1881 by an agent of the German colony of Aurora, Marion co., Oregon. They were all agriculturists, and will make a garden of the cultivable parts of Alturas county.

plague. But by making hay and raising stock the settlers prospered, and little by little overcame the worst of their difficulties.[10]

The early history of Boisé county has already been given in a previous chapter. Its principal wealth long continued to be mines.[11] The upper Payette

[10] The valley of Bear Lake, called Mormon Valley, a fertile plain 15 miles wide and 25 miles long, had a population, in 1885, of 4,000. By irrigating, large crops of wheat, oats, and barley, the finest potatoes in abundance, and the largest hay crop in the territory were raised, while herds of cattle and sheep covered the hillsides. The lumbering interest in this county was of importance, pine and spruce being the prevailing timber on the mountains. The manufacture of cheese was introduced, the product in 1883 being 200,000 pounds. By coöperation the Mormon population carried on their enterprises with good results. It was by coöperation that they made the cheese factory profitable, its capacity being 900 pounds daily. There was the Paris Coöperative Institution, composed of 200 shareholders, with a capital of $25,000. It conducted a general merchandise store, boot and shoe factory, harness factory, tin-shop, and tailoring establishment, besides a planing-lathe and shingle-mill. Members were not permitted to hold more than $400 worth of stock, lest the few should be benefited to the exclusion of the many. Since its establishment in 1874, in 10 years it paid $27,000 in dividends, besides expending 20,000 annually for labor. In 1882, 2,870 pairs of boots and shoes were manufactured, 900 pieces of leather tanned, $6,000 worth of planed lumber and shingles sold, and 35,000 pounds of cheese made, besides the business of the other establishments. While the results thus obtained furnished no wonder-provoking figures like mining, they secured contentment and steady prosperity, which mining too often does not. There were several villages in Bear Lake county, namely, Paris, the county seat, Fish Haven, Ovid, Liberty, Montpelier (formerly Brigham), Preston, St Charles, Bennington, and Georgetown. The Oregon Short Line railroad was laid out on the east side of the lake, through Montpelier, Bennington, and Georgetown. The assessed valuation of Bear Lake county in 1882 was $239,940.

[11] The mining ditch constructed by J. Marion Moore and J. C. Smith in 1863 was the beginning of Ben Willson's enterprises before mentioned. He bought out Smith, and subsequently purchased Moore's half. Moore was shot in a mining war over the possession of the Golden Chariot mine, near Silver City, Owyhee, in 1868. Samuel Lockhart, another owner, was also shot. Moore was greatly regretted by the pioneers of Idaho, who regarded him as the most indefatigable of them all in everything pertaining to the development of the territory, and as a true man. *Capitol Chronicle*, Oct. 20, 1869. He was buried with honors in the masonic cemetery at Idaho City, near the creek which bears his name. *Idaho World*, April 8, 1868. Willson, an Englishman by birth, came to Cal. at the age of 15, and was thoroughly Americanized. He went to Idaho and Boisé basin in the spring of 1863, and did more real work than almost any other man in the county. In 1863 he built a toll-road, and ran a stage line between Pioneer City and Centreville. He built a saw-mill, in company with Parkinson and Warriner, at Idaho City, and also engaged in merchandising with James Powelson. At the same time he bought mining ground and constructed ditches, being the first to introduce hydraulic mining, using at first duck hose with a common nozzle, but finally iron pipe, 15 inches diameter at the lower end, and the giant nozzle. Thus Willson became owner of 100 miles of ditches, a mill for sawing lumber, several shops for repairing tools, and a 200-acre farm on Clear Creek, adjoining the town of Pioneer, besides being a partner in the Mammoth quartz mine. He was a member of the bar, and served in the legislative council,

Valley proved the choicest farming region in Boisé county.[12]

In Cassia county were found a good soil and climate, but the valleys were small and elevated. Upper Goose Creek had the choicest body of farming land in the county. Raft River Valley, thirty miles long by ten wide, contains fine meadow-lands. A settlement was made at the head of the valley, called the Cove. With irrigation the sage-lands produce well. Like Bear Lake county, Cassia raised wheat, oats, barley, and potatoes for market, in abundance, and grazed large herds. It had mines, though not much prospected; also one grist-mill and three saw-mills.[13]

as well as in county offices. Moore Creek was surveyed, and also Granite and others, with a view to constructing bed-rock flumes in the same manner. S. A. Merritt, delegate to congress, was intrusted with the business of getting a bill passed granting right of way, and other privileges, on Moore Creek, for a distance of 7 miles, but failed. A job was attempted, while Ainslie was in congress, to get all the waters of Snake River, and other streams, granted to a company, which would compel the farmers to pay for it at their price. Another congressional job proposed was to grant all the waters in Boisé River to a company, which would have paralyzed placer mining in Boisé basin, by placing them at the mercy of the company. The people of Idaho have ever been alive to the withering effect of iniquitous monopolies.

[12] There were in 1885 about thirty good farms in this section, with a wagon-road from the valley to Placerville and Idaho City. Back of the bottom-land was a sage plain partially redeemed by irrigation, and rising higher, a series of rolling hills gradually attained an altitude of 5,000 feet, covered with bunch-grass, making the best of cattle-ranges. On the crest of the hills to the east was a heavy growth of timber. Long and Round valleys were used only for grazing purposes. Garden Valley was soon under high cultivation, lying only ten miles north of the mining centre of the Boisé basin, which furnished a profitable market for the grain, vegetables, and fruits raised in this 'paradise,' as it is fondly named. From the dividing line between Ada and Boisé counties to Horse Shoe Bend is about twenty-five miles of farming land occupied by one hundred settlers, who have under cultivation 15,000 acres. In the lower Payette Valley resided D. M. Bivens, a native of Missouri, who immigrated from Kansas to Idaho in 1862. He was among the first to take a farm on the Payette, where he made himself a beautiful home. He died Nov. 17, 1879, aged 51 years. *Boisé Tri-weekly Statesman*, Nov. 25, 1879.

Boisé county had 3,212 inhabitants in 1880, with a total valuation in 1882 of $669,719. In 1883 the population had increased to 12,000, with a proportionate increase of property. Idaho City, the county seat, had diminished from 7,000 in 1864 to 700 in 1880, but expanded again. Placerville, Centreville, Quartzburg, Pomona, Banner, Deadwood, Clarkville—named after Henry C. Clark, a pioneer, who has a store in this place. *Silver City, Idaho, Avalanche*, Aug. 12, 1876—Horse Shoe Bend—C. H. Angle, pioneer at this place, and justice of the peace, died March 16, 1876. He left a wife and 4 children—Bairdsville—settled first by C. Baird on upper Squaw Creek, *Starr's Idaho*, MS., 8—and Jerusalem were the early mining and farming centres of Boisé county.

[13] The old road to Salt Lake by the City of Rocks passed through some

Custer county, named after General Custer, cut off from Alturas and Lemhi in 1881, proved inconsiderable as an agricultural region. There was a fine valley, forty miles long by from five to fifteen miles wide on the upper Salmon River, furnished with wood, water, and grass in abundance, and numerous small tracts of agricultural land along the streams, but the county was preëminently a mining country. In 1866 or 1867 a party of prospectors from Montana, headed by one Richardson, penetrated to that branch of the Salmon which they named Yankee Fork, because the party consisted of New Englanders. They did not remain long in the country, which was at the best inhospitably strange and remote. In 1873 D. V. Varney and Sylvester Jordan found their way to Yankee Fork and located some placer mining claims, naming Jordan Creek branch of that stream. Four years later the great discoveries were made in quartz, of the Charles Dickens, Charles Wayne, Custer, and

of the settlements, and it was in the direction of Ogden and Salt Lake City that the farmers looked for a market. The population in 1885 was 2,500; and the assessed valuation in 1882, 417,332. Albion, the county seat, situated in Marsh basin, an agricultural district, was settled about 1875. Its population ten years later was some 400. In *Riblett's Snake River Region*, MS., 2–3, is a brief account of Cassia county, by Frank Riblett, surveyor. In the south-eastern portion of the county was the Black Pine mining camp. Simon Schwabacher was the principal owner in this region, and erected the first quartz-mill. A New York company paid $65,000 for a placer mine at Bonanza Bar, and other companies took claims near this one. There was another farming settlement started on Sublette Creek, thirty miles east of Raft River, and some of villages; namely, Beecherville, Alamo, Cassier Creek, Bridge, Oakley, Goose Creek, Rock Creek, and several stations on the road to Salt Lake.

Samuel R. Given, a prominent citizen of this co., born in Nashville, Tenn., in 1822, was a son of John Given, whose father fought in the revolutionary war, under Gen. Marion. Samuel received a common-school education in La. In 1849 he came to Cal., via Fort Smith, Ark., Santa Fé, Socorro, Gila, and San Diego, arriving at San Francisco in October, and engaging in teaming during the winter. The following spring he went to Mariposa co., and mined for a time, afterward farming and raising hogs on the Merced River. In the flood of 1862 he lost $20,000 worth of hogs, and all his improvements, but remained in the co. until he recovered a part of his losses, when in 1873 he put $3,000 into horses and mules and started for Cheyenne, Wy., being 2 years on the road. In 1875 he sold off his stock, and went to freighting to the Black Hills, making $6,000 in 18 months. He then commenced buying mining claims, opening and selling them, including the Homestake No. 2, and the Pierce mines, making $70,000 in another year and a half. Next he purchased a range on Raft River, and stocked it with cattle and horses, and here he made his home, in the finest section for a winter range between the Sierra Nevada and the Missouri River.

Unknown, which led to the hasty populating of this rich mining region, among the most famous districts of which are the Kinnikinick, Bay Horse, and Custer. Bonanza City was laid off in 1877.[14]

Idaho county, organized under the government of Washington in 1862, began its career as a mining district through the discovery of the Florence and Warren diggings. The placers at Warren were among the most lasting and best paying in Idaho.[15]

[14] The first trading establishment was opened by George L. Shoup and his partner Boggs. Mark Musgrove started a newspaper July 24, 1879, the *Yankee Fork Herald*. Challis, the county seat, the centre of a large and rich mining district on the upper waters of the Salmon River, was founded in 1878 by A. P. Challis and others, and had in 1880 a population of 500. A newspaper called the *Messenger* was published here. There were a number of mining camps in Custer county—Galena, Robinson's Bar, Jordan Creek, Crystal City, Lost River, Clayton, Concord, Bay Horse, Custer, Cape Horn, Oro Grande, Round Valley, and Fisher. The population of the county in 1883 was 3,000, and the assessed value of real and personal property the previous year was $389,475.

[15] The town had a steady growth for three years, containing 1,500 inhabitants in 1865, but declined subsequently, until in 1867 it had but 500. The discovery of quartz brought it up again to 1,200 in 1868, but not proving rich as expected, the population declined to 400 in 1872, when 1,200 Chinese came in and worked the abandoned diggings. But after taking out gold enough to pay for the ground they had purchased, most of the Chinamen abandoned the place. The first saw-mills were erected in 1868 by F. Shessler, Madison, and William Bloomer, and the first five-stamp quartz-mill by Godfrey Gamble, who employed water-power only. Gamble and Leland erected a second water-power five-stamp mill, five miles above Warren. The quartz at Warren failing to pay as anticipated, Gamble and Leland purchased a ten-stamp steam-mill at Florence, which they removed to a mine two miles from the town of Washington, on Warren Creek, which also failed to meet expectations. In 1873 a stock company moved the latter mill to the Rescue ledge at Warren, and have made it pay from that time, although the gold is in chimneys or pockets. The settlement of the county was slow, owing to its extreme roughness and inaccessibility. 'Salmon River, in Idaho county,' says Leo Hofen, 'cuts the earth almost in two, the bank being 4,000 feet perpendicular for miles, and backed by high mountains that show evidence of having been torn and rent by most violent convulsions.' Hofen was born in Germany in 1835, and came to S. F. in 1855, soon after removing to Nevada, whence he went to Lewiston, Idaho, in 1862, and engaged in merchandising and assaying. In the spring of 1865 he made another remove to Warren, where he remained until 1784. For several years Hofen held the control of all the business between Payette and Salmon rivers. He was the last of the pioneers of Warren to desert the camp; and returned to S. F., where he engaged in the coffee and spice business. *Hofen's Hist. Idaho County*, MS., 1–2.

James H. Hutton was another pioneer of Idaho county. He was born in Maine, and followed the sea. Arriving at S. F. in 1850, he went to the mines on American River, but soon returned to S. F. and engaged in the coasting traffic. In 1862 he visited the Cariboo mines, going thence to Idaho the same year and working in the placers of the Florence district until 1867, when he went to Warren, where, with a partner named Cocaine, he put up the first five-stamp quartz-mill on the Rescue lode. In partnership with C.

Kootenai county had almost no white population until the building of the Northern Pacific railroad

Johnson, he located the Sampson lode, which, though moderately rich, was too narrow to be profitably worked. Hutton was in 1879 a detective on the police force of San Francisco. *Hutton's Early Events*, MS., 1–6.

Florence was the first county seat of Idaho county. In 1869 the seat of the county was removed to Warren, and in 1874–5 the legislature again removed the county seat to Mount Idaho. The history of Mount Idaho is the history of farming in Idaho county. Situated on North Camas prairie, which by the last legislative act concerning the boundaries of Idaho county was included in it, the town was settled in 1862 by L. P. Brown, through whose efforts it was made flourishing. Located at the foot of the mountains on the east side of the prairie, it became a picturesque place, with mills, stores, and good buildings. H. S. Crossdale and one Baring resigned commissions in the British army and settled on the prairie, 10 miles north of Mount Idaho, about 1870, where they raised sheep. *Idaho Statesman*, March 4, 1876. A rival to Mount Idaho was Grangeville, two miles northwest, which about equalled it in business and population for some time. The other settlements in this county were Washington, Elk City, Florence, John Day, Freedom, Dixie, White Bird, Manuel Rancho, Pittsburg Landing, and Glenwood. The population of Idaho county in 1883 was 2,400, and the assessed value of real and personal property $509,252.

B. F. Morris, born in Ray co., Mo., in 1843, came to Idaho with a mule team in 1863, and the following spring went to the Salmon River mines in Idaho co. He made his home in the co., of which he was for many years auditor and treasurer. He married H. F. Graham in 1881.

James Odle, born in Scioto co., Ohio, in 1823, came to Cal. in 1849 with a party of 21 young men, called the Hoy and Odle company, William Hoy being the other chief. On reaching Placerville, Edward Hoy died, and also English. Odle remained in the mines until Oct. 1850, when he went to Douglas co., Or., and afterwards to Yamhill co. In 1862 he came to Idaho, and was among the first settlers of Mt Idaho. He married Catherine L. Crusin in 1854, and has 2 sons and 2 daughters.

Loyal P. Brown, born in Coös co., N. H., in 1829, came to Cal. by sea in 1849, the schooner *Haunt Nut*, of the Massasoit company, bringing them to the Isthmus of Panamá. Crossing on pack-mules, the passengers chartered a brigantine, which was condemned at Mazatlan, compelling them to wait for a steamer, which finally brought them to San Francisco, by which time their means were exhausted, and 10 of the company worked their passage to Sacramento, where they took a contract to cut hay at Sutter's Fort, after which Brown and 3 others went to the mines on the Middle Fork of American River at Rector's Bar. In 1850 Brown went to Trinity River, engaging in trade and packing for 2 years, then to Scottsburg on the Umpqua River, remaining in southern Or. until 1862, when he removed to Mount Idaho. He was employed in the quartermaster's department of the volunteer army in 1855–6, and after the war engaged in stock-raising in Douglas co. He went through the exciting scenes of the Nez Percé war in Idaho in 1877, in which he performed good service. His present business is merchandising.

Jacob B. Chamberlain, born in Lennox co., Canada West, immigrated to Vancouver Island in 1862 by sea, remaining 3 years in Victoria, and removing thence to Idaho in 1865. He was elected commissioner of Idaho co. in 1878, and county auditor in 1880 and 1882.

John Aram, born in Seneca, N. Y., in 1827, came with his brother Joseph to Cal. in 1850 by sea. He resided 5 years in San José, and 4 years in Amador co., Cal., after which he removed to Or. in 1859, and to Grangeville, on Camas prairie, Idaho, in 1864. He married, in 1853, Sarah Barr, born in Wyoming co., N. Y., in 1831.

William C. Pearson, born in Chautauqua co., N. Y., in 1829, immigrated

brought people there to perform the labor of its construction, between 1880 and 1883. The Cœur d'Alêne Indian reservation occupied most of the southern portion, extending as far north as the Spokane River, and the head of Cœur d'Alêne Lake.[16]

Lemhi county was set off from Idaho county January 9, 1869, assuming $700 of the parent county's indebtedness. A change was made in the boundary in January 1873, the western line, south of Salmon River, commencing at the mouth of the Middle Fork, thence south-west along the divide between the Middle and South forks to the line of Boisé county. The published maps do not give the actual boundaries, the county lines very generally being unsurveyed. The early history of Lemhi county has been given.[17]

overland with his father's family to Washington co., Or., in 1853, removing to Camas prairie, Idaho, in 1864, where he engaged in farming and stock-raising near Grangeville. He married Belle Crooks in 1862.

H. Titman, born in Warren co., N. J., in 1832, went to Pike's Peak in 1860 with other gold-hunters, from there to Virginia City, Nev., and from there to the mines of Idaho in 1862. In 1870 he engaged in stock-raising on Salmon River. The following year he married M. E. Turner, and settled at Grangeville.

[16] Elevation of Cœur d'Alêne, 2,280 feet; soil gravelly, raising fair crops of grain and vegetables, while for fruit the land was superior. North the country was lower, being but 1,456 feet above sea-level at Pend d'Oreille Lake, and the land rich and productive. A German colony in 1880–1 purchased ten townships of railroad land on the Pend d'Oreille division of the Northern Pacific, and established a thriving settlement. The county seat of Kootenai co., Cœur d'Alêne, had a population in 1885 of 150. Towns arose in the progress of railroad construction, Kootenai, at the mouth of Park River, 30 miles by a trail to Kootenai River, which was navigated for 150 miles by a steamer, Sand Point, Cocolala, Dry Lake, Westwood, Rathdrum, and Pend d'Oreille. Population of Kootenai 2,000 in 1883, largely railroad floating. Valuation of property in 1882 $305,741, the number of taxable inhabitants being only 89. Fort Cœur d'Alêne, which was selected by General Sherman, in 1877, was called the most beautiful military reservation in the country. It fronted on Lake Cœur d'Alêne. The residence of the commanding officer was finished with native woods in their natural colors.

[17] It was first settled by a Mormon colony in 1855, who cultivated a rich body of land in the valley, which they named Lemhi, the same land later occupied as an Indian reservation. The colony was called in by the president of the Mormon church, and no further settlement took place till mining discoveries opened up the country in 1866. In the following spring, George L. Shoup, with others, laid off the site of Salmon City, which became the county seat, distributing the lots among themselves, and devoting some to public uses. The discoverers of the mines at Salmon City were from Montana; namely, Bonney, Sharkey, William Smith, Elijah Mulky, Ward, Napius, and others. *Shoup's Idaho Ter.*, MS., 3. As many as 5,000 men visited the place during its first season, but only about 1,500 remained. When the owners of the claims had carried off the richest of the spoils, operators came in with bed-

Nez Percé county, an agricultural rather than a mining district, early became settled by farmers.

rock flumes, and there being no further employment for the former mining population it drifted off, and only those remained who had other interests. Salmon City became a thriving town with a population of 800. Quartz was discovered in 1868 twelve miles from Salmon City, the Silver Star ledge being located by G. L. Shoup, J. C. Evans, Thomas Pope, Michael Spahn, and J. Cabt, which mine was sold to a New York company. It was not until 1876 that much attention was given to quartz-mining. There were in 1885 six quartz-mills near Salmon City. In 1867 the first newspaper was started at Salmon City, the *Mining News*, by Frank Kenyon. After a few months he moved the material to Montana. If the reader now turns back to Custer county and reads its early history as that of Lemhi, and regards the towns Bonanza, Challis, and the rest as belonging to the latter, the record will be completed. Some good land was found in Lemhi county. the valley of the Lemhi raising 25 to 40 bushels of wheat, 50 to 100 of oats, and from 150 to 350 of potatoes, to the acre. All the fruits of the temperate zone grew abundantly, and in the hardest winters, although the altitude is about 4,000 feet, the loss in cattle was not more than one per cent. The first flouring mill was erected in 1872 by James Glendening and Job Barrack, at Salmon City. Lemhi Valley later shipped flour to Salt Lake and southern Idaho. I am indebted for many of these items to George L. Shoup, whose manuscript entitled *Idaho Territory* is a compendium of facts concerning the eastern portion of the country. Shoup was born in Pa, went to Ill., and subsequently to Nebraska and Colorado, where he was engaged in merchandising. He was a member of the first constitutional convention of Colorado. On the breaking-out of the war for the union he organized an independent cavalry company, and served as 2d lieut, and finally as maj. and lieut-col. In 1866 he took a stock of goods to Virginia City, Montana, and the following year settled at Salmon City. He was one of 3 supervisors of Lemhi co. who appointed its first officers, the first councilman from the county in the territorial legislature, and has been constantly identified with the growth of his section of the country. His wife was Lena Dawson of Galesburg, Ill., to whom he was married at Salmon City in 1868. The dairy products of Lemhi valley became favorably known. The Indian reservation occupies 12 miles square of land.

Another valley, the Pahsimeroi, on both sides of the Pasamari River, and therefore partly in Custer county, was more recently settled than the Lemhi, but was found similar in its characteristics. Leesburg was laid off on Napius Creek in 1866, and Grantville soon after. They formed together one continuous street, and survived under the name of the former. Gibbonville is an old mining camp known in its first period of existence as Dahlong's, but revived and named after Colonel Gibbon, in honor of his hard-fought battle with the Nez Percés in 1877. The quartz mines at this place furnish free-milling ores, and have recently been worked by arastras.

One of the most prominent pioneers of Lemhi county, in common with Colonel Shoup, was E. T. Beatty, who, as a member of the territorial legislature, labored successfully for the organization of Lemhi county at the session of 1869–70. He was an able parliamentarian, and for many years, when the democracy ruled Idaho, presided either in the upper or lower house. His life has been checkered. He came to Cal. in 1849; was connected with the naval service for some years; practised law; was twice a member of the Cal. legislature; and went to Idaho in early mining times. In 1864 he shot D. N. Anderson, at Walla Walla, for marrying his divorced wife. He was himself shot, almost fatally, at Rocky Bar, the same year by Terry, who was acquitted. Beatty afterward gave much attention to mining, and became known as the father of Lemhi county.

J. H. Hockensmith, a native of Ky, born in 1834, brought up on a farm, and educated in the common schools, was taught the trade of carriage-making.

North of the Clearwater are rolling table-lands having an altitude of 2,500 feet, with a deep, black, alluvial soil, well watered, and exceedingly fertile. This is a great wheat-producing region. On the south side of the Clearwater, between the Snake River and the

In 1857 he came overland to Cal., mining and working at his trade until 1864, when he removed to Idaho. He mined 1 year at Idaho City, and after visiting Washington and Montana for short periods, he settled in Lemhi Valley in 1867 at Leesburg, his present residence, and follows farming and mining.

John P. Clough, born in Ill. in 1845, was bred a farmer, and attended the common schools. In 1866 he crossed the plains to Beaver Head co., Montana, where he remained 3 years at farming. After a visit to his old home, he settled in Lemhi Valley, where he engaged in raising horses and cattle. He married Lucy Ross in 1872.

Jacob Yearian, a native of Ohio, born in 1829, removed to Ill. with his parents in 1838, and was brought up to farm life. In 1850 he came to Cal. overland with an ox-team. After mining for 4 years he returned East, and in 1861 removed to Neb., where he lived on a farm until 1864, when he again crossed the plains to Montana, locating at Bannack, and engaging in mining for 7 years. He then removed to Lemhi Valley, where he has a stock farm. He married M. J. Purcell in 1856.

Z. B. Yearian, born in Ill. in 1841, removed to Ohio at the age of 7 years, and attended the public schools for 10 years. He learned the trade of a machinist, which he followed 12 years, after which he immigrated to Montana, where he remained 2 years before settling in Lemhi Valley at the business of breeding Holstein cattle and horse-raising. He married Jane Stroud.

F. B. Sharkey, born in Me. in 1840, went to sea at the age of 14 years and landed in Cal. 3 years afterward, where he remained at mining for 7 years with good results. In 1864 he removed to Mont., mining for a time on Elk Creek in Meagher co. He settled in 1866 in Lemhi co., Idaho, being one of the discoverers of the mines at Salmon City, the others being Elijah Mulky, William Smith, Thomas Gertrie, and Joseph Ropp. He married Rebecca Ann Catey in 1872, and is both miner and stock-grower.

L. P. Withington, born in Pa in 1827, and bred a farmer, with a common-school education, came to Cal. by sea in 1854, where he remained at mining for 4 years. In 1858 he removed to Wash., where he engaged in merchandising until 1865, when he went to Mont., mining on Elk Creek for 1 year, at the end of which he located in Lemhi Valley at farming and stock-raising. He married Julia Anna Holbrook in 1868.

J. A. Hughes, born in Mo. in 1840, and bred a farmer, immigrated to Virginia City, Mont., in 1864. He mined in Alder Gulch 2 years and on the Yellowstone 1 year, then went to farming near Helena, remaining until 1878 in that locality and on the Missouri River in agricultural pursuits. He then removed to Lemhi Valley, where he carried on a dairy farm. He married Mary Noteware in 1874.

Joseph Barrack, born in Scotland in 1844, migrated to the U. S. in 1859, and after two years spent in lumber manufacture in Ill. came to Cal. across the plains with a horse-team, stopping but a few months before he went to Or. to engage in mining on Powder River. Being robbed by the Indians of all he possessed, he removed to Lemhi Valley in 1864, where he farmed and raised stock. He married Josie J. Johnson in 1882.

Alexander Barrack, born in Scotland in 1847, followed his brother to the U. S. in 1869, settling in Lemhi Valley the same year, and erecting a flouring mill in partnership with him in 1872, which property he later owned separately. From him I learn that the annual crop of wheat in the valley was 11,000 bushels. His mill ground 6,000 pounds per diem.

Nez Percé Indian reservation, and south of it, is a tract of lower lying and warmer land of superior quality. One township south of the Clearwater, with two fractional ones, raised, in 1883, 30,000 tons of wheat. Fruit also does well. The winters are short and mild. At Lewiston, along the river bottoms, and in low and sheltered localities, grapes, peaches, and apricots of a large size and fine flavor are easily raised. The staple productions of Nez Percé county are wheat, barley, flax, hay, and vegetables.[18]

[18] Perhaps from the desire to avoid the neighborhood of the Indian reservation, perhaps in anticipation of the Northern Pacific railroad, the lands north of the Clearwater were more eagerly seized upon than the warmer and equally fertile land on the south side. A number of towns grew up between 1875 and 1885. Moscow, in Paradise Valley, was founded in 1878, and a branch railroad connected it with the trunk line. Mention is made of extraordinary vegetable productions in Paradise Valley, such as turnips weighing 14 pounds, beets weighing 22 pounds, potatoes weighing 4 pounds and onions 6 pounds; while sugar-cane, corn, melons, and hardy fruits attain marvellous proportions. In every new country and virgin soil similar phenomena are observed; but the region of Palouse River has produced some remarkable specimens of vegetables, and wonderful crops of grain. The trade of Moscow amounted in 1882 to $400,000. Schools, churches, and a public library sprang up, and a newspaper, the Moscow *Mirror*, was published by C. B. Reynolds. Lewiston, the county seat, was the principal town south of the Clearwater, with whose early history the reader is acquainted. It did not long remain a canvas town, intruding upon an Indian reservation, watched by a military company to keep the peace, populated by adventurers with a large proportion of the criminal classes, gamblers, horse-thieves, and highwaymen, who met here to intercept the successful miner on his homeward road. On the removal of the capital, and the rush of miners to southern Idaho, it remained for years a quiet, Mexican-looking town of one principal street, and one or two side streets, its most interesting institution being the large warehouse where could be seen miners' pack-saddles and outfits. A new life was infused by the settlement of the country north of the Clearwater, and the construction of a branch of the Northern Pacific railway. The one-story structures of the earlier period rapidly gave way to large fine buildings. Avenues of trees sprang up to shade its sandy streets, and gardens of the choicest flowers beautified its homesteads. With its fine location on a point between two rivers, sloping back gradually to the grassy, rolling hills, its admirable climate, and rich agricultural surroundings, Lewiston with many was the favorite city of the Snake River country. Fort Lapwai and the Indian agency were twelve miles from Lewiston, in the pretty little Lapwai Valley. Camp Howard was also about 75 miles away, on the south side of the reservation. After the purchase of the land from the Nez Percés in 1863–7, a conflict of titles arose, claim being laid to certain settled portions of the town by Alonzo Gilman, who in common with others occupied the land before a title could be acquired. At all events, so it was decided by the commissioner of the U. S. land office. The town site was entered by Levi Ankeny in trust for the inhabitants of Lewiston in 1871, having been incorporated in 1866, and the commissioner allowed the claim. *Lewiston Signal*, June 28, 1873; *Idaho Laws*, 1866–7, 87, 1872–3, 16–21. The other early towns of the county were Cottonwood, Genesee, Thorn, Lidyville, Blain, Four Mile, Palouse, Mountain Cove, Camas Creek, and Pine Creek. The population in 1883 was 4,500, and the assessed valuation for the previous year $1,327,616.

Oneida county, the south-east corner of Idaho, was early settled by Mormons, being organized by the legislature of 1865. It occupied a large extent of territory, about one quarter of which was taken up by the Fort Hall Indian reservation. The resources of Oneida county are varied. It has two agricultural districts of great fertility and considerable extent, the Malade and Cache valleys, aside from the fertile lands adjacent to Snake River, which extends for 100 miles along the northern and western boundary of the county, and gathers its many head waters into the main stream within these limits.[19]

Ezra Bird, born in Schoharie co., N. Y., in 1839, came to Cal. by sea in 1861, remaining in S. F. one year, when he removed to Idaho and engaged in mining, express-carrying, and cattle-raising. He was elected sheriff of Nez Percé co. in 1873, serving 3 terms. He married Alice Odle in 1873.

S. C. Hale, born in Gardiner, Me, in 1829, arrived in Cal. by sailing vessel in 1850, and after a year's residence at Napa, returned home as he came. The following year he came out to Or. and resided there 4 years, when he again went home, and married Fidelia Matthews, by whom he has 1 child, a daughter. In 1858 he came out a 3d time, to Olympia, W. T., where he had a brother, C. H. Hale. In 1862 he went to Idaho and settled at Lewiston.

Edmund Pearcy, born in Bedford co., Va, in 1832, came overland to Cal., via Sonora, with a drove of cattle, in 1853. Leaving the cattle in the San Joaquin Valley, he went to Or., settling in Multnomah co., where he had 3 brothers. In 1856 he went to Scott Valley, Cal., to mine, with his brother James. On their return his brother was killed by Indians at Grave Creek hill. In 1859 he went with the Mullan expedition as far as the Bitter Root Mountains, returning to winter at Walla Walla, where he remained 2 years, when he went to Lewiston. He married Mrs Jennie Davis in 1881. His brother, Nathan Pearcy, resided at Portland.

John B. Menomy, born in New York city in 1828, came to Cal. by sea in 1849, remaining in San Francisco until 1856, when he went to Monterey, and thence to the Pajaro Valley. In 1866 he went to the Boisé mines, and from there to Lewiston the following year, where he remained. He married in 1864 Mary E. Gloyed, who died. He married a second time, Emma R. Lent, by whom he had 1 child, which died. The mother followed in 1881. He has a brother, Edward T. Menomy, in San Francisco.

J. Clindinning, born in St Stephen's, New Brunswick, in 1831, came to Cal. overland in 1851, with a horse-team, in company with H. H. Sloan, arriving at American Valley, Plumas co., in July. He mined in different localities for 3 years, when he settled at Crescent City until 1862, at which time he went to the Nez Percé mines, remaining in Elk City 5 years. Subsequently he traded in the mines of Kootenai and Warren, Idaho, and also in the Montana mines, having his headquarters at Lewiston, where he still resides. He married H. E. Martin in 1881.

[19] Cache Valley, or the valley of Bear River, called also Gentile Valley to distinguish it from the Mormon settlement of Bear Lake, has been pronounced the garden-spot of Oneida county. Round Valley, which is the upper end of Cache Valley, is the wheat granary of southern Idaho and northern Utah. The land-office for this district is at Oxford in this valley. The Utah and Northern railroad passes through it. The *Idaho Enterprise* is published at Oxford, and has run ever since 1878, J. A. Straight, editor and publisher.

Owyhee county, organized by the first legislature of Idaho, and once regarded as the chief silver-producing region of the country, long retained its eminence as a mining region. Though never an agricultural county, it had much good land on Jordan, Reynolds, Sinker, Catherine, and other creeks, and in the valley of the Bruneau, where some fine farms were made. But the chief business has been stock-raising.[20]

Swan Lake, a lovely sheet of water, abounding in fish and water-fowl, is a silvery mirror reflecting the sharply pencilled outlines of the Wasatch range. The scenery all about Round Valley is fascinating. The foothills furnish excellent ranges for stock. W. H. Cooper, in 1880, sold $10,000 worth of horses off these natural pastures. Malade Valley, population in 1880, 2,500, contained in 1885 many of the finest farms in Idaho. Malade City, the principal town, with a population of 1,200 and the county seat of Oneida, has been made an attractive place, the streets having ditches of pure running water, and gardens thickly set with trees. The court-house cost $12,000, and with other public buildings gives an air of substantial prosperity to the town.

Henry Peck, sometime probate judge, was the first settler in Malade Valley, in the spring of 1865. During the summer Benjamin Thomas, Lewis Goutler, James McAllister, Richard Jones, and others made locations, and in 1866 there was an influx of Josephite Mormons. *Silver City Idaho Avalanche*, March 11, 1876. Franklin became an important place; also Soda Springs, from the curative properties of the waters, a second Saratoga or a German Spa, Weston, Cherry Creek, Chadville, Samaria, Battle Creek—so called from a battle fought with the Bannacks in 1863–4, the road passing through a defile named Connor's cañon, because General Connor was here attacked by the Indians under Pocatella in ambush, and defeated them; Mink Creek, St John, Swan Lake, Nine Mile, Arimo, Oneida, Belle Marsh, Port Neuf, Pocatella, Ross Fork, Blackfort, Shoshone, Eagle Rock, Camas, Pleasant Valley, and Beaver Cañon were in 1885 small towns or railroad stations.

Oneida co. had in 1885 six grist-mills and 30 saw-mills, the salt-works before mentioned, the mining district of Cariboo, and the placer mines of Snake River, besides its farming and stock-raising, to create wealth. Population 7,500; assessed valuation $1,401,410, exclusive of railroad property on the Indian reservation, which it crosses, and where the company has refused to pay taxes. It had more wealth and greater advantages than any other district in Idaho with the exception of Ada and Nez Percé counties. Various attempts were made for the suppression of polygamy in Idaho, but all through the early period of its history the Mormon influence there was strong enough successfully to oppose such efforts.

[20] In 1882 the taxable property of Owyhee was assessed at $665,152, of which $321,979 was for live-stock. Cattle were assessed at $10 a head, and sheep at $1.50, while horses were valued at ten dollars and upwards. The number of cattle in the county was given at 24,559, the number of sheep at 15,150, the number of horses at 2,046. Dairying was followed in the lower Jordan Valley. There was little timber. Game abounded on the plains and among the hills, and mineral springs of value were found in the eastern part of the county. The county seat was removed from Ruby City to Silver City in 1866–7, which place finally absorbed the former, and grew into a scattering collection of residences and quartz-mills, covering two sides of Jordan Cañon. The *Avalanche* newspaper was published here, and was an authority on mines, and altogether a valuable journal to the territory. The early towns of Owyhee county were not numerous or large. Fairview, a thriving little city, suffered

Shoshone county was the first part of Idaho mined and settled. It was soon abandoned by its mercurial population, attracted by gold discoveries elsewhere. The whole region is elevated and broken, except on the plains near the junction of the North Fork with the Clearwater, where there is a body of fine agricultural land, which was rapidly settled. There were extensive forests of fir, pine, cedar, spruce, and hemlock on the mountains and the bottoms of the streams, to be rafted down the Clearwater to mills and market.[21]

Washington county was laid off along the Snake River for a hundred miles, commencing at no great distance south of the mouth of Salmon River. The country is much broken, the valley of the Weiser being the largest body of farming land in this district. Lower Weiser Valley had 25,000 acres of fertile bottoms.[22]

a loss of $100,000 by fire in October 1876. Boonville, Ruby City, Camp Lyon, Flint, Reynolds Creek, Castle Creek, South Mountain, McKenzie, and Bruneau were mining and farming settlements of no great importance. The population of the county in 1885 was 1,600.

[21] The population of the county in 1885 was 800. Pierce City, the county seat, had connection with Lewiston by stage over a good road for 90 miles. The town of Oro Fino was destroyed by fire in August 1867, but the mines of Oro Fino district continued to be worked, and the inhabitants manifested a faith in their county and its resources which enabled them to keep up an organization and representation in the legislature, against the efforts of the more populous counties to disorganize it. The property of Shoshone county was assessed in 1882 at $44,368.

[22] Little Salmon Meadows in the north, Council Valley in the central, and Indian Valley in the eastern part of the county, and several other small bodies of rich land, are all good farming or grazing sections. This place was founded in 1880, by Solomon Jeffries, who donated ground for the county buildings. It was laid off in blocks of five acres each, with streets a hundred feet wide. Building was begun in 1881, and in 1883 there were 250 inhabitants, with a good court-house and jail, a school-house, a town-hall, a flouring mill, three general merchandise establishments, three hotels, three livery-stables, hardware, harness, and saddlery stores, a brewery, drug store, and all the conveniences needed by a young community. The Weiser City *Leader*, a weekly newspaper, was published by H. C. Street, connected with various democratic publications in the early years of Boisé basin. The town of Boomerang was laid out near the mouth of the Payette River. Other settlements were Mann Creek, Salubria, Old's Ferry, Brownlee Ferry, or Ruthburg, and Council Valley. Two brothers named Wilkinson were the first settlers on the upper Weiser, where they took farming claims in 1863, and made beautiful homesteads. In 1864 the Abernethy brothers, the Allison brothers, and one Jewell located in the neighborhood. On the lower river, Shaw, Thomas Galloway, Woodson Jeffries, James Galloway, and Havens were pioneers, and had many a tilt with the Shoshones and Piutes.

Surveys of the public lands in Idaho began in 1866, when L. F. Cartee was appointed surveyor-general, with his office at Boisé City. The initial point of survey was fixed on the summit of a rocky butte, standing isolated in the plain between the Boisé and Snake rivers, on the parallel of 43° 36′ of north latitude, distant nineteen miles from Boisé City, in the direction of south 29½° west. Congress, in 1864, had appropriated $10,000, under which the contracts were let for establishing the standard lines.[23]

Of the social condition of Idaho, it is indicative of the character of its permanent residents that they have been from the first a reading community and that more books of the better class may be found in the homes and camps throughout the territory, than in many towns of a like population in the older states, east and west. Shoup says that farmers of Lemhi county are as intelligent and refined a class as can be found anywhere; and similar statements are made concerning other counties. Twenty newspapers were published in Idaho in 1884. Owing to the fact that the 16th and 36th sections granted by congress to each state for common-school purposes cannot be sold

[23] The population of Idaho in 1870 was 14,999; in 1880, 32,611; and in 1883, 52,320, including 5,000 Chinese; finances prosperous; valuation of property, exclusive of mining claims, which are not taxed, in 1882, $9,339,071; bonded indebtedness, $69,248; and the estimated surplus in 1883 was $60,000. *Governor's Message*, 1882, 3–6; *Treasurer's Rept*, 1882, 3. Manufactures few; mills in 1880, grist 16, lumber 48, others 98. Lime was made in Ada and Alturas counties. Pottery was attempted as early as 1863, by Pliny Thayer, at Idaho City. Fish were cured in brine for market at the Great Payette Lake by two companies. A small trade in furs was continued after the settlement of Idaho, increasing after 1869, when Orchard and Cohn began shipping east by rail. The skins were marten, fisher, mink, and beaver, and were taken in the country between the Salmon and Payette rivers. There was quite a local trade in wild meat in the shooting season. A game law was enacted in 1863–4, for the protection of the larger game from Feb. to July, throughout the territory, which was not strictly regarded in the mountains. There was also a law for the preservation of quail, grouse, and ducks, from March to August, in the county of Ada; and to prevent the destruction of their eggs, or the trapping of birds in any part of the territory. Fish-wears were also declared a nuisance, and the use of giant powder forbidden in the taking of fish.

until the territory has become a state, Idaho, like every other territory, has been compelled to support its schools as best it has been able. The annual revenue for schools, derived from the interest on escheated estates, grants or bequests made for the support of the schools, and from a tax on all taxable property of not less than two mills or more than eight on the dollar, has amounted to $25,000. The tax collectors and county treasurers received no fees for their services. The territorial comptroller was ex-officio superintendent of public instruction, serving also without salary.[24]

[24] See *Idaho Laws*, 1879, 14–26; *Governor's Rept*, 1880, 14–15. The school law of 1864 gave one per cent of gross proceeds of all toll-roads, bridges, ferries, and all other franchises to the school fund. The law of 1875 set apart fines for the same purpose. Each county received the exclusive benefit of its own educational resources, receiving no aid from the territory, Lewiston and Boisé City alone having graded schools. Private means were often devoted to school purposes, since school-houses are as plentiful here as elsewhere. A bill to grant lands to Idaho for university purposes became a law of congress June 15, 1880; but it has been suggested by Governor Neil that a grant of land for the support of common schools in each of the territories would be the greater benefit. Indeed, congress did grant, in February 1881, 72 sections of public lands for school purposes, under certain restraints. The immediate benefit to the territory was insignificant. Congress gives annually a large amount of money for the maintenance of schools on Indian reservations, and not a cent for the education of the first generation of white children in the new commonwealths of the federal union.

The Boisé Valley seminary, a private institute, was founded at Boisé City in the spring of 1867, by H. Hamilton. A movement was made in 1874 at Boisé City, toward founding a university at that place.

The earliest religious teachers in Idaho were the missionaries at Lapwai and Kamiah, and at the Cœur d'Alêne Lake, whose operations have been recorded in a previous volume. *Hist. Or.*, i. ch. xiii. Peter J. De Smet, the pioneer of the Cœur d'Alêne country, died at St Louis, May 23, 1873. He was a native of Belgium, born in 1801. H. H. Spalding, the pioneer of Lapwai, died at that place, August 3, 1874, in his 73d year. *Gray's Or. Presbytery*, 11. A. B. Smith left the country in 1841. De Smet, at Cœur d'Alêne, named the St Joseph River in Idaho, and the St Ignatius in Montana, when the whole country was called a part of Oregon. Gregory Mengarini and Nicholas Point, two jesuit fathers, began the mission of the sacred heart, on St Joseph's River, in 1841, directly north of Lapwai. It was found that the waters of the Lake backed up in the season of floods, and prevented the improvements necessary to carrying out their plans. Therefore, in 1846, they removed to the present site of the Cœur d'Alêne mission on the river of that name. The church, built of wood in a poor imitation of M. Angelo's San Miniato on the hill, stood on a knoll surrounded by low, flat, alluvial lands. Approaching from the west it was seen at the other end of the valley, facing north. In the rear was the residence of the fathers—a rustic cottage with overhanging eaves, and a narrow piazza all round it. A hundred feet to the west was the refectory, and grouped around the sides of the knoll were 50 wigwams and cabins. In front of and to the east of the church considerable ground was enclosed by a substantial rail fence. Here the Indians labored

Little had been done in 1886 by the government for the improvement of Idaho. Its public buildings were

as much as they could be prevailed upon to do. P. P. Joset, who succeeded Mengarini at this mission, taught the Indians agriculture. Point, who was in charge, was succeeded in 1847 by Gazzoli, who remained for many years at this mission. It was said he belonged to an illustrious Italian family. *Dalles Mountaineer*, Nov. 21, 1865; *Walla Walla Statesman*, Sept. 2, 1864; *Shea's Missions*, 476; *Kip's Army Life*, 78–9. A fire destroyed the mission in 1864, which was rebuilt. Gazzoli died June 10, 1882. *Palouse Gazette*, June 23, 1882. Mengarini and Zerbinati established the mission of St Ignatius on Clarke Fork of the Columbia River, north-east of Kalispel or Pend d'Oreille Bay in 1844. *De Smet's Missions*, 180–1. It lay in a prairie, and the buildings were begun in 1845. In 1846 it had 14 houses and a large barn, with everything prepared for erecting a church. Three hundred acres were fenced and sowed, and the missionaries had 30 cattle. On ascension day, 1845, P. Hoecken baptized over 100 Indian adults. He was joined and assisted by Ravelli. De Smet first selected the St Joseph as the proper site of a mission, but removed to the Cœur d'Alêne River after a trial of two or three seasons, finding the ground too wet at the place first selected. The protestant mission of Spalding, under the patronage of the American Board of Foreign Missions, was established in 1836–7, on the Clearwater, in the warm and fertile valley of the Lapwai. Lapwai signifies place of meeting, or a boundary, and was the dividing line between the upper and lower Nez Percés. *Victor's Or.*, 121–4. The residence was a one-story log house. A saw-mill and grist-mill were erected, and good crops raised, while the Indians were taught farming and christian ethics. The Cayuse war was the cause of the abandonment of the mission in 1847. After white people began to go into the Nez Percé country to mine, Spalding returned as a teacher to the Indians at Lapwai, and there died. Henry Hart Spalding, son of the missionary, settled at Almota, Whitman county, Washington, in 1872. He married, in 1875, Mary Warren. He built the first road out of Almota toward Colfax.

The first church erected in Idaho was by the catholics, in 1863, at Idaho City, by A. Z. Poulin, dedicated by Father Mesplie. In the following spring there was a protestant church erected by C. S. Kingsley, methodist clergyman and merchant as he was quoted in the city directory. Both of these churches were on Commercial Street. The great fire of 1865 destroyed the methodist church, and a building was afterward put up to serve for the use of all denominations, and used also as a court-house, for which purpose it was finally sold in 1866. *Idaho World*, Sept. 9, 1865; *Virginia and Helena Post*, Nov. 6, 1866. The catholics also erected the church of St Bernard at Placerville, and the chapels of St Dominick and St Francis at Centreville and Pioneer City, all in 1863–4. They were first at Boisé City, as well. A very determined effort was made by the catholics to obtain the patronage of Idaho in religious and educational matters. Owing partly to this, partly to Mormon influence, there were but three protestant churches prior to 1871, and four sunday-schools. The number of churches had increased in 1874 to 15, after which time there was a steady improvement in religious architecture. A bible society was established in 1871. The first session of the Idaho conference of the methodist church was held Sept. 17, 1884. The baptist association meets annually.

The people of Idaho, even in the wildest whirl of early events, were not forgetful of charities. In 1864 a hospital for the indigent sick was provided in Boisé county, the county commissioners being authorized by law to make a levy, not exceeding $2 annually, upon each taxable inhabitant, in addition to a tax not exceeding a quarter of one per cent upon the value of all taxable property. I. H. Harris was the first attendant physician, and A. S. Goodrich had charge of the hospital. The county of Ada had a poor-farm, with good buildings. The legislature of 1864 authorized the commissioners of each

yet to be erected, its military roads to be constructed, and its rivers made fit for navigation. Petitions have been repeatedly offered by the legislature for these objects. In due course of events they must be granted. That so much has been done by so small a population against great natural obstacles in the building of wagon-roads is an illustration of the energy of the inhabitants. Stages were running to all the mining towns almost as soon as they were located. Railroads were early advocated.[25]

county to care for the insane and idiotic by levying a tax; but as this could not very well be done, the insane were usually sent to Oregon or California at the expense of friends. A law was approved in Jan. 1881, making the governor and the president of the council commissioners to contract with the proper authorities of California or Oregon, or both, for the care and treatment of this class of indigent and unfortunate persons where the insanity was of a violent or dangerous form, the expense to be borne by the territory. *Idaho Laws*, 1880–1, 300–5. The benevolent orders of masons, odd-fellows, and good templars have lodges in the principal towns. In 1872 the grand lodge of masons in Idaho issued a circular to the order, warning its members to cease intemperance, gambling, and playing games in drinking-saloons, and asking masons to leave off keeping such places.

The territory has a historical society of Idaho pioneers, for the maintenance of which, and the furtherance of its work of collecting and preparing historical matter and statistical records, the legislature of 1880, by resolution, appropriated $250 per annum.

[25] An act of the legislature of January 11, 1866, incorporated the Idaho, Salt Lake, and Columbia River Branch Pacific Railroad Company, with authority to construct a road from the north end of Salt Lake to a point ten miles below Old's ferry on Snake River. The incorporators were Caleb Lyon, H. C. Riggs, E. Bohannon, John Wasson, George Ainslie, John M. Cannady, W. H. Parkinson, E. T. Beatty, F. O. Nelson, W. W. Thayer, S. W. Wright, S. S. Fenn, of Idaho; H. D. Clapp, Ben Holliday, Erastus Corning, William M. Tweed, Marshall O. Roberts, of New York city; J. C. Ainsworth, Charles H. Larrabee, William L. Ladd, of Portland, Oregon; and Amos Reed and W. L. Halsey of Salt Lake City. *Idaho Laws*, 1865–6, 201–3. Preliminary surveys were made by the Union Pacific railway in 1867, and the route declared favorable down Snake River from climatic considerations, and believed to be without serious engineering difficulties. In 1869 the sale of the Union Pacific west of Ogden to the Central Pacific caused the abandonment of the branch through Idaho. *Boisé Statesman*, Nov. 19, 1865, Feb. 9, 1867; *Walla Walla Statesman*, Dec. 27, 1867; *Idaho World*, May 20, 1869. The people of the Humboldt Valley then held a meeting at Elko, resolving to give all possible aid to the Idaho people in constructing a branch to the Central Pacific. A proposition was made in 1871 to extend the California Pacific from Davisville via Beckworth's and Noble's pass through south-eastern Oregon and the Snake River plains to Salt Lake. *Sac. Union*, Feb. 22, 1869, May 20, 1871; *Boisé Statesman*, July 10, 1879. In the spring of 1872 congress passed an act granting to the Portland, Dalles, and Salt Lake Railroad, an Oregon corporation of March 25, 1871, the right of way. *H. Ex. Doc.*, 47, pt 3, p. 1002–3, 46th cong. 3d sess. The Oregon legislature passed an act appropriating the proceeds arising from the sale of certain public lands to which the state was entitled to the assistance of this company, authorizing it to issue bonds, and requiring it to commence with the construction of the portage links. *Or. Laws*,

Such was Idaho twenty years after settlement. Without markets or manufactures or transporta-

1872, 16–21. An effort was made to get bills through the Idaho legislature in support of the scheme of the Portland, Dalles, and Salt Lake road, proposing to pay the interest on $3,000 or $5,000 per mile for a term of years. But the committee to which they were referred reported adversely. A substitute was passed exempting railroads built within the territory from paying taxes for seven years. *Idaho Laws*, 1872–3, 63. John H. Mitchell of Oregon, in Jan. 1874, introduced a bill in the U. S. senate providing for the construction of a narrow-gauge railroad by the Portland, Dalles, and Salt Lake road company, the work to be commenced on the division east of the Columbia River within six months, and in consideration of the free transportation of troops and despatch of telegrams for the government, the latter should guarantee the payment of five per cent interest on bonds to be issued to the extent of $10,000 per mile, secured by a mortgage on the property and rights of the corporation. Twenty-five per cent of the net earnings were to be set aside as a sinking fund to provide for the redemption of the bonds at maturity. *Boisé Statesman*, Feb. 14 and May 23, 1874. This bill received a favorable report from the committee. In 1875 W. W. Chapman, president of the company, made a contract with a London company for the completion of the road, at from $26,000 to $28,000 per mile, exclusive of $2,000 per mile local aid pledged, the London company to be secured by mortgages as the road progressed. None of these plans were carried to a successful conclusion. Congress neglected to pass bills as desired, and time slipped away until, by the vigorous measures adopted by the Northern Pacific in 1879 to complete its line to the Pacific, thereby controlling the transportation of the north-west, the Union Pacific was inspired to construct the long-deferred branch through Idaho, called the Oregon Short Line, making, with the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company's road to the Snake River in Baker county, a continuous railway from Granger, in Wyoming, to the Columbia River, with one branch to Hailey, and other branches in construction and contemplation. In the mean time congress granted the right of way, in 1873, to the Utah and Northern Railroad, and a narrow-gauge road was built 127 miles from Ogden to Oneida, on the Fort Hall Indian reservation, a distance of 53 miles north of the Idaho line, when the capital of the company became exhausted, and the road passed into the hands of Sidney Dillon and Jay Gould, in 1878, who immediately gave it a fresh impetus, completing it almost to the Montana line the following year. *Codman's Round Trip*, 259–60; *Port Townsend Argus*, Oct. 16, 1879; *Bonanza City Yankee Fork Herald*, Oct. 11, 1879; *S. F. Bulletin*, Dec. 12, 1879. It was completed to Deer Lodge, Montana, in 1881–2, and soon after to the junction with the Northern Pacific, at Blackfoot. At the time of its construction it was the longest continuous narrow-gauge line in the U. S., and was well equipped.

A number of acts were passed by early legislatures authorizing the construction of telegraph lines. The only project which seemed to promise consummation was that of a line from Portland, by the way of The Dalles, Umatilla, Walla Walla, La Grande, Uniontown, and Baker City to Boisé City in 1868, but it finally failed of completion because the people of eastern Oregon lacked the energy or the means to carry it through. The first line established was in 1874, from Winnemucca in Nevada to Boisé City via Silver City, distance 275 miles. It was completed to Silver City in August, when on the 31st its advent was celebrated by public festivities. On the 18th of Dec. a branch was extended 25 miles to South Mountain. In Sept. 1875 the line was completed to Boisé City, and the same autumn to Baker City in Oregon, the Idaho farmers transporting the poles to their places along the route between Boisé and Snake rivers to assist the work. In 1879 the signal service office constructed a line from Walla Walla to Lewiston, Idaho, for the use of the government, the labor being performed by troops, the principal object

tion, it had to pay out the riches dug from its mines for the necessaries of life brought to its doors at enormous expense in the "prairie schooner," the old-fashioned Pennsylvania freight-wagon.

The Northern Pacific railroad, which so suddenly populated and developed eastern Washington, and helped to develop eastern Oregon, performed no such service for Idaho, merely crossing the Panhandle as far north as Pend d'Oreille lake. That it assisted in bringing to notice the mines of Cœur d'Alêne district was true, and that later it sent off branches to these mines and to other parts of the Panhandle was also true. But the road which relieved central and southern Idaho of the state of lethargy into which its business was falling, and which brought population and mining capital to the territory, was the Oregon Short Line railroad, constructed by the Union Pacific company. Traversing the territory from east to west, through its most inhabited belt of counties, it communicated to the dormant nerves of these isolated communities a shock from the thought batteries of the great world, rousing to action the brain and muscle lying idle. The taxable property of the territory, which in 1884 was $15,497,598, was three years later $20,441,192, mining property, in which the greater amount of capital was invested, being non-assessable. The population, which in 1884 was 75,000, was in 1887 over 97,000.

The forward impulse given to the prosperity of Washington revived in the northern counties of Idaho the project of annexation to that commonwealth, which, it was believed, would soon arrive at statehood, and whose constitution, adopted in 1878 by a vote of the people of the Idaho Panhandle as well as of Washington, included the counties north of the Salmon

being to facilitate in the event of Indian disturbances. See *S. F. Chronicle*, Jan. 25, 1879. In the Nez Percé war of 1877 Gen. Howard was compelled to send all his despatches to Walla Walla by stage or steamer, one of his aids being constantly employed in sending despatches to San Francisco.

river range of mountains. In this form the Washington delegate, Mr Brents, advocated in congress the admission of Washington, and its legislature in 1881–82 passed a memorial for an enabling act, including this portion of Idaho.

The politicians about this time saw in this subject opportunity for a party issue, and seized upon it, making it the point on which the election of 1882 was lost and won, George Ainslee, democratic candidate for congress, opposing, and T. F. Singiser, republican, advocating it, Singiser being elected by a majority of nearly 3,000. In 1884, however, the democrats having put an annexation plank in their platform, returned to power, and Singiser was defeated, while John Hailey was elected to congress, and secured the passage of a bill for annexation, which passed both houses, and only failed to become a law by the failure of the president to sign it.[26]

In 1886, the parties returned to their former relative positions in Idaho,[27] although Hailey, democrat, was supported by the Panhandle republicans on his

[26] The legislature of 1884–5: George Pettingill, Ada co.; T. C. Galloway, Ada and Washington; Benjamin Wilson, Boisé; E. C. Brearly, Boisé and Alturas; James E. Hart, Bear lake; Charles A. Wood, Custer and Lemhi; R. L. Wood, Cassia and Owyhee; S. C. Poage, Idaho; H. W. Smith and George W. Crawford, Oneida; S. G. Isaman, Nez Percé; S. W. Moody, Nez Percé, Shoshone, and Kootenci, councilmen; and Charles I. Simpson, D. W. French, M. H. Goodwin, D. L. Lamme, Ada co.; J. K. Watson, Alturas; W. N. B. Shepperd, Amos R. Wright, Bear lake; G. B. Baldwin, M. G. Luney, Boisé; J. C. Fox, Custer; W. C. Martindale, Cassia; W. S. M. Williams, Philip C. Cleary, Idaho; William King, Shoshone; J. P. Clough, Lemhi; W. T. McKern, J. P. Quarles, L. P. Wilmot, Nez Percé; David Adams, Owyhee; D. R. Jones, C. M. Hull, A. R. Stalker, W. B. Green, Oneida; George W. Adams, Washington, representatives.

[27] The 14th legislative assembly, 1886–7, was composed of Charles Himrod, Ada co.; R. H. Robb, Ada and Boisé; James H. Beatty, E. C. Helfrich, Alturas; H. W. Smith, Bingham; P. L. Hughes, Bingham and Oneida; E. A. Jordan, Bear lake, Cassia, and Oneida; A. J. Macnab, Lemhi and Custer; Robert Larimer, Idaho; Charles Watson, Nez Percé; James I. Crutcher, Owyhee and Washington, councilmen; and D. L. Badley, George Goodrich, M. H. Goodwin, Ada co.; E. G. Burnett, G. J. J. Guheen, W. Hunter, T. B. Shaw, Alturas; R. W. Gee, Bear lake; T. A. Hartwell, C. B. Wheeler, Bingham; Josiah Cove, Boisé; Charles Cobb, Cassia; J. C. Fox, Custer and Bingham; John S. Rohrer, Custer; F. A. Fenn, Idaho; J. P. Clough, Lemhi; James De Haven, A. S. Chaney, W. A. Elyea, Nez Percé; William B. Thews, Oneida; John S. Lewis, Owyhee; John M. Burke, Shoshone and Kootenai; R. S. Harvey, Shoshone; M. L. Hoyt, Washington, representatives.

record as an annexationist, he receiving a majority of 536 in the northern counties; and the people of Nez Percé county, by a vote of 1,679 to 26, expressed themselves in favor of being joined to Washington; but Frederick T. Dubois, republican, who gave a pledge not to oppose annexation, and to use his influence for the suppression of polygamy among the Mormon population, was elected by a majority[28] of 426. But the interest in annexation began to decline with the increase of population and the revival of industries, giving hope of statehood for Idaho at no distant day, and that for which a majority had more than once voted began to be denounced as a scheme "born in local jealousy and petty spite, fostered by political hatred and party spleen, and advocated by many political jobbers and tricksters," and as "thoroughly distasteful to a majority of the people of Idaho, and repugnant to the best interests of the territory."[29]

[28] The federal and territorial officers in 1885–6 were Edward A. Stevenson, governor, appointed Sept. 29, 1885, for four years; Edward J. Curtis, secretary and librarian, appointed Feb. 12, 1885; Joseph Perrault, treasurer; Silas W. Moody, comptroller and ex-officio supt of public instruction; D. P. B. Pride, attorney-general; James P. Hays, chief justice; Norman Buck and Case Broderick, associate justices; James H. Hawley, U. S. dist attorney; A. L. Richardson, clerk sup. court; Ezra Baird, U. S. marshal, appointed Aug. 22, 1886. In 1887 Charles Himrod was chosen territorial treasurer, and J. H. Wickersham comptroller.

[29] There was probably a spice of party spleen in these remarks, although it was true that the annexation fever of a few years previous was visibly decreasing. The reasons, both for its access and its decline, were easily perceived. At the time it existed the Panhandle counties truly felt that their natural and almost impassable southern boundary, the Salmon river range, prevented that freedom of intercourse between them and the southern counties which would make them a homogeneous people. They had yet to learn what railroad engineering could do with the insurmountable. They believed that immigration came to them with reluctance, because the prospect of statehood was so remote, and they justly complained of the inaccessibility of their own capital, whereas if they were joined to Washington the capital of that state would doubtless be removed to within easy distance, and reached quickly by railways. The evidence of what one railroad had done, and the promise of what others would do, created a diversion of interest, and the extraordinary wealth being discovered in the Cœur d' Alêne mining district caused promoters of the agitation to reflect upon the injustice of taking away Idaho's jurisdiction over so valuable a portion of its domain. But doubtless had the counties interested only been empowered to decide the matter, they would have united themselves to Washington; and a bill was, in fact, pending in congress in 1888 for the admission of that commonwealth into the union with this part of Idaho attached, subject to the vote

It was in harmony with the restrictive acts affecting territories, passed about this time, that congress should say that no law of any territorial legislature shall be made or enforced by which the governor or secretary of a territory, or the members or officers of any territorial legislature, are paid any compensation other than that provided by the laws of the United States. This law, the result of the recklessness of long-past territorial legislatures, came at a period in the affairs of Idaho when the duties of the governor were truly onerous, and the practices of legislatures had so much improved that the people were willing to make the pay of the executive commensurate with his services, and consistent with the dignity and requirements of his position. The salaries of judges of the supreme court were also beneath the value of the services performed with the expenses attached to them. Besides, the business of the courts demanded the establishment of another district, and the appointment of another judge. Idaho had collected and paid into the national treasury an amount largely in excess of the sums appropriated by the government to pay the federal expenses, covering also the many defalcations of federal appointees during twenty-two years. Governor Edward A. Stevenson, appointed in 1885, mentioned this fact in his report to the secretary of the interior, together with the further one, that no officer appointed from the people of the territory to a federal office had ever defaulted.[30]

About 1884–5 there was reached a distinctly forward tendency in territorial affairs. In 1872 the indebtedness of Idaho amounted to $132,217.71; in 1885 there was a surplus in the treasury over its bonded debt of $5,546.30. After years of dissension

of the four counties, but delegate Dubois was instructed to labor to suppress it, and had also a bill before congress to divide Nez Percé county and create the county of Latah out of the northern portion of it, this being the substitute for a bill to remove the county seat of Nez Percé from Lewiston to Moscow, taking local matters entirely out of the hands of the legislature.

[30] *Gov.'s Rept*, 1885, 18–19.

concerning the capital, the legislature of 1884–5 had established it permanently at Boisé City, and appropriated, with the consent of the people, eighty thousand dollars to erect a capital edifice, the city devoting a whole square to a site, the building, of brick, being constructed with every modern appliance, combining elegance with convenience, furnishing not only legislative halls, but offices for the territorial and federal officials, a supreme court room, library, and judges' chambers. An appropriation was made by the same legislature of $20,000 for the erection of an insane asylum at Blackfoot,[31] which was subsequently enlarged at a considerable additional cost. The expense of maintaining the institution was about $17,000 per annum.

In the matter of a penitentiary, the territory still paid annually about $18,000 to the United States for keeping its prisoners in a federal building which was located two miles east of Boisé City, and which Governor Stevenson pronounced a "disgrace to great, rich, proud, and humane government"; and where the prisoners were "clothed, fed, and crowded into cells without any employment, and only kept there by the shot-guns of the guards," the wall surrounding the penitentiary being built of inch boards set up on end. This, too, while there was a quarry of excellent stone immediately adjoining the premises, where the prisoners could have been

[31] Gov. Stevenson remarked in his report to the secretary of the interior that the necessity which called for the action of the tax-payers of the territory in incurring these expenses reflected 'little credit on congress, which lavishes its millions in the way of appropriations upon worthless jobs... Congress generally winds up with a dividend day for all the states, with the territories left out. The right thing for congress to do at its coming session is to appropriate $150,000 to reimburse our territorial treasury for the outlay in erecting the capitol building and the insane asylum, which will be needed to complete and finish those buildings as they should be, and the purpose of flagging the walks, fencing and beautifying the grounds,' etc. *Id.* 17. The main building of the insane asylum was destroyed by fire on the night of the 23d of Nov., 1889, when several of the inmates lost their lives, it being impossible to rescue every one, the asylum being located at some distance from town, and the employees of the institution having all to do in saving the patients. The estimated loss to the territory of the building and furniture was $50,000.

profitably employed in getting out material for a prison, combining security with some regard to sanitary conditions. The governor proposed that the United States should furnish $20,000 to pay for extra guards, and purchase the necessary iron, lumber, and tools, when the territory would put the convicts to quarrying stone and building a penitentiary which should be a credit to Idaho and the general government.[32]

Other government buildings in Idaho there were none, if I except the United States assay-office at Boisé City, which cost about $100,000. For many years it was of little use. It cost the government so much to send out its bullion—the producers having to pay the fee—that the office received only a small proportion of the gold-dust and bullion produced in the territory. In 1886 an arrangement was made with the Pacific express company, by which they were sent to the mints either at San Francisco or Philadelphia free of express charges. The business of the office for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, was 7,910 ounces, valued at $122,046.61; but in 1887 it was 32,954 ounces, valued at $446,641.66; and for the year ending June 30, 1888, it was estimated the business would reach $1,000,000.

Boisé City had a court-house, erected at a cost of $60,000, which occupied a square; and another square was devoted to the use of the Independent school district of Boisé City—a district organized under a special charter granted by the territorial legislature, and which was independent of school officers, either territorial or county. It had a board of trustees, with power to examine and employ teachers, disburse moneys, and transact all business necessary for the maintenance of the schools in the district. In addition to the county apportionment, a revenue was col-

[32] The number of territorial prisoners was 75, and U. S. prisoners 3. *Gov.'s Rept*, 1888, p. 54–5. The citizens of Boisé formed a Chautauqua reading circle among the convicts, who gladly embraced the opportunity for study. *Id.* 1887.

lected from escheated estates, and from a special tax. This was a graded school system consisting of primary, intermediate, grammar, academic, and high school departments, and from its text-books seems to have been of a high order of public school. Lewiston, also, had its independent school district and system in four grades. The territorial condition handicapped the cause of public instruction by withholding the school lands from sale until the attainment of statehood, the school money having to be drawn from the people by taxation, for which reason no great advance could be expected before the territory became a state. Idaho will have much and valuable land for school purposes. In anticipation of soon coming into possession of these lands, the legislature, in January 1889, passed an act locating the university of Idaho at Moscow, in Latah county, and appropriating $15,000 with which to commence its foundation.[33]

Turning to the condition of the mining interests of Idaho in 1889, it appears that there has been an important increase in the yield of the mines from 1884 to 1889, the product in 1885 being $5,486,000; in 1886, $5,755,602; in 1887, $8,905,136; in 1888, $9,245,589; these figures being from conservative sources.[34] Other authorities[35] claim ten millions in gold, silver, and lead for 1888. The actual amount reported for 1889 of gold and silver was $10,769,000; of lead, $6,490,000; of copper, $85,000—making a total of $17,344,600 as the product of the mines for this year, while $120,000,000 is claimed as the amount of the precious metals which Idaho has given to the world since mining began within its borders. The territory in 1889 stood fifth in the list of bullion-producing commonwealths. Besides the precious

[33] The first board of regents consisted of 9 members, Willis Sweet being prest, and D. H. B. Blake sec'y. The site of the university consists of 20 acres, one mile from Moscow, on the slope of a hill facing the town, and approached by two broad avenues, which will be shaded with trees.

[34] H. F. Wild, U. S. Assayer at Boisé, in the *Rept of Gov. Stevenson for 1888.*

[35] *Shoshone Journal*, in *The Northwest Magazine*, May 1889.

metals, the abundance of iron, copper, salt, sulphur, mica, sandstone, limestone, granite, and marble distributed throughout the territory offered a profitable field to capital and industry.

About 16,000,000 acres is the estimated amount of agricultural lands in Idaho, 600,000 acres of which in 1889 had been brought under cultivation, by an expenditure of $2,000,000 in irrigating canals. Experience had proved that when irrigated the soil of Idaho produced all kinds of cereals and vegetables and all the fruits of the temperate zone in almost unexampled abundance and unrivalled excellence. Farmers had come to prefer the irrigable lands, for, water being brought upon them, they were more constant in their productiveness than lands depending upon rainfall. Irrigation thereby became a subject of vast importance to agriculturists, who eagerly studied the various plans from time to time proposed by government agents and commissioners for some generally practicable solution of the question which thus far has been little illumined by their observations.[36]

There were 2,000 miles of irrigating ditches in the territory, and schemes on foot for constructing canals which would cost several millions, for reclamation purposes, and to bring arid lands into market, either as agricultural or grazing farms. Even stock-raising, which is a leading industry in Idaho, will be greatly promoted by the reclamation of waste lands. Much has already been done to improve the stock of the breeding-ranchos, the total value of animals of all kinds on farms being set down at $11,882,196.

A movement looking to the closing out of Indian reservations by allotting land in severalty to Indians

[36] The last report of the irrigation commissioners presents a bill of costs, with their plan of diverting the waters of rivers over arid lands which renders it wholly void of utility. Then comes Wm N. Byers of Colorado with a plan for storing water by means of artificial glaciers, which he claims could be easily constructed during the winter high in the mountains, and which we are assured would keep supplied during summer those streams which otherwise are dried up. The plan is deemed worthy of consideration by some people.

had been begun, and promised good results. The Fort Hall and Bannack reservation, comprising 1,202,330 acres, contained 525,000 acres of first-class, easily irrigable land, the remainder being good grazing land, with some portions rich in mineral. The Indians, for whom all was reserved, numbered 1,700 men, women, and children. If every individual should receive 160 acres, there would still be left over a million acres. The Indians on the Fort Hall reservation had made some progress in agriculture, 380 of them cultivating small tracts, on which they raised a variety of farm products.[37] The Lemhi reservation contained 105,960 acres, which was held for 548 Indians, who cultivated 258 acres.[38] The Nez Percé reservation embraced 746,651 acres of the best agricultural land west of the Rocky Mountains, and not excelled by any portion of the union for soil, water, timber, and all natural advantages. It was held for 1,227 Indians—men, women, and children. About 300 families cultivated small farms, raising grains, fruit, and vegetables.[39] This tribe had been taught almost continuously for fifty years, and were, when first known, superior to all the other tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. Indian Agent George W. Norris, in his report to the governor of Idaho in 1888, remarked concerning this people that they took little interest in education beyond a desire that their

[37] These Indians raised 8,523 bushels of wheat, or an average of 22½ bushels to the farm; 8,085 bushels of oats; 915 bushels of barley; 8,450 bushels of potatoes; 1,200 bushels of turnips; 100 bushels of onions; 40 bushels of beans; 2,500 tons of hay; 500 pounds of butter. The stock owned by these Indians were, 6,250 horses, 2 mules, 1,000 cattle, 45 swine, and 350 domestic fowls. *Gov.'s Rept*, 1888, p. 47.

[38] The Indians on this reservation raised 200 bushels of wheat; 3,200 bushels of oats; 450 bushels of potatoes; 25 bushels of onions; 400 bushels of other vegetables; 70 tons of hay; and owned 3,000 horses, 1 mule, and 60 cattle. *Id.* 48.

[39] The Nez Percés raised 68,750 bushels of wheat; 1,000 bushels of corn; 22,000 bushels of oats; 1,000 bushels of barley and rye; 10,000 bushels of potatoes; 100 bushels of turnips; 300 bushels of onions, 500 bushels of beans; 1,000 bushels of other vegetables; 25,000 melons; 15,000 squashes; 4,000 tons of hay; 400 pounds of butter; and owned 14,000 horses, 10 mules, 3,500 cattle, 500 swine, 7 sheep, 2,500 fowls; and cultivated 5,492 acres. *Id.* 49.

children should learn to speak the English language; and that their ambition was bounded by a demand for the fires, beds, clothing, and subsistence furnished during the winter by the government. In his opinion, land should be allotted to them individually, and secured by patent, and they be compelled to labor, instead of being dependent upon the bounty of the United States, whose creatures have taken from them about all that they once possessed. Their increasing wants would lead them to dispose of their superfluous lands, and thus the reservation question be amicably settled; but to open reservations to settlement before the allotments were made would alarm the Indians and lead to trouble.

The fourth Indian reservation in Idaho was the Cœur d'Alêne, in which was contained 598,500 acres, held for the benefit of about 500 individuals. A portion of this territory was rich in minerals, and was in actual possession by a mining population. Steps were being taken to secure its relinquishment by the Indians, who jealously guarded their rights under their treaty with the United States. The Cœur d'Alênes were catholics, and were far behind the Nez Percés in intelligence.

Still another reservation was that of the western Shoshones, comprising 131,300 acres at the head of the Owyhee river, and occupied by about 400 Indians. These were wild Indians who cultivated no farms.

Thus there were within the boundaries of Idaho 2,884,731 acres of the most valuable, agricultural, timbered, and mineral lands, held for 4,375 persons, not more than one fifth of whom were heads of families. Aside from the desire to have these lands productive and taxable was the apprehension that any misunderstanding might involve the territory in another war such as had desolated certain portions only as recently as 1877 and 1878. This conjunction of circumstances led Governor Stevenson to point out to the general government that while Idaho had be-

tween 4,000 and 5,000 Indians within her borders, she had but one company of cavalry and one of infantry for defense, at Boisé Barracks.[40] Fort Sherman, also a two-company post, was, to be sure, in Idaho, but almost at its extreme northern boundary, and so nearly in Washington that its influence was not felt. The governor called attention to this want of consideration for Idaho, and demanded "one good permanent, at least, four-company post," to check the roaming habits of the Indians, "whose presence excites the fears and evil passions of our people."[41]

Previous to 1885, when the Oregon Short Line railroad was completed from its junction with the Union Pacific in Wyoming to its connection with the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company's railroad at Huntington, on Snake river, 418 miles, Idaho could not be said to have any commerce, or at best to have a very one-sided commerce with the world on any side. The opening of railroad transportation marked a new era, encouraging every existing industry, and developing new ones. The exports of live-stock in 1885 aggregated 36,000 head of cattle and horses, or 1,800 car-loads; and the imports of improved stock for breeding purposes reached 200 car-loads, or about 4,000 head.[42] The railroad was a great relief to miners, also, in the transportation of ores and bullion;

[40] Boisé Barracks is a two-company post, with a reservation one mile square, on which are erected many fine buildings of a durable stone peculiar to the locality, which gives them an imposing appearance. The grounds are well cared for and handsomely laid out.

[41] Stevenson pointed out that while Idaho was so nearly defenseless, Montana had 36 companies, stationed at 7 different points; New Mexico had 23, at 5 points; Arizona 34, at 11 points; Utah 15, at 2 points; Washington 20, at 4 points; Wyoming 27, at 7 points; and Dakota 37, at 10 points. *Gov.'s Rept*, 57–58.

[42] One of the horse-raisers of Idaho was Miss Kittie Wilkins, sometimes called the Horse Queen, of Bruneau valley, where she resided with her parents, on a large range. Her stock consisted of Black Hawks, Morgans, Percherons, Hambletonians, and French draught-horses. The father of Miss Wilkins settled in Idaho in 1865, when she was an infant, and from one filly, given the child, came, by good management, a band of 700 or 800 horses. Miss Wilkins was educated at St Vincent's academy, Walla Walla, and the convent of Notre Dame, San José, Cal.

and to merchants and farmers. For the year ending June 30, 1888, the total tonnage of Idaho carried on the Oregon Short Line and Utah and Northern divisions of the Union Pacific was 44,809 tons, 8,386 of which was grain, 11,874 ores, 6,913 live-stock, 6,678 bullion and lead, and 4,766 merchandise; the remainder being miscellaneous freight.

The total outward tonnage of all the railroad and steamboat lines in Idaho in the year ending July 30, 1889, was 184,015, of which 50,000 tons was of wheat, oats, barley, flax-seed, and other farm products; while the freight received for consumption amounted to 119,600 tons. The value of farm products and building material marketed was $9,520,176 —a statement which shows the importance of rapid transit in increasing commerce.

The legislature of 1886–7 enacted a law constituting the governor, controller, and treasurer of the territory a board of equalization, whose duty it was to place a valuation per mile on each line of road passing through more than one county. In 1889 there were eleven railways traversing various parts of Idaho, so sudden was the transportation system by rail developed in this inter-montane commonwealth.[43] The assessed valuation of 888.73 miles of railway was fixed by the commissioners at $4,719,786—a moderate valuation, especially when it is considered that the railroads fixed their own tariffs, which the people had to pay. The Northern Pacific claimed exemption from

[43] These were the Oregon Short Line; Utah and Northern, 129 miles; Idaho Central, 18½ miles; Northern Pacific, 88 miles; Wood River, 15½ miles; branch of Oregon Short Line, 54½ miles; Washington and Idaho, 33 miles; Cœur d'Alêne Railway and Navigation Company (narrow-gauge), 38 miles, and carrying 93,000 tons per annum; Spokane and Palouse, 6½ miles; O. R. & N. Branch in Latah co., 3 miles; Spokane Falls and Idaho Railway, 13½ miles. Besides these, the Midland Pacific, a transcontinental line, was projected from Seattle to Sioux Falls and Chicago. This road would enter Idaho from the east on the north fork of Snake river, crossing the Utah and Northern at Market lake, crossing the plains to Birch creek, thence on the divide between Snake and Salmon rivers, down the Lemhi to Salmon City, thence down Salmon river to Slate creek, and through the northern Camas prairie to Lewiston. Its length in Idaho would approximate 500 miles. It was contemplated changing the route of the Oregon Short Line so as to bring the main line through Boisé City. *Rept of Gov. George L. Shoup*, 1889.

taxation for its franchise and road-bed by act of congress, and only its rolling stock was valued for taxation by the county authorities.[44]

The fifteenth legislative assembly of Idaho convened December 10, 1888.[45] The session, which held until the 7th of February 1889, had under consideration as subjects of more than usual interest the division of Alturas county and the creation of the county of Elmore out of its western territory, the exclusion from the house of two members from the mormon districts of Bingham and Bear Lake on account of illegal voting and the question of statehood. In the case of Elmore county, after much display of legislative tactics, including the bolting of the speaker of the house, who abruptly left his chair during the reading of the journal on the last day of the session,[46] the bill was passed and approved by the governor. Logan county was organized at the same time, and the county of Custer also created at this term.

With regard to the contested elections, notwith-

[44] The Western Union Telegraph company had 776 miles of wires in the territory, valued at $61,393.90. Other companies had 131 miles of wires, valued at $3,700.

[45] The members of the council at this term were: J. S. Neglee, Ada co.; Charles McPherson and Perkins, Alturas; Frederick Campbell, Ada and Boisé; S. F. Taylor, Bingham; J. P. Clough, Custer and Lemhi; J. N. Ireland, Oneida and Bingham; J. W. Brigham, Nez Percé and Latah; T. F. Nelson, Idaho; J. W. Lamoreux, Oneida, Cassia, and Bear Lake; E. S. Jewell, Owyhee and Washington; A. E. Mayhew, Shoshone and Kootenai. J. P. Clough was chosen president.

The representatives of the lower house declared entitled to seats were: D. L. Bradley, J. M. Martin, and M. A. Kurtz, of Ada co.; J. H. Van Schaick, H. H. Clay, Ira S. Waring, and H. C. Burkhart, Alturas; J. H. Kinnersley, Bear Lake; H. B. Kinport and George P. Wheeler, Bingham; G. W. Gorton, Bingham and Custer; J. A. Bruner, Boisé; E. A. Jordan, Cassia; C. M. Day, Idaho; A. S. Chaney, J. I. Mitcham, and James De Haven, Nez Percé; R. H. Davis, Oneida; George W. Sampson, Owyhee; I. C. Sargeant, Shoshone; J. Rand Sanburn, Shoshone and Kootenai; Marvin Kilborn, Washington; George W. Emory, Custer. No member from Lemhi was present at the opening of the session. W. H. B. Crow and James Lyons were admitted to contested seats. H. C. Burkhart was elected speaker. *Idaho Jour. Council and House* 1888–9.

[46] The president of the council also vacated the chair on the last day of the session, in order to obstruct the passage of a measure obnoxious to him. In neither case was the action successful, as the house immediately elected Geo. P. Wheeler, of Bingham, chairman, and the council chose S. F. Taylor, of Bingham, president.

standing a well-argued minority report in their favor by the member from Nez Percé county, the mormon members were unseated. This bitterness towards a portion of the population of the territory, however much it may have had to justify it, is a painful spectacle in a republic. Congress was memorialized to refuse Utah admission into the union, and also to require of homestead and preëmption settlers an oath touching polygamous practices.[47] A perusal of the proceedings of the legislature would impress the reader with the conviction that the main point to be gained in all their legislation was security against the growth of mormon principles in the territory.

A bill establishing a board of immigration to encourage the movement of population to Idaho was passed. "It is a well-known fact," said the report of the committee on territorial affairs, while recommending the passage of this bill, "that the advantages and resources of Idaho are the least known of all the territories. We believe the time has come when Idaho should take that rank among the territories which her mines, her soil, her climate, and her resources justly entitle her to."[48]

[47] The law required superintendents of schools to take an oath that they were neither "bigamist or polygamist," but at this session it was so altered that in case the person challenged were a woman, the objectionable terms should not be included in the oath. *Idaho Jour. Council* 1888–9, 128.

[48] With regard to mines of which the early history has been given, the following may be interesting: The Oro Fino group of 8 mines belongs to the Oro Fino Mining company, limited, of London, England. The original Oro Fino mine produced $1,800,000, and is soon, according to Gov. Shoup's report, from which I take these items, to produce much more. The lode is situated on War Eagle mountain, in Oroyhee district, 3 miles from Silver City. The vein is a true fissure, varying from 2 to 6 feet in width, carrying free milling ore of gold and silver. The shaft has reached the depth of 307 feet, while the mine has not been stoped out to that depth. Levels already started on this mine before it was purchased by the company now owning it have been continued with good results. A lode of very rich ore has been discovered for a distance of 120 feet in length, reaching upward 100 feet. At a recent test this ore assayed $225 per ton, nearly all gold. Over the mine is a substantial shaft-house, with hoisting machinery capable of working the mine to a depth of 1,500 feet, while at Silver City is the new Oro Fino 20-stamp steam quartz-mill. The Oro Fino group of mines is covered by ten locations, patents for which have been applied for.

The Poorman group covers an area of about one half mile in width by one mile in length, and is composed of 8 or 10 lodes, the principal of which is the celebrated Poorman, the Belle Peck, Oso, Illinois Central, South Poorman,

It is worthy of mention that the legislature appropriated $50,000 for the construction of a road, long needed, between Mount Idaho, in Idaho county, and Little Salmon Meadows, in Washington county, more closely connecting the Panhandle to the main body of the future state. Congress was memorialized for an amendment to the alien act, so as to except mines from its prohibitions. A bill was passed establishing a board of immigration. The 'University of Idaho' was established. Congress was asked to pay the Indian war claims of 1877–8–9, and a badge or button asked of congress as a distinguishing mark for the men who served in those wars, with local legislation of ordinary importance.

On the 14th of January a bill was introduced in the house by Bruner of Boisé providing for a consti-

Silver Cord, and Jackson. All these mines have produced more or less, while the Poorman has yielded millions. United States patents have been applied for for this group of mines. The property was purchased in 1888 by a syndicate then living in London.

The Morning Star mine, situated one fourth of a mile from Silver City, owned by Stoddard, Townsend, & Smith, has produced $750,000. Six other mines situated in this district are mentioned in the report of Gov. Shoup. In the adjoining district of Wagontown, discovered in 1876 by J. W. Stodard, is the Wilson, the largest and richest mine in Idaho, owned by Christian and Louis Wâhl of Chicago, and J. R. De Lamar of Owyhee co. The veins, 15, 30, and 77 feet in width, have all been opened, showing 300,000 tons of ore that will mill from $15 to $200 per ton. The bullion produced is high grade in gold.

Concerning the Cœur d'Alêne mines of the Panhandle, the following is the history: In 1884, the first discovery of galena was made on Cañon creek, a tributary of the Cœur d'Alêne river. The Tiger and Poorman mines, now famous for their product, are the nucleus of the flourishing town of Burke. Soon after their discovery, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines, on Milo gulch, also a tributary of the South Fork, were found. They were of such extraordinary magnitude and richness as to awaken the interest of the capitalists of Montana, who the ensuing year constructed a narrow-gauge railway from Lake Cœur d'Alêne to these mines, and began shipping the ore to the concentrating works at Wickes, Mont. This was the entering wedge which opened the marvellous treasures of the Cœur d'Alêne to the world, and enabled it in less than 3 years to become the greatest lead-producing region in the United States. Ten concentrators, with an average capacity of 100 tons daily each, are now in operation in this district. They produce 70,000 tons of concentrates per annum, containing an average of 30 oz. of silver and 60 per cent of lead, besides 45,000 tons of selected ore, averaging 40 oz of silver and 60 per cent of lead, aggregating a cash value of $9,030,000 at the market price of silver and lead.

Large copper mines are found in Washington co., but cannot be profitably worked until railroads are constructed to this district—Seven Devils by name—also in Alturas, Custer, and Bingham counties.

tutional convention preparatory to the admission of Idaho into the union, and on the 17th councilman Perkins of Alturas gave notice of a joint memorial praying congress for an act enabling Idaho to form a state government. In the mean time the citizens of Lewiston, having held a mass meeting, sent their resolutions to the legislature, in which they "insisted upon, and respectfully demanded of congress, admission as a state into the federal union," and indorsed the efforts of delegate Dubois and others to secure this end, and calling upon the legislature and the towns and counties of Idaho to unite in urging immediate action. On the 29th of January the council approved a house joint memorial for the admission of Idaho without a dissenting voice; and on the 4th of February a select committee appointed to examine a house bill providing for the calling of a constitutional convention made a favorable report. The desire of the people was declared to be, while not doubting the national will and power to legislate for the interests of the territory, that the government affairs of Idaho be placed in their hands. They had the wealth and population, and believed that further delay would postpone the enlistment of capital in the development of their resources.[49]

Nothing more was needed to impel the governor to issue a proclamation calling for a state constitutional convention.

The general condition of Idaho was much improved in 1889. Mining and agriculture were both making long strides forward by means of transportation facilities and irrigation.[50] Land was advancing in value, population increasing, and various enterprises being

[49] *Idaho, Jour. House* 1888–9, 204.

[50] The Central Canal and Land company was 24 miles in length in December 1889, and would irrigate 50,000 acres. The Settlers' ditch, which had been in progress three years, was about ready to run lateral lines to 100 farms. Both these canals were in Ada county. Portland *Oregonian*, Dec. 20, 1889.

projected. All, or nearly all, the old political acrimony had died out. Even the scheme so long entertained in northern Idaho of being annexed to Washington was no longer heard of, except to be denounced. The legislature of 1886–7 passed a resolution protesting against any proposition to segregate any portion of Idaho with a view to attach it to another state or territory by a vote 9 to 3 in the council and 20 to 4 in the house. A similar resolution was incorporated in the platform adopted by the democratic territorial convention held at Boisé City in June 1888; and the measure was strongly denounced by the republican convention of the same year.

The republican convention of 1888 also declared in favor of statehood "for the whole territory." The movement for statehood, it was alleged, was based upon the desire of the people to have a voice in presidential elections, the need to become possessed of a state's landed dowery, and the wish to do away with the alien act of congress, prohibiting the investment of foreign capital in the territories, which was detrimental to mining interests. Of the opposition to statehood, which proceeded chiefly from the farming population, it was said that a state government sufficient in all its departments for the needs of a growing commonwealth, affording means for the prompt administration of justice in the courts, providing a teacher for every child of school age, and an asylum for every helpless, blind, dumb, or idiotic dependent, would certainly cost more than a government which delayed justice, turned out the feeble to the charities of the world, and reared the young in ignorance; but that every good thing was worth its cost, and no people ever bore just burdens with greater patience than the people of Idaho.[51] The general government paid only $28,000 per annum for the support of the territory, while the tax-payers paid $75,000, and by economy the state, with its greater advantages, would be able

[51] Proclamation by Gov. Shoup in *Gov.'s Rept*, 1889, 106.

to meet all the increased obligations necessary to be assumed. These arguments, as we shall see, proved convincing to the majority.

The changes in the judiciary of Idaho had always been frequent. James B. Hays was appointed chief justice in 1886 in place of John I. Morgan; Norman Buck and Case Broderick, appointed in 1884, being his associates, and James H. Hawley United States attorney. In 1888, Hugh W. Weir was chief justice, and John Lee Logan and Charles H. Berry associates, with Hawley still United States attorney. In 1889, Weir was superseded by James H. Beatty of Hailey; and Logan, who was removed on account of ill health,[52] was followed by Willis Sweet of Moscow, who had a few months previously been appointed United States attorney. E. S. Whittier, district attorney of Bingham county, was mentioned as successor to Judge Berry, and Fremont Wood of Boisé was appointed United States attorney, and John P. Wilson marshal. Thus at last Idaho secured courts from among her own citizens. With a change of administration and the election of 1888 in Idaho came a quite general change of federal[53] and territorial officials. Frederick T. Dubois, however, was again chosen delegate

[52] Judge Logan came to Idaho when the bench and society were shaken to their foundations, and mob law openly advocated. The atmosphere was foul with venality, corruption, and moral weakness. A change occurred as if by magic when Judge Logan ascended the tribune. The people recognized in him a splendid lawyer, a man of firmness and clearness of mind. He conducted and ruled the court; the court did not rule him. He was just and fair, impartial and fearless. The first criminal cases tried before him showed that he was a judge for the people, that he would interpret the law as it should be interpreted, and that he would honestly discharge his duties. *Grangeville Free Press.*

[53] Other federal appointments were Charles S. Kingley, register of the U. S. land-office, and Joseph Perrault, receiver, Boisé City; H. O. Billings, register of the U. S. land-office, and C. O. Stockslager, receiver, Hailey; Perry J. Anson, register of the U. S. land-office, and W. H. Danielson, receiver, Blackfoot; Francis F. Patterson of the U. S. land-office, and Charles M. Foree, receiver, Lewiston; William J. McClure, register of the U. S. land-office, and Robert E. McFarland, receiver, Cœur d'Alêne; S. G. Fisher, U. S. Ind. agent at Ross Fork agency (Fort Hall); W. D. Robbins, U. S. Ind. agent, Nez Percé agency; J. M. Needham, U. S. Ind. agent, Lemhi agency, and H. J. Cole, U. S. Ind. agent at Cœur d'Alêne agency; W. J. Cunningham, U. S. assayer, Boisé City; William A. Kortz, sergeant in charge of U. S. signal-office, Boisé City.

to congress. George L. Shoup was appointed governor, E. J. Curtis remained secretary, Joseph C. Straughn was appointed surveyor-general, Richard Z. Johnson was elected attorney-general of the territory, James H. Wickersham comptroller, Charles Himrod treasurer, and Charles C. Stevenson superintendent of public instruction.[54]

Before Governor Stevenson was relieved of the executive office, he issued a proclamation April 2, 1889, recommending that the people elect delegates to a constitutional convention, to meet at Boisé City, July 4th of that year, to frame a constitution for the state of Idaho, although no enabling act had been passed by congress. On the 30th of April Shoup took the oath of office, and assumed the duties of governor on the 1st of May. On the 11th he supplemented Stevenson's proclamation with another, approving the holding of a constitutional convention. Seventy-two delegates were elected, and the convention was in session for thirty-four days. The instrument as framed by them declared the constitution of the United States the supreme law of the land, and aimed to protect and foster the industries and interests of the territory. It forever prohibited bigamy and polygamy. The government of the state was in three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislature was to consist of 18 senators and 36 assemblymen, and should not be increased to exceed 24 and 60 respectively. It should meet biennially, except in special instances. The executive department was to consist of a governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer, attorney-general, and superintendent of public instruction, each to hold

[54] The legislative appointments were: Trustees for the care and custody of the capitol building, R. Z. Johnson, C. Himrod, J. H. Wickersham; commissioners for the improvement of the capitol grounds, C. W. Moore, Peter Sonna, I. L. Tiner, R. Z. Johnson; territorial prison commissioners, William Bryon, C. P. Bilderback, J. B. Wright; directors of the insane asylum at Blackfoot, I. N. Coston, O. P. Johnson, N. A. Just; regents of the university of Idaho, George L. Shoup, Isaac H. Bowman, John W. Jones, J. W Reid, Nathan Falk, B. F. Morrison, Willis Sweet, H. B. Blake, Richard Z. Johnson.

office for two years. The governor, secretary of state, and attorney-general were to constitute a board of pardons.

The supreme court should consist of three justices, to be elected at large. Five judicial districts were provided, the judges to reside in and be chosen by the electors of their respective districts; and a district attorney should be elected for each district.

Absolute secrecy of the ballot was guaranteed. Six months' residence was required to become a qualified elector. Religious freedom was guaranteed. Taxes for state purposes should never exceed ten mills on the dollar; when the assessed valuation should have reached $50,000,000, five mills; or $100,000,000, not more than three mills, with greater reduction as the wealth of the state should increase.

The capital was located at Boisé City for 20 years. The insane, blind, deaf, and dumb were provided for. All railroads and express companies were declared common carriers, subject to legislative regulations. Provision was made to prevent inconvenience in changing the business of the territorial to the state courts. In all these matters the Idaho constitution resembled other modern state organic laws, the only thing in which it was singular being in the prohibition of bigamy and polygamy, and in truth this question had become one of the deepest interest in Idaho.

Governor Shoup gave it as his belief that the population of Idaho in 1889 was 113,777, and that of this number 25,000 were adherents of the mormon faith and practices, and although public sentiment to a considerable extent suppressed the visible fact of polygamous relations, it was known that plural marriages were contracted, and that the doctrine was taught by the mormon church leaders. It was not so much, he said, that examples of plural marriages could be pointed out that the gentile majority made war upon mormonism, but because the preachers of the mormon minority taught that all laws enacted for the suppres-

sion of polygamy were unconstitutional, on the ground that they were an interference with religious liberty. This was a point, he claimed, most dangerous to good morals; for any association of persons could, under the name of religion, commit any crimes against society with impunity, protected by the constitution of the United States.

To break their power, the legislature of 1884–5 passed a registry law requiring voters to take a 'test oath' of the most rigid nature,[55] which kept a large majority of mormon voters away from the polls, only about 1,000 taking the stringent oath, and voting at the election for adopting or rejecting the constitution in which it was incorporated, which was held, according to the governor's proclamation, on the 5th of November. The number of votes polled at the election was 14,184, 12,398 being for and 1,773 against the adoption of the constitution. Upon the presumption that the mormon vote was against the constitution, the vote of the territory was almost unanimous in favor of state government without regard to party.

In order to settle a question raised by the mormons of the constitutionality of the registry oath, a mormon voter was arrested, charged with conspiracy, and imprisoned. His friends began habeas corpus proceedings, but the court decided that the writ would

[55] The oath is as follows: 'You do solemnly swear, or affirm, that you are a male citizen of the United States over the age of twenty-one years; that you have actually resided in this territory for four months last past, and in this county thirty days; that you are not a bigamist or polygamist; that you are not a member of any order, organization, or association which teaches, advises, counsels, or encourages its members, devotees, or any other person, to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy, or any other crime defined by law, as a duty arising or resulting from membership in such order, organization, or association, or which practises bigamy or polygamy, or plural or celestial marriage, as a doctrinal rite of such organization; that you do not, either publicly or privately, or in any manner whatever, teach, advise, or encourage any person to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy, or any other crime defined by law, either as a religious duty or otherwise; that you regard the constitution of the United States and the laws thereof and of this territory, as interpreted by the courts, as the supreme law of the land, the teachings of any order, organization, or association to the contrary notwithstanding; and that you have not previously voted at this election; so help you God.'

not hold, and the case was taken to the United States supreme court to obtain an opinion which would make valid or invalid the test oath, and that part of the Idaho constitution in which it is incorporated.[56] Delegate Dubois, who was taking the opinion of congress on the admission of Idaho, was met by the assertion of the mormon leaders that the effort to disfranchise 25,000 of the population would prove a stumbling-block in the way of statehood—an assertion to which he returned the counter-statement that, rather than come in without the anti-mormon clause in the constitution, the territory would prefer to remain out of the union.[57] Nevertheless, he labored strenuously for it, not on party grounds, for Idaho was so evenly balanced in politics at this period that neither party dared claim it, but simply on the merits of her claims to recognition. "Our constitution," said the delegate, "forbids the carrying of any flag in public processions, except the American flag. We want a state for those whose highest allegiance is to the United States, or else we want no state at all." Truly, the times were changed since 1864, when the scum of secession overran the territory, and a loyal man dared hardly breathe a sentiment of devotion to the union. But there were complications in the way besides the mormon test oath. Unless the state should be admitted by the congress about to meet, it might have to wait for years, because in 1890 a census would be taken, and the apportionment for representation in congress undoubtedly raised to about 200,000. Congress was already so unwieldly that it would not, probably, increase the number of representatives, but rather the requirement of population, and it might be very long before Idaho doubled hers. Again, it was said that the democrats in congress would unite in opposition to the admission of Idaho, and Wyoming which was

[56] H. W. Smith of Ogden went to Washington as the special attorney of Idaho, to argue the case before the supreme court. Portland *Oregonian*, Dec. 6, 1889.

[57] *Id.*, Nov. 27, 1889.

also an aspirant for statehood, unless New Mexico should be admitted at the same time. Thus hopes and fears had their turn. Meanwhile, the newspapers, of which there were now thirty-eight in Idaho,[58] asserted truthfully that never had there been so many new enterprises inaugurated as in this year of 1889; irrigation schemes that would cost millions; new mining camps as fast as they could be built and machinery could be 'freighted' to the mines; homestead filings for the year, 861; homestead proofs, 463; preëmption filings, 841; preëmption proofs, 441; desert filings, 294; desert proofs, 841; timber culture filings, 293; timber culture proofs, 5; mineral filings, 72; proofs, 62. All these meant so many times 160 acres improved, or about to be. The total amount of land surveyed in Idaho was 8,500,000 acres; of land patented or filed on, 4,500,000 acres; and land in cultivation, surveyed and unsurveyed, 600,000 acres. Idaho contained about 55,000,000 acres, 12,000,000 of which were suitable for agriculture, while nearly as much more could be made so by irrigation. There were 5,000,000 acres of grazing land, 10,000,000 acres of timber, and 8,000,000 acres of timber land. Idaho had indeed advantages unsurpassed in any quarter of the globe. Railroads, irrigation, and statehood would make this evident. Such was the voice of the Idaho press, and such, by their vote on the constitution, was the voice of the people.

[58] *Free Press*, Grangeville; *Star* and *Mirror*, Moscow; *Teller*, and *Stars and Bars*, Lewiston; *Times* and *Review*, Cœur d'Alêne City; *Sun*, Murray; *News*, Wardner; *Courier*, Rathdrum; *Messenger*, Challis; *Citizen*, Salubria; *Leader*, Weiser; *Recorder*, Salmon City; *Keystone*, Ketchum; *News Miner* and *Times*, Hailey; *Press*, Bellevue; *State Journal*, Shoshone; *Register*, Eagle Rock; *News*, Blackfoot; *Herald* and *Republican*, Pocatello; *Enterprise*, Malade City; *Times*, Albion; *Independent*, Paris; *Bulletin*, Rocky Bar; *Progress*, Nampa; *Tribune*, Caldwell; *Statesman* and *Democrat*, Boisé; *World*, Idaho City; *Avalanche*, Silver City; *Independent*, Burke; *Free Press*, Wallace; *Post*, Post Falls; *Observer*, Montpelier; and *Mail*, Mountain Home. *Rept of Gov. Shoup*, 1889, 100.

HISTORY OF MONTANA.

CHAPTER I.

NATURAL WEALTH AND SETTLEMENT.

1728-1862.

THE NAME—CONFIGURATION AND CLIMATE—GAME—STOCK-RAISING ADVANTAGES—MINERALS AND METALS—CATACOMBS—MAUVAISES TERRES—EARLY EXPLORATIONS—FUR-HUNTERS AND FORTS—MISSIONARIES AND MISSIONS—OVERLAND EXPLORATIONS—RAILROAD SURVEY—WAGON-ROADS—EARLY STEAMBOATS—GOLD DISCOVERIES—THE CATTLE BUSINESS—FIRST SETTLERS—NEW COUNTIES OF WASHINGTON.

MONTANA, mountainous or full of mountains,[1] is a name, as herein used, no less beautiful than significant. From the summit of its loftiest peak—Mount Hayden—may be seen within a day's ride of each other the sources of the three great arteries of the territory owned by the United States—the Missouri, the Colorado, and the Columbia. From the springs on either side of the range on whose flanks Montana lies flow the floods that mingle with the North Pacific Ocean, the gulf of California, and the gulf of Mexico. The Missouri is 4,600 miles in length, the Columbia over 1,200, and the Colorado a little short of 1,000; yet out of the springs that give them rise the Montanian may drink the same day. Nay, more: there is a spot where, as the rain falls, drops descending together, only an inch asunder perhaps, on strik-

[1] Many infer that the word is of Spanish origin, a corruption, perhaps, of *montaña*, a mountain, but it is purely Latin. It was a natural adoption, and the manner of it is given elsewhere.

ing the ground part company, one wending its long, adventurous way to the Atlantic, while the other bravely strikes out for the Pacific. These rivers, with their great and numerous branches, are to the land what the arteries and veins are to the animal organism, and whose action is controlled by the heart; hence this spot may be aptly termed the heart of the continent. From New Orleans to the falls of the Missouri there is no obstacle to navigation. Wonderful river!

Could we stand on Mount Hayden, we should see at first nothing but a chaos of mountains, whose confused features are softened by vast undulating masses of forest; then would come out of the chaos stretches of grassy plains, a glint of a lake here and there, dark cañons made by the many streams converging to form the monarch river, rocky pinnacles shooting up out of interminable forests, and rising above all, a silvery ridge of eternal snow, which imparts to the range its earliest name of Shining Mountains. The view, awe-inspiring and bewildering, teaches us little; we must come down from our lofty eminence before we can particularize, or realize that mountains, lakes, forests, and river-courses are not all of Montana, or that, impressive as the panorama may be, greater wonders await us in detail.

The real Montana with which I have to deal consists of a number of basins among these mountains, in which respect it is not unlike Idaho. Commencing at the westernmost of the series, lying between the Bitterroot and Rocky ranges, this one is drained by the Missoula and Flathead rivers, and contains the beautiful Flathead Lake, which lies at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, in latitude 48°. From the lake south for fifty miles is a gently undulating country, with wood, grass, and water in abundance, and a good soil. The small valley of the Jocko, which is reached by crossing a range of hills, is a garden of fertility and natural loveliness. But true to the character of this montane region, another and a higher range must be

crossed before we can get a glimpse of the grander and not less lovely Hellgate[2] Valley, furnished also with good grass and abundance of fine timber. Branching off to the south is the valley of the Bitterroot, another fertile and picturesque region. The Hellgate and Bitterroot valleys are separated from Idaho on the west by the Bitterroot range, on the lofty peaks of which the snow lies from year to year. These mountains have a general trend south-east and north-west, and cover an area of seventy-five miles from west to east, forming that great mass of high, rough mineral country so often referred to in my description of Idaho, and which is covered with forest.

Passing out of the Bitterroot and Hellgate valleys to the east, we travel through the pass which gives its name to the latter. This cañon is forty miles in length, cutting through a range less lofty than those on the west. Through it flows the Hellgate River, receiving in its course several streams, the largest of which is the Big Blackfoot, which heads in the Rocky Mountains, near Lewis and Clarke's pass of 1806. At the eastern end of this cañon is Deer Lodge Valley, watered by the Deer Lodge River, rising in the Rocky Mountains south and east of this pass, and becoming the Hellgate River where it turns abruptly to the west after receiving the waters of the Little Blackfoot, and which still farther on becomes the Missoula. Other smaller streams and valleys of a similar character go to make up the north-western basin, which is about 250 miles long by an average width of 75 miles. It is the best timbered portion of Montana, being drained toward the north-west, and open to the warm, moisture-laden winds of the Pacific, which find an opening here extending to the Rocky Mountains.

[2] The name of Hellgate Rond was given to a circular prairie at the mouth of a cañon, the passage of which was so dangerous, from Indian ambush, to the fur-hunters and trappers, that in their nomenclature they could find no word so expressive as Hellgate. *Virginia and Helena Post*, Oct. 14, 1866; *White's Or.*, 289.

The north-east portion of Montana,[3] bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the west, the divide between the Missouri and the river system of the British possessions on the north, and by a broken chain of mountains on the south, is drained toward the east by the Missouri River, and is a country essentially different from the grassy and well-wooded regions west of the great range. It constitutes a basin about 400 miles in length and 150 in breadth, the western portion being broken occasionally by mountain spurs, or short, isolated upheavals, such as the Little Rockies, the Bear Paw Mountains, or the Three Buttes, and taken up in the eastern portion partly by the Bad Lands. Its general elevation is much less than that of the basin just described,[4] yet its fertility is in general not equal to the higher region west of the Rocky Mountains. There is a belt of grass-land from ten to twenty miles in width, extending along at the foot of the mountains for a hundred and fifty miles, backed by a belt of forest on the slopes of the higher foothills. The lower plains are for some distance along the Missouri a succession of clay terraces, entirely sterile, or covered with a scanty growth of grass of inferior nutritive quality. Through this clay the rivers have worn cañons several hundred feet in depth, at the bottom of which they have made themselves narrow valleys of fertile soil washed down

[3] In Ingersoll's *Knocking around the Rockies*, 192–202, there are some bits of description touching Montana's physical features worth reading, though taken together, no very clear notion of the country could be obtained from the book.

[4] The following table shows the relative positions and climatic peculiarities of these two natural divisions of Montana:

	Feet.
Summit of Bitterroot range, near the pass	5,089
Junction of the Missoula and St Regis de Borgia rivers	2,897
Bitterroot Valley, at Fort Owen	3,284
Big Blackfoot River, near mouth of Salmon Trout Fork	3,966
Deer Lodge, at Deer Lodge City	4,768
Prickly Pear Valley, near Helena	4,000
Mullan's Pass of the Rocky Mountains	6,283
Lewis and Clarke's Pass	6,519
Forks of Sun River	4,114
Fort Benton, Missouri River	2,780
Fort Union, mouth of Yellowstone	2,022

from the mountains, supporting some cottonwood timber and grass. Higher, toward the south, about the heads of the tributaries of the Missouri, there is a region of good agricultural and grazing lands lying on both sides of the Little Belt and Snow Mountains. The scenery of the upper Missouri also presents, for a hundred or more miles, commencing below the mouth of the Jefferson fork, a panorama of grandeur and startling effects, the Gate of the Mountains, a cañon five miles in length and a thousand feet deep, being one of the finest river passes in the world in point of beauty.

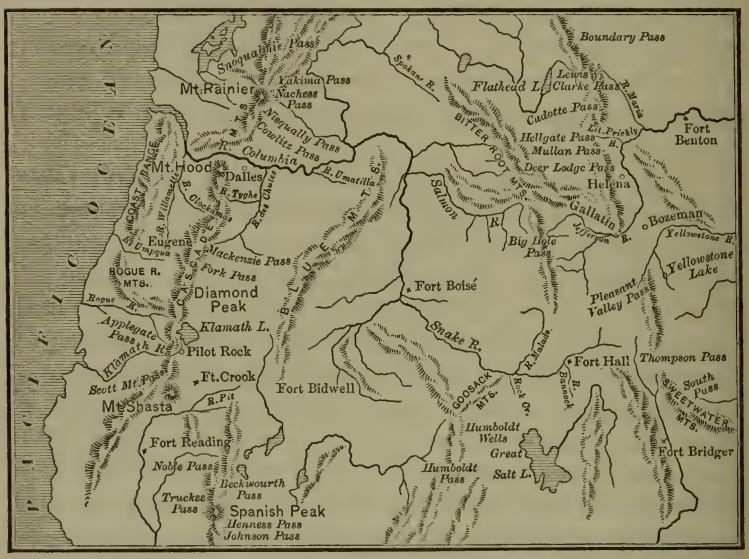
South of the vast region of the main Missouri are three separate basins; the first drained to the east by the Jefferson fork of that river, and by its branches, the Bighole[5] and Beaverhead, the latter heading in Horse Prairie, called Shoshone Cove by Lewis and Clarke, who at this place abandoned canoe travel, and purchased horses of the Indians for their journey over the mountains. They were fortunate in their choice of routes, this pass being the lowest in the Rocky range, and very gentle of ascent and descent. The Beaverhead-Bighole basin is about 150 miles by 100 in extent, containing eight valleys of considerable dimensions, all having more or less arable land, with grass and water.

East of this section lies another basin, drained by the Madison and Gallatin forks of the Missouri, and having an extent of 150 miles north and south, and 80 east and west. In it are five valleys, containing altogether a greater amount of agricultural land than the last named.

Last is the Yellowstone basin. It contains eight principal valleys, and is 400 miles long and 150 miles wide. The Yellowstone River is navigable for a dis-

[5] This valley was formerly called by the French Canadian trappers, Le Grand Trou, which literally means big hole, from which the river took its name. The mountain men used this word frequently in reference to these elevated basins, as Jackson's Hole, Pierre's Hole, etc. McClure gives a different origin in his *Three Thousand Miles*, 309, but he is misinformed.

tance of 340 miles; there is a large amount of agricultural and grazing lands along its course, and between it and the Missouri, with which it makes a junction on the eastern boundary of Montana. About the head of this river, named by early voyageurs from the sulphur tint of the rocks which constitute



General View of Mountain Passes.

its banks in many places, cluster a world of the world's wonders. The finger-marks of the great planet-making forces are oftener visible here than elsewhere. Hundreds of ages ago about these mountain peaks rolled an arctic sea, the wild winds sweeping over it, driving the glittering icebergs hither and thither. When the mountains were lifted out of the depths by volcanic forces they bore aloft immense glaciers, which lay for centuries in their folds and crevices, and slid and ground their way down the wrinkled slopes, tracing their history in indelible characters upon the rocks, while they gave rise and direction to the rivers, which in their turn have

scooped out the valleys, and cut the immense cañons which reveal to us the nature of the structure of the earth's foundations.

Volcanic action is everywhere visible, and has been most vigorous. All the stratified rocks, the clays and slates in the Yellowstone range, have been subjected to fire. There are whole mountains of breccia. Great ravines are filled with ashes and scoria. Mountains of obsidian, of soda, and of sulphur, immense overflows of basalt, burnt-out craters filled with water, making lakes of various sizes, everything everywhere points to the fiery origin, or the later volcanic history of the Yellowstone range.

The valley of the Yellowstone where it opens out presents a lovely landscape of bottom-lands dotted with groves, gradually elevated benches well grassed and prettily wooded, reaching to the foothills, and for a background the silver-crested summits of the Yellowstone range. As a whole, Montana presents a beautiful picture, its bad lands, volcanic features, and great altitudes only increasing the effect. In its forests, on its plains, and in its waters is an abundance of game, buffalo, moose, elk, bear, deer, antelope, mountain sheep, rabbits, squirrels, birds, water-fowl, fish,[6] not to mention the many wild creatures which civilized men disdain for food, such as the fox, panther, lynx, ground-hog, prairie-dog, badger, beaver, and marten. The natural history of Montana does not differ from that of the west side of the Rocky Mountains, except in the matter of abundance, the natural parks on the east side of the range containing almost a superfluity

[6] Buffalo used formerly to be numerous on the plains between the South Pass and the British possessions, the Nez Percé 'going to buffalo' through the Flathead and Blackfoot country, and the fur companies wintering on the Yellowstone in preference to farther south, both on account of climate and game. The Montana buffalo is said to have been smaller, less humped, and with finer hair than the southern animal. In 1865 a herd of them were seen on the head waters of Hellgate River for the first time in many years. *Idaho World*, Aug. 28, 1865. The reader of Lewis and Clarke's journal will remember their frequent encounters with the huge grizzly. See also the adventures of the fur-hunters with these animals in *Victor's River of the West*. Besides the grizzly, black, brown, and cinnamon bears were abundant.

of animal life—a feature of the country which, taken in connection with the hardy and warlike indigenous tribes, promises well for the prosperity of the white race which unfolds therein.

As to the climate, despite the general elevation of the territory, it is not unpleasant. The winter camps of the fur companies were more often in the Yellowstone Valley than at the South Pass or Green River. Here, although the snow should fall to a considerable depth, their horses could subsist on the sweet cottonwood, of which they were fond. But the snow seldom fell to cover the grass for any length of time, or if it fell, the Chinook wind soon carried it off; and it is a remarkable trait of the country, that stock remains fat all winter, having no food or shelter other than that furnished by the plains and woods.[7] Occasional 'cold waves' affect the climate of Montana, along with the whole region east of the Rocky Mountains, sometimes accompanied with high winds and driving snow.[8] But the animals, both wild and tame, being well fed and intelligent, take care to escape the brief fury of the elements, and seldom perish.[9] This for the surface, beneath which, could the beholder

[7] The yearly mean temperature of Deer Lodge City, the elevation being nearly 5,000 feet, is 40° 7′, and the mean of the seasons as follows: Spring 41° 6′, summer 69° 7′, autumn 43° 1′, winter 19° 9′. This temperature is much lower than that of the principal agricultural areas. The total yearly rainfall is 17 inches, and for the growing season, April to July, 9.15 inches. *Norton's Wonder-Land*, 89. Observations made at Fort Benton from 1872 to 1877 gave a mean annual temperature of 40°, and an average of 291 clear days each year. The average temperature for 1866 at Helena, which is 1,000 feet higher than many of the valleys of Montana, was 44° 5′. The snowfall varies from 4½ inches to 41½. The report of the U. S. signal officer at Virginia City gives the lowest temperature in 6 years, with one exception, at 19° below zero, and the highest at 94° above. Observations taken in the lower valleys of Montana for a number of years show the mean annual temperature to be 48°. Navigation opens on the Missouri a month earlier near Helena than at Omaha. The rainy season usually occurs in June. *Omaha New West*, Jan. 1879; *Schott's Distribution and Variations*, 48–9; *Montana Scraps*, 54, 69–71.

[8] These storms, which are indeed fearful on the elevated plateaux and mountains, are expressively termed 'blizzards' in the nomenclature of the frontier. The winter of 1831–2 is mentioned as one of the most severe known, before or since.

[9] Shoup, in his *Idaho*, MS., 4, speaking of stock-raising, says: 'Cattle of all kinds thrive in the hardest winters without stall-feeding, and we lost none through cold or snow. My loss in the hardest winter in 5,000 head was not more than one per cent.'

look, what might he not see of mineral riches, of gold, silver, and precious stones, with all the baser metals!

Montana is the native home of gold. Nowhere is it found in so great a diversity of positions; in the oldest igneous and metamorphic rocks, in the micaceous slates, in alluvial drifts of bowlders and gravel, sometimes in beds of ferruginous conglomerates, and infiltrated into quartz, granite, hornblende, lead, iron, clay, and every kind of pseudomorphs. In Montana quartz is not always the 'mother of gold,' where iron and copper with their sulphurets and oxides are often a matrix for it. Even drift-wood long embedded in the soil has its carbonaceous matter impregnated with it; and a solution of gold in the water is not rare.[10] The forms in which the precious metal exists in Montana are various. It is not always found in flattened, rounded, or oval grains, but often in crystalline and arborescent forms.[11] The cube, octahedron, and dodecahedron are not uncommon forms, the cube, however, being most rare. Cubes of iron pyrites are sometimes covered with crystals of gold.[12] Beautiful filaments of gold frequently occur in quartz lodes in Montana, and more rarely spongiform masses.[13] Curiously exemplifying the prodigality and eccentricity of the creative forces, cubes of galena, strung on wires of gold, and rare tellurium, are found in the same place in the earth.

[10] This statement I take from an article by W. J. Howard, in the *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Dec. 24, 1868. The author writes like a man acquainted with his subject. Might not this account for the presence of flour gold in certain alluvial deposits?

[11] The same may be said of California, Oregon, and Idaho. I have seen a stem with leaves, like the leaf-stalk of a rose, taken from a creek-bed in California, and the most elegant crystalline forms from the Santiam mines of Oregon.

[12] The Venus lode, in Trout Creek district, Indian, Trinity, and Dry gulches in the vicinity of Helena, have produced some beautiful tree forms of crystallization. Also other crystalline forms of gold have been found near the head of Kingsbury gulch, on the east side of the Missouri River, in seams in clay slate overlying granite. *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Dec. 24, 1868.

[13] The finest specimens of thread gold, says Howard, were found in the Uncle Sam lode, at the head of Tucker gulch. A sponge-shaped mass valued at $300 was taken from McClellan gulch, both in the vicinity of Mullan's pass. See *Virginia Montana Post*, June 2, 1866; *Deer Lodge Independent*, Nov. 30, 1867; *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Dec. 9, 1870.

Silver is present here, also, in a variety of forms, as the native metal, in sulphides, chlorides of various colors, antimonial silver, ruby, and polybasite, with some rarer combinations. Gems, if not of the finest, are frequent in gulch soils where gold is found. By analogy, there should be diamonds where quartz pebbles, slate clay, brown iron ore, and iron sand are found. Sapphires, generally of little value because of a poor color, beryl, aquamarine, garnet, chrysoberyl, white topaz, amethyst, opal, agate, and moss-agate are common. Of these the amethyst and the moss-agate are the most perfect in points of fineness and color. Of the latter there are several varieties, white, red, black, and green, in which the delicate fronds of moss, or other arborescent forms, are defined by the thin crystals of iron oxides, manganese, or other mineral matter in the process of formation; crystals of epidote, dark red and pale green, form veins in the earth; calcite, of a beautiful light red color, marbles, tin ores, cinnabar, magnesia, gypsum, and fire-clays, base metals, coal—these are what this montana storehouse contains, waiting for the requirements of man.

There have been those who talked of catacombs in Montana, of underground apartments tenanted by dead warriors of a race as far back as one chooses to go. However this may be, it is certain that in the mauvaises terres, or bad lands of the early French explorers, are immense catacombs of extinct species of animals. These Bad Lands form one of the wonders of the world, which must be counted since the discovery of this region to be at least eight. The region is geologically remarkable. Under a thin gray alkaline alluvium, which supports only occasional pines and cedars on the banks of the streams, is a drab-colored clay or stone, which covers, in most places, beds of bituminous coal, or lignite. The soil is interspersed with seams of gypsum in the crystalline form, which

sparkle in the sun like necklaces of diamonds upon the hills and river-bluffs. Other seams consist of spar iron, carbonates of magnesia, and deposits of many varieties of the spar family in beautiful forms of crystallization. In the alluvium are bowlders of lime and sandstone, containing as a nucleus an ammonite, some of which are five feet in diameter, and glowing when discovered with all the colors of the rainbow. Fossil crustaceans also abound in the shales, their shining exposed edges making a brilliant mosaic. Beds of shells of great depth, and of beautiful species, are exposed in the walls of cañons hundreds of feet beneath the surface. Balls of sandstone, in size from a bird-shot to half a ton's weight, are found on the Missouri River, the centre of each being a nucleus of iron. Bones of the mammoth elephant, of a height a third greater than the largest living elephants, and of twice their weight, are scattered through the land, together with other fossils. In some localities the country is sculptured into the likeness of a city, with narrow and crooked streets, white, shining, solitary, and utterly devoid of life—the most striking picture of desolation that could be imagined. Fancy fails in conjecturing the early developments of this region, now dead past all resurrection.[14]

It is worthy of notice that the shining appearance of the Bad Lands, which the Indians of Montana

[14] It is not in the Bad Lands alone that we find interesting fossil remains in Montana. Teeth and bones of extinct fossil mammals have been exhumed at various points, as in Alder gulch, at Virginia City, where also an enormous tusk has been dug up, and shells, in state of almost perfect preservation. Forty feet from the surface in Last Chance gulch a tooth, in good condition, corresponding to the 6th upper molar of the extinct *elephasintormedius*, was found. A little lower two tusks, one measuring 9 feet in length and 20 inches in circumference, were taken out, this being but a part of the whole. New York gulch produced a tooth 14 inches long and 5 inches across. *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Dec. 31, 1868. Many hints as to the geography and resources of Montana have been gathered from the *Deer Lodge Independent; Helena Independent; Helena Herald; Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette; Deer Lodge New Northwest; Virginia City Post;* and the local journals of Montana generally; also, from *Stevens' Northwest; Daly's Address Am. Geog. Soc.*, 1873; *Smally's Hist. N. Pac. R.*, and *H. Ex. Doc.*, 326, 248–71, 42d cong. 2d sess.; *Overland Monthly*, ii. 379–80.

described to the tribes farther east, and they to others in commercial relations with the French in Canada, and which became mingled with descriptions of the great mountain range, should lead to a journey of exploration in search of the Shining Mountains, where diamonds and gold abounded, by the Canadian French.

CARVER'S MAP, 1778.

For the progress of these mercurial people since 1728 westward along the line of the great lakes, for the lies of Baron La Hontan, the adventures of Verendrye,[15] the journey of Moncaht Apé, the explora-

[15] It was the 1st of Jan., 1743, when Verendrye reached the Shining Mountains. The point at which the ascent was made was near the present city of Helena, where the party discovered the Prickly Pear River, and learned of the Bitterroot. They described the Bear's Tooth Mountain near Helena, and in other ways have left ample evidence of their visit.

tions of Lewis and Clarke with the names of the first white men in Montana,[16] and the doings of the fur-hunters[17] and missionaries in these parts, the reader

[16] The treaty of Reyswick, concluded in 1695, defined the boundaries of the English, French, and Spanish in America; but so crude were the notions of geography which prevailed at that period, that these boundaries were after all without intelligibility. The Spanish possessions were bounded on the north by the Carolinas of the English, but to the west their extent was indefinite, and conflicted with the French claim to all north of the mouth of the Mississippi and west of the Alleghanies, which was called Louisiana. France also claimed the region of the great lakes and river St Lawrence, under the title of Canada. The English colonies lay east of the Alleghanies, from Maine to Georgia. During the latter part of the 17th century and early in the 18th the French explored, by the help of the jesuit missionaries, the valley of the Mississippi, and established a chain of stations, one of which was St Louis, penetrating the great wilderness in the middle of the continent, well toward the great divide.

[17] A fort was built at the mouth of the Bighorn in 1807, by one Manuel. In 1808 the Missouri Co., under the leadership of Maj. Henry, penetrated to the Rocky Mountains, and was driven out of the Gallatin and Yellowstone country by the Blackfoot tribe, with a loss of 33 men and 50 horses. But in the following year he returned, and pursued his adventures westward as far as Snake River, naming Henry Lake after himself. In 1816 Burrell, a French trader, travelled from the mouth of the Yellowstone across the plains to the mouth of the Platte River. The St Louis and American fur companies soon followed in his footsteps. In 1823 W. H. Ashley led a company to the Rocky Mountains, and was attacked on the Missouri below the mouth of the Yellowstone, losing 26 men. The Missouri Co. lost seven men the same year, and $15,000 worth of goods on the Yellowstone River, by the Indians. There was much blood, of red and white men, shed during the operations of the fur companies. Of 200 men led by Wyeth into the mountains in 1832, only 40 were alive at the end of 3 years. *Victor's River of the West.* The names of Henry, Ashley, Sublette, Jackson, Bridger, Fitzpatrick, Campbell, Bent, St Vrain, Gantt, Pattie, Pilcher, Blackwell, Wyeth, and Bonneville are a part of the history of Montana. Many of their employés, like Carson, Walker, Meek, Newell, Godin, Harris, and others, were men not to be passed over in silence, to whom a different sphere of action might have brought a greater reputation. If not settlers, they made the trails which other men have found it to their interest to follow.

In 1829 there was established at the mouth of the Yellowstone, by Kenneth McKenzie of the American Fur Company, a fortified post called Fort Union, the first on the Missouri within the present limits of Montana. McKenzie was a native of Scotland, and served in the Hudson's Bay Co., from which he retired in 1820, and two years afterward located himself on the upper Missouri as a trader, where he remained until 1829. From that date to 1839 he was in charge of the American company's trade, but Alexander Culbertson being appointed to the position, he went to reside in St Louis. James Stuart, in *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 88.

In 1830 the American Fur Co. made a treaty with the Piegans, a branch of the Blackfoot nation; and in 1831 Captain James Kipp erected another post named Fort Piegan, at the mouth of María River, in the country of the Piegans, which extended from Milk River to the Missouri, and from Fort Piegan to the Rocky Mountains. The situation, however, proved untenable, on account of the bad disposition of the Indians, and for other reasons, all of which led to its abandonment in the autumn of 1832, when Kipp removed to a point opposite the mouth of Judith River. But here again the situation was found to be unprofitable, and later in the season D. D. Mitchell of the same company erected Fort Brulé at a place on the south side of the Missouri

is referred to my *History of the Northwest Coast*, in this series.[18]

called Brulé Bottom, above the mouth of María River. The following year Alexander Culbertson took charge of this fort, remaining in command until 1841, when he went to Fort Laramie, and F. A. Cheardon assumed the charge.

Cheardon proved unworthy of the trust, becoming involved in a war with the Piegans, and losing their trade, in the following manner: A party of Piegans demanded admittance to the fort, which was refused, on which they killed a pig in malice, and rode away. Being pursued by a small party from the fort, among whom was a negro, they shot and killed him, after which the pursuing party returned to the fort. Cheardon then invited a large number of the Indians to visit the post, throwing open the gates as if intending the utmost hospitality. When the Indians were crowding in, he fired upon them with a howitzer, loaded to the muzzle with trade balls, killing about twenty men, women, and children. After this exploit he loaded the mackinaw boats with the goods of the establishment, burned the buildings of the fort, and descended to the post at the mouth of the Judith River, which he named Fort Cheardon.

Robert Campbell and William Sublette, of the Missouri Co., erected a fort five miles below Fort Union, in 1833; and in 1834 another sixty miles above, but sold out the same year to the American co., who destroyed these posts. In 1832 McKenzie of the latter company sent Tullock to build a post on the south side of the Yellowstone River, three miles below the Bighorn, to trade with the Mountain Crows. These Indians were insolent and exacting, lying and treacherous, but their trade was valuable to the fur companies. Tullock erected a large fort, which he named Van Buren. The Crows often wished the trading post removed to some other point, and to suit their whims, Fort Cass was built by Tullock, in 1836, on the Yellowstone below Van Buren; Fort Alexander by Lawender, still farther down, in 1848; and Fort Sarpy by Culbertson, at the mouth of the Rosebud, in 1850. This was the last trading post built on the Yellowstone, and was abandoned in 1853.

In 1843 Culbertson returned from Fort Laramie to the Missouri, and built Fort Lewis, twenty-five miles above the mouth of María River, effecting a reconciliation with the Piegans, with whom he carried on a very profitable trade. Three years afterward this post was abandoned, and the timbers of which it was constructed rafted down the river eight miles, where Culbertson founded Fort Benton, in 1846. In the following year an adobe building was erected. In 1848 Fort Campbell was built a short distance above Fort Benton by the rival traders Galpin, Labarge, & Co., of St Louis, who did not long occupy it, and successively a number of fortified stations on the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers have been built and occupied by traders who alternately courted and fought the warlike Montana tribes. They enriched themselves, but left no historical memoranda, and no enduring evidences of their occupation.

[18] P. J. De Smet, missionary of the Society of Jesus, in the spring of 1840 left St Louis on a tour of exploration, to ascertain the practicability of establishing a mission among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. Travelling with the American Fur Co. to their rendezvous on Green River, he there met a party of Flatheads, who conducted him to the Bitter Root Valley, where he remained teaching and baptizing from the 17th of July to the 29th of Aug., when he set out on his return, escorted as before by a company of Flathead warriors. His route was by the way of the Yellowstone and Bighorn rivers to a fort of the American Fur Co., in the country of the Crows. From this point De Smet proceeded down the Yellowstone to Fort Union, with only a single companion, John de Velder, a native of Belgium, having several narrow escapes from meeting with parties of hostile Indians. From Fort Union they had the company of three men going to the Mandan village, whence De Smet proceeded, via forts Pierre and Vermilion, to Independence and St Louis.

The first actual settlers of Montana, not missionaries, were some servants of the Hudson's Bay Com-

In the following spring he set out again for the mountains, accompanied by two other priests, Nicolas Point, a Vendeean, and Gregory Mengarini, an Italian, and three lay brethren. Falling in at Westport with a party from New Orleans going to the mountains for a summer's sport, and another party bound for Oregon and California, they travelled together to Fort Hall, where the Flatheads again met the missionaries to escort them to their country. In all this journeying De Smet evinced the utmost courage, believing that because he was upon an errand of mercy to benighted man the Lord of mercy would interpose between him and harm. I am impressed with his piety, but I do not fail to observe the egoism of his christianity when he writes about other religious teachers, inspired, no doubt, by an equal philanthropy.

As far as Fort Hall the fathers had travelled with wagons, which there they seem to have transformed into carts, and to have travelled with these, by the help of the Indians, to Bitterroot Valley, going north from Fort Hall to the mouth of the Henry branch of Snake River, at the crossing of which they lost three mules and some bags of provisions, and came near losing one of the lay brethren, who was driving, but whom the Indians rescued, and assisted to get his cart over. As De Smet nowhere mentions the abandonment of the carts, and as he had before proved himself a good road-maker, I take it for granted that they arrived at the Bitterroot with their contents, among which was an organ. The route pursued was through the pass of the Utah and Northern Railroad, which was named The Fathers' Defile, thence north, on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, and through a pass at the head of Deer Lodge River, and by the Hellgate cañon, to the Bitterroot Valley, where, on one of the last days of September 1841, the cross was set up among the Flatheads, and a mission founded, which was called St Mary's, and dedicated to the blessed virgin. A long account is given by the father, in his writings, of a journey to Fort Colville, and subsequent doings, which are unimportant.

In 1843 the jesuit college sent out two priests—Peter De Vos and Adrian Hoeken—to assist Point and Mengarini, while De Smet was despatched on a mission to Europe to secure both men and women for the mission. He was eminently successful, returning with both, and giving much assistance to the missions of western Oregon. De Vos and Hoeken arrived at St Mary in Sept. with three lay brothers. In 1844 Hoeken founded the mission of St Ignatius a short distance north of the Clarke branch of the Columbia, east and south of Fort Colville, in what was later Washington. Here De Smet found him on his return from Europe, and here again he visited him in 1845, having been down to the Willamette Valley and loaded a train of eleven horses with 'ploughs, spades, pickaxes, scythes, and carpenters' implements,' brought by ship to the Columbia River. Not until these arrived could Hoeken commence any improvements, nor was much progress made until 1846. During these two years the father lived as Point had done, roaming about with the Indians and subsisting on camas-root and dried berries. After the first year Father Anthony Ravelli was associated with Hoeken. The first wheat raised was boiled in the husks for fear of waste. But in 1853–4 the mission of St Ignatius had a farm of 160 acres under improvement, a good mission-house of squared logs, with storeroom and shops attached, a large chapel tastefully decorated, barns and out-buildings, a windmill, and a grindstone hewn out of native rock with a chisel made by the mission blacksmith. Brick, tinware, tobacco-pipes turned out of wood with a lathe and lined with tin, soap, candles, vinegar, butter, cheese, and other domestic articles were manufactured by the missionaries and their assistants, who were often the Indians. On the farm grew wheat, barley, onions, cabbages, parsnips, pease, beets, potatoes, and carrots. In the fields were cattle, hogs, and poultry. See *Stevens' N. P. R. R. Rept*, in *De Smet's Missions*, 282–4; *Shea's Missions*, 146; *Shea's Indian Sketches*, passim.

pany, and all foreign-born except the half-breeds. These men seldom had any trouble with the Indians,

At the same time the Cœur d'Alêne mission was equally prosperous. It was situated on the Cœur d'Alêne River, ten miles above Cœur d'Alêne Lake. Here about 200 acres were enclosed and under cultivation; mission buildings, a church, a flour-mill run by horse-power, 20 cows, 8 yokes of oxen, 100 pigs, horses, and mules, constituted a prosperous settlement. About both of these establishments the Indians were gathered in villages, enjoying with the missionaries the abundance which was the reward of their labors. The mission of St Mary in 1846 consisted of 12 houses, neatly built of logs, a church, a small mill, and other buildings for farm use; 7,000 bushels of wheat, between 4,000 and 5,000 bushels of potatoes, and vegetables of various kinds were produced on the farm, which was irrigated by two small streams running through it. The stock of the establishment consisted of 40 head of cattle, some horses, and other animals. Then comes the old story. The condition of the Indians was said to be greatly ameliorated. They no longer suffered from famine, their children were taught, the women were shielded from the barbarous treatment of their husbands, who now assumed some of the labor formerly forced upon their wives and daughters, and the latter were no longer sold by their parents. But alas for human schemes of happiness or philanthrophy! When the Flatheads took up the cross and the ploughshare they fell victims to the diseases of the white race. When they no longer made war on their enemies, the Blackfoot nation, these implacable foes gave them no peace. They stole the horses of the Flatheads until they had none left with which to hunt buffalo, and in pure malice shot their beef-cattle to prevent their feeding themselves at home, not refraining from shooting the owners whenever an opportunity offered. By this system of persecution they finally broke up the establishment of St Mary in 1850, the priests finding it impossible to keep the Indians settled in their village under these circumstances. They resumed their migratory habits, and the fathers having no protection in their isolation, the mission buildings were sold to John Owen, who, with his brother Francis, converted them into a trading-post and fort, and put the establishment in a state of defence against the Blackfoot marauders.

In 1853–4 the only missions in operation were these of the Sacred Heart at Cœur d'Alêne, of St Ignatius at Kalispel Lake, and of St Paul at Colville, though certain visiting stations were kept up, where baptisms were performed periodically. In 1854, after the Stevens exploring expedition had made the country somewhat more habitable by treaty talks with the Blackfoot and other tribes, Hoeken, who seems nearly as indefatigable as De Smet, selected a site for a new mission, 'not far from Flathead Lake, and about fifty miles from the old mission of St Mary.' Here he erected during the summer several frame buildings, a chapel, shops, and dwellings, and gathered about him a camp of Kootenais, Flatbows, Pend d'Oreilles, Flatheads, and Kalispels. Rails for fencing were cut to the number of 18,000, a large field put under cultivation, and the mission of St Ignatius in the Flathead country became the successor of St Mary. In the new 'reduction,' the fathers were assisted by the officers of the exploring expedition, and especially by Lieut Mullan, who wintered in the Bitterroot Valley in 1854–5. In return, the fathers assisted Gov. Stevens at the treaty-grounds, and endeavored to control the Cœur d'Alênes and Spokanes in the troubles that immediately followed the treaties of 1855, of which I have given an account elsewhere. Subsequently the mission in the Bitterroot Valley was revived, and the Flatheads were taught there until their removal to the reservation at Flathead Lake, which reserve included St Ignatius mission, where a school was first opened in 1863 by Father Urbanus Grassi. In 1858 the missionaries at the Flathead missions had 300 more barrels of flour than they could consume, which they sold to the forts of the American Fur Co. on the Missouri, and the Indians

with whom they traded and dwelt, and among whom they took wives.[19] They were protected against the Blackfoot tribe by the Flatheads, whom they assisted, in their turn, to resist the common foe. But there was not the same security for other white residents. In 1853 John and Francis Owen, who bought the building of St Mary's mission, and established themselves, as they believed, securely in the Bitterroot Valley, were unable to maintain themselves longer against the warlike and predatory nation from the east side of the Rocky Mountains, and set out with their herds to go to Oregon, leaving their other property at the mercy of the savages. They had not proceeded far when they were met by a detachment of soldiers under Lieutenant Arnold, of the Pacific division of the government exploring expedition in charge of I. I. Stevens, coming to establish a depot of supplies in the Bitterroot Valley for the use of the exploring parties which were to winter in the mountains. This fortunate circumstance enabled them to return and resume their settlement and occupations.[20]

Since the explorations of Lewis and Clarke, no government expedition had followed the course of the

cultivated fifty farms, averaging five acres each. In their neighborhood were also two saw-mills. In 1871 the mission church of St Ignatius was pronounced the 'finest in Montana,' well furnished, and capable of holding 500 persons, while the mission farm produced good crops and was kept in good order. In addition to the former school, the Sisters of Notre Dame had two houses at this mission. At St Peter's mission on the Missouri, in 1868, farming had been carried on with much success.

It cannot be said, although no high degree of civilization among the savages followed their efforts, that De Smet and his associates were not fearless explorers and worthy pioneers, who at least prepared the way for civilization, and the first to test the capability of the soil and climate of Montana for sustaining a civilized population. The last mention I have made of the superior of the Flathead mission left him at St Ignatius in the summer of 1845. He travelled thereafter for several years more among the northern tribes, and visited Idaho and Montana, finally returning to his college at St Louis, where he ended his industrious life in May 1873, after the ground he had trod first as a settler was occupied by men of a different faith with far different motives.

[19] Louis Brown, still living in Missoula co. in 1872, was one of these. He identified himself with the Flatheads, and made his home among them. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, March 9, 1872. See also *H. Misc. Doc.*, 59, 33d cong. 1st sess.

[20] *Ballou's Adventures*, MS., 13; *Pac. R. R. Rept*, i. 257.

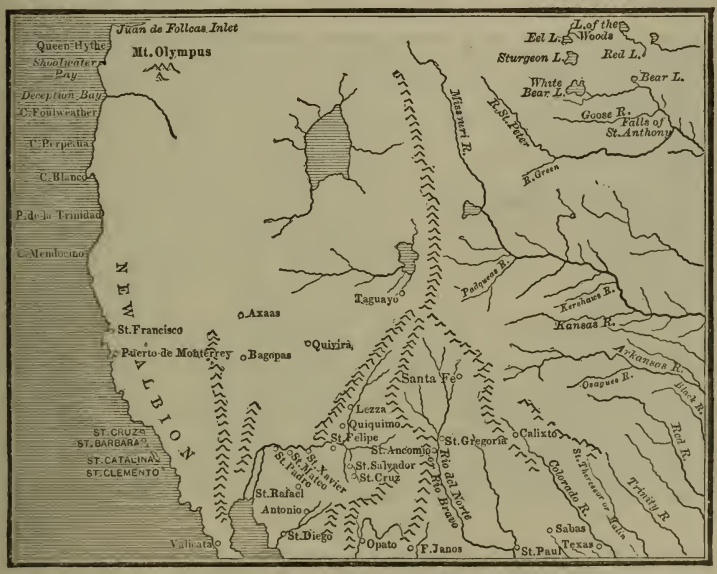
Missouri in Montana, if we except some geological researches by Evans, until the railroad survey under Stevens was ordered; and to this expedition, more

LEWIS AND CLARKE'S MAP, 1806.

than to any other cause, may the gold discoveries in Idaho and Montana, and the ultimate rapid settlement of the country, be credited.[21] Stevens left at

[21] Stevens' party, charged with the scientific object of the expedition, consisted of Capt. J. W. T. Gardiner, 1st drag.; Lieut A. J. Donelson, corps of engineers, with ten sappers and miners; Lieut Beckman du Barry, 3d art.; Lieut Cuvier Grover, 4th art.; Lieut John Mullan, 2d art.; Isaac F. Osgood, disbursing agent; J. M. Stanley, artist; George Suckley, surgeon and naturalist; F. W. Lander and A. W. Tinkham, assist eng.; John Lambert topographer; George W. Stevens, William M. Graham, and A. Remenyi, in charge of astronomical and magnetic observations; Joseph F. Moffett, meteorologist; John Evans, geologist; Thomas Adams, Max Strobel, Elwood Evans, F. H. Burr, and A. Jekelfaluzy, aids; and T. S. Everett, quartermaster and commissary's clerk. *Pac. R. R. Rept*, xii. 33.

Fort Benton, and west of there along the line of exploration in Montana in the winter of 1853–4, one of his assistants, James Doty, to study under Alexander Culbertson the character and feelings of the Indian tribes of the mountains, preparatory to a council of treaty with the Blackfoot nation; Lieutenant Grover, to observe the different passes, with regard to snow, during the winter; and Lieutenant Mullan, to explore



RECTOR'S MAP, 1818.

for routes in every direction. These officers and Mr Doty seemed to have failed in nothing. Mullan travelled nearly a thousand miles, crossing the divide of the Rocky Mountains six times from October to January, passing the remainder of the winter at Cantonment Stevens in the Bitterroot Valley. Grover on the 2d of January left Fort Benton, crossing the Rocky Mountains by Cadotte's pass on the 12th, and finding the cold severe, the temperature by day being 21° below zero. On the 16th, being on very elevated ground, at sunrise the mercury stood at 38° below zero. In the Hellgate and Bitterroot valleys it was still from 10° to 20° below zero, which was cold weather

even for the mountains. On the 30th he left Fort Owen for Walla Walla, having warmer weather, but finding more snow from Thompson prairie on Clarke fork to Lake Pend d'Oreille than in the Rocky Mountains, and arriving at Walla Walla on the 2d of March.

Meantime Stevens had gone to Washington city to advocate the building of the Northern Pacific railroad and the construction of a preliminary wagon-road

FINLEY'S MAP, 1826.

from Fort Benton to Fort Walla Walla. On receiving the reports of Grover and Mullan the following spring, he directed Mullan and Doty to continue their explorations, and their efforts to promote peace among the natives, especially between the Blackfoot and Flathead tribes. Of the temporary failure of the scheme of a wagon-road, through the combination of the southern tribes for war in 1855, the narrative has been given. After the subjugation of the natives, Mullan was permitted to take charge of this highway, which played its part in the early history of the settlement of Montana, and its trade and travel. The road was first advocated as a military necessity to

save time and money in moving troops across the continent, and shortening land travel for the annual immigrations. The rumored discovery of gold in some places[22] along the route, with the natural spreading-out of the mining population, attracted first to the British Columbia and Colville mines, together with the requirements for the transportation of military stores during the Indian war, completed the chain of sequences which led up to actual immigration[23] and settlement.

One of the projects of Stevens and Mullan was to induce owners of steamboats in St Louis to send their boats, which had never run above Fort Union,[24] up the Missouri as far as Fort Benton. The *Robert Campbell*, in which a part of Stevens' expedition ascended the Missouri, advanced seventy miles above Fort Union in 1853, when her course was arrested by sand bars.[25]

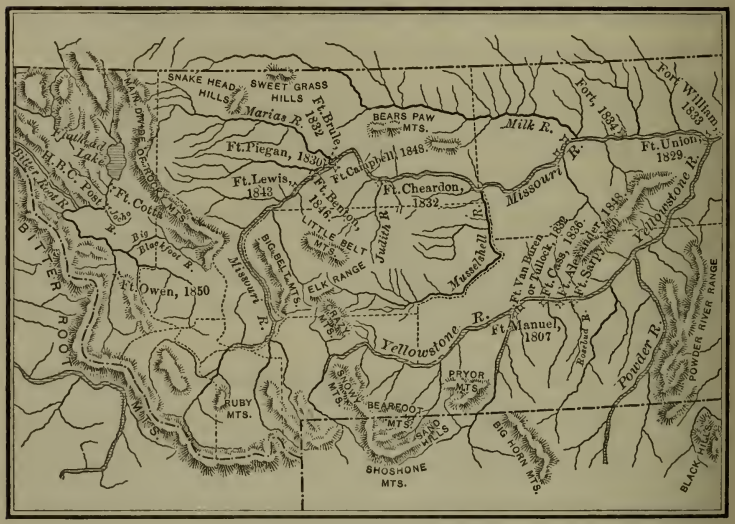
[22] Gold Creek was named by Mullan, because Lander, it is said, found gold there. *Mullan's Mil. Road Rept*, 138.

[23] There was an expedition by Sir George Gore, of Sligo in Ireland, to Montana, in 1854–6, simply for adventure. Gore had a retinue of 40 men, with 112 horses, 14 dogs, 6 wagons, and 21 carts. The party left St Louis in 1854, wintering at Laramie. Securing the services of James Bridger as guide, the following year was spent on the Powder River, the winter being passed in a fort, which was built by Sir George, eight miles above the mouth of the river. At this place he lost one of his men by illness—the only one of the party who died during the three years of wandering life. In the spring of 1856 Gore sent his wagons overland to Fort Union, and himself, with a portion of his command, descended the Yellowstone to Fort Union in two flat-boats. At the fort he contracted for the construction of two mackinaw boats, the fur company to take payment in wagons, horses, etc., at a stipulated price. But a quarrel arose on the completion of the boats, Sir George insisting that the company were disposed to take advantage of his remoteness from civilization to overcharge him, and in his wrath he refused to accept the mackinaws, burning his wagons and goods in front of the fort, and selling or giving away his horses and cattle to Indians and vagabond white men rather than have any dealings with the fur company. Having satisfied his choler, his party broke up, and he, with a portion of his followers, proceeded on his flat-boats to Fort Berthold, where he remained until the spring of 1857, when he returned to St Louis by steamer. Among those of the party remaining in the country was Henry Bostwick, from whom this sketch was obtained by F. George Heldt, who contributed it to the archives of the *Hist. Soc. Montana*, 144–8.

[24] The first steamboat to arrive at Fort Union was the *Yellowstone*, which reached there in 1832. After that, each spring a steamer brought a cargo of the American Fur Co.'s goods to the fort; but the peltries were still shipped to St Louis by the mackinaw boats of the company. *Stuart, Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 84.

[25] The *Robert Campbell* had a double engine, was 300 tons burden, and

In 1858 and 1859 a steamer belonging to the firm of Chouteau & Co. of St Louis ascended to Fort Benton and Fort Brulé,[26] to test the practicability of navigating the Missouri, in connection with the military road, the construction of which was commenced in the latter year. In 1860 the further test was made



TRADING FORTS, 1807–1850.

of sending three hundred soldiers, under Major Blake, recruits to the army in eastern Washington and Oregon, to Fort Walla Walla by the Missouri River route and the Mullan road, which was so far completed that wagons passed over it in August of

drew about 5 feet of water. She had been a first-class packet on the Missouri, and was too deep for the navigation above Fort Union. *Pac. R. R. Rept*, xii. 80, 82. Lieutenant Saxton, in his report, describes the keel-boat (mackinaw) in which he descended the Missouri from Fort Benton to Leavenworth as 80 feet long, 12 feet wide, with 12 oars, and drawing 18 inches of water. In this he travelled over 2,000 miles between the 22d of Sept. and the 9th of Nov., 1853, his duty being to return to St Louis the 17 dragoons and employés of the quartermaster's department, who had escorted the Stevens expedition to Fort Benton.

[26] It is usually stated that the first steamer to reach Fort Benton was the *Chippewa*, in 1859. *Or. Argus*, Sept. 17, 1859; *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 317; but Mullan, in his *Military Road Rept*, 21, says that steamboats arrived at Fort Benton in 1858 and 1859.

that year, conveying the troops from Fort Benton to their destination.[27] By the time the road was quite finished, which was not until September 1862, such changes had taken place with respect to the requirements of travel that a portion of it was relocated; but its existence was of great temporary benefit to the whole country.[28]

The time had now approached when this montane region could no longer remain the common ground of Indian tribes and white traders, where a travelling party was a notable event, and a steamboat a surprise. The genii of the mountains could no longer hide their secrets, and their storehouses once invaded, all was turmoil.

The existence of gold in Montana was not unknown to the Jesuit fathers, but they had other motives than the gathering of earthly treasure, and they would not risk the souls of their 'dear Indians' for the glittering metal. As early as 1852 a half-caste from the Red River settlements, named François Finlay, but known as Benetsee, and who had been to California, prospected on a branch of the Hellgate River, finding the color, but no paying placers. The stream became known as Benetsee Creek; but in 1853 a member of the railroad exploring expedition took out of this stream, being ignorant of Finlay's discovery, some specimens of gold, from which circumstance it was called Gold Creek by the men of the expedition, which name it retained. But the government officers were no more gold-seekers than the fathers, and the discovery was passed over with brief comment. Similar indications had been observed by Evans of the geological survey, and by McClellan's party in the We-

[27] The *Chippewa* and the *Key West* brought the soldiers to Fort Benton.

[28] After Gov. Stevens and Lieut Mullan, the persons most intimately connected with the building of a wagon-road through the mountain ranges of Montana, then eastern Washington, were W. W. De Lacy and Conway R. Howard, civil engineers; Sohon and Engle, topographers; Weisner and Kolecki, astronomers; W. W. Johnson, James A. Mullan, and Lieut J. L. White, H. B. Lyon, and James Howard, of the 3d U. S. art.

natchee country, at the eastern base of the Cascade Mountains, hundreds of miles west of Deer Lodge Valley, and no one thought much about it.

But the time had come when the knowledge must be forced upon the world; and there appeared one day in 1857 at Fort Benton an unknown mountaineer with a buckskin sack full of yellow dust, for which he requested the agent, Culbertson, to give him in exchange $1,000 worth of goods. Culbertson was not an expert in judging of gold-dust, never having been a miner, and but for the intercession of his clerk, Ray, would have declined the proffered treasure. On the representations of the latter, but still in some doubt, he accepted this, to him, singular currency, charging the transaction to his private account. In due time the gold was minted and produced over $1,500. Then the agent at Fort Benton would gladly have known more of his customer, who had divulged neither his name nor the locality of his mine. It happened, however, that Mercure, an old resident of Fort Benton, who had been present at this transaction, afterward met the first Montana miner, when both were digging for the precious metal, and learned that his name was Silverthorne. Further information it was said no one ever gathered from the solitary creature, and in a few years he disappeared from the territory; but whether he died or returned to friends in the east, was never revealed. Such was the story. Silverthorne was undoubtedly the first, and for several years the only, miner in the Rocky Mountains.[29] But except that he was reticent concerning the source of his gold supply, there is no mystery about him more than about many other mountain men. In 1859 he was in the Bitterroot Valley, and his name was John, as I shall show further on.

The first party to undertake to prove the truth of certain rumors concerning gold placers in the then unorganized eastern limits of Washington, and the

[29] James H. Bradley, in *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Oct. 8, 1875.

western part of Dakota, was one of which James Stuart was the leading spirit. In the spring of 1857 James and Granville Stuart, brothers, left Yreka, California, to pay a visit to their former home in Iowa,[30] in company with Reece Anderson and eight other persons. Granville Stuart being seized with a severe illness when the company had progressed as far as Malade Creek, a branch of Bear River, they encamped for ten days at the place of Jacob Meeks, a mountain man and Indian trader. At the end of that time, Stuart not having recovered, the eight proceeded on their journey, leaving the two brothers and Anderson on the Malade. By the time the sick man could ride, all the roads leading to the states were patrolled by Mormon troops, then at war with the United States, and the Stuarts decided not to place themselves in the power of the Latter-day Saints, but to join some mountain men, who traded with the annual immigrations at different points, and who were intending to winter in the Beaverhead and Bighole valleys, east of the Rocky Mountains.[31]

[30] The Stuart brothers were natives of Va. James was born March 14, 1832. His parents removed to Ill. in 1836, and two years later to Muscatine, Iowa. The country being new, the only education James received was from his parents, supplemented by a year of study at a private school taught at Iowa City by James Harlan, afterward U. S. senator. In 1852 the brothers immigrated to Cal. in company with their father, who returned in 1853, leaving them in the mines in the northern part of that state. From 1857 their history belongs to Montana, where they became prominent citizens, and where James died Sept. 30, 1873. *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 36–79; *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Oct. 8, 1873.

[31] The place of the Bighole River camp was a short distance below where Brown's bridge later stood. Here were encamped Jacob Meeks, our adventurers, Robert Dempsey and family, Jackson Antoine Leclaire and family, and Oliver and Michael Leclaire 'and family,' meaning an Indian woman and half-caste children. Within a radius of 25 miles were the following H. B. Co. and other traders: Richard Grant, Sr, and family, John F. Grant and family, James C. Grant, Thomas Pambrun and family, Louis R. Maillet, John M. Jacobs and family, Robert Hareford, John Morgan, John W. Powell, John Saunders, Mr Ross, Antoine Pourrier, several employés of Hereford and the Grants whose names have been lost, Antoine Courtoi and family, and a Delaware Indian named James Simonds who was also a trader. The Indians sold horses, furs, and dressed skins; and the white men paid them: for a horse, two blankets, one shirt, a pair of cloth leggings, a knife, a small mirror, a paper of vermilion, and perhaps some other trifles; for a dressed deer skin, from 15 to 20 balls; for an elk skin, from 20 to 25 balls, and powder; for an antelope skin, 5 to 10 balls; for a beaver skin, 20 to 25 balls; for a pair of good moccasons, 10 balls. *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 38–9.

There were ten adults and a number of half-breed children in the camp, and within a radius of twenty-five miles a number of similar communities. Late in December, while they were in Bighole Valley, their encampment was enlarged by the addition of ten volunteers from Johnston's headquarters at Fort Bridger, commanded by B. F. Ficklin, and guided by Ned Williamson,[32] a noted mountaineer, their errand being to purchase beef for the army.[33] But not being able to obtain cattle on the terms offered, and fearing to return across the high divide in midwinter, the detachment remained in Bighole Valley until early spring, when they returned to Fort Bridger, experiencing many hardships on their journey, owing to the scarcity of game and the inclemency of the weather.

About the last of March the Stuarts, Anderson, and a man named Ross also set out for Fort Bridger, the Stuarts having now no property remaining but their horses, twenty in number, and wishing to dispose of them. The snow on the divide being too deep for the horses to pass, the party determined upon going to Deer Lodge Valley for the purpose of hunting and curing meat for their journey, and also to ascertain the truth of an account given them while on Malade Creek by some mountaineers, of the gold placers said to exist on Benetsee Creek, as they then called Gold Creek, on the American fork of the Hellgate River. They started about the 1st of April, and reached there without difficulty, finding at the

[32] Williamson, while acting as expressman for Mullan in the winter of 1859–60, from Bitterroot Valley to Camp Floyd, was caught in the heavy snows near the head of Snake River and lost his horses. He made snow-shoes of his saddle rigging, and though snow-blind for several days, made the greater portion of the 500 miles on foot, reaching Camp Floyd and returning on horseback within 50 days. *Mullan's Mil. Road Rept*, 21–2.

[33] It appears from the narratives of Stuart and others that cattle were somewhat extensively dealt in, even as early as 1858, by the settlers of Montana. The roving traders made a good profit buying poor and exhausted stock from the California and Oregon immigrations, keeping it on the excellent pastures of the mountain valleys, and exchanging it with the next year's travel, one fat animal for two lean ones, or selling beef-cattle wherever a market offered.

mouth of Gold Creek John M. Jacobs with a herd of cattle, which he owned with John F. Grant, who finally settled near the junction of the two forks of Hellgate River, where in 1860 he had erected two log houses.[34]

The Flathead agency at the Jocko River became the home of the first white woman resident in Montana. This pioneer was Mrs Minnie Miller, who with her husband, Henry G. Miller, accompanied Lansdale to the Flathead country in 1855.[35] A cattle-owner, Thomas Adams, was also in Hellgate Valley in 1858.[36]

The want of any provisions excepting meat, and of proper mining tools, combined with the loss of several horses stolen by the Indians, discouraged the young men from attempting mining, and they resolved to continue their journey at once to Fort Bridger, where they arrived about the last of June. The army, however, had removed to Camp Floyd in Utah, and here they followed after a brief rest, and where their horses brought a good price. The Stuarts had by this time acquired a taste for adventure, and determined to return to Green River, where they began operations as traders, buying cattle and horses from the teamsters of Johnston's army and wintering them in the valley of Henry fork of Snake River. For two years the brothers lived in this manner. In the winter of 1860

[34] *Mullan's Mil. Road Rept*, 140. Grant seems to have been the second settler on the Hellgate, McArthur being the first. The Owens in the Bitterroot Valley and the traders above referred to constituted the white population of Montana in 1858. I have been told of Grant that he was a crafty trader, and when a Blackfoot came to his door he brought forward his Blackfoot wife, but when a Flathead appeared he presented a Flathead wife. Another settler in Hellgate Valley in 1860 was a Frenchman named Brown. Mullan mentions C. C. Irvine and two laborers. The names of Baptiste Champaigne and Gabriel Prudhomme also occur in his report. It would seem that the H. B. Co.'s men liked this particular region, probably on account of the catholic missions as well as the friendly character of the Flathead Indians. In 1861 Higgins and Worden had a trading-house at Hellgate, and Van Dorn another; and a grain farm was opened about this time by Robert Dempsey, between Flint Creek and the American branch of Hellgate River.

[35] Mrs Miller was born in Vermont, was educated in the Mormon faith, and resided at North Ogden. At the age of 16 she married a gentile and fled with him to escape the wrath of the saints. *Helena Independent*, Jan. 29, 1875.

[36] Later a resident of Washington city.

they made their camp in Beaverhead Valley, but the Indians killing their cattle, they moved to Deer Lodge Valley, locating themselves at the mouth of Gold Creek, still having in mind the rumored gold placers.

In July 1859 the war department had one of its engineers—W. F. Reynolds—in the field to explore the Black Hills and the Yellowstone country. Starting from Fort Pierre on the Missouri, furnished with all the necessary mining tools had gold been discovered, and commissioned to report on the minerals of the country, Reynolds, whose company consisted of roving adventurers, although finding evidences of gold on the affluents of the Yellowstone, discouraged searching for it, oppressed with a fear that he should be deserted, and the arms and property of the expedition carried off, if any too certain evidences of placers or quartz gold became known, all of which he reported to the government.

In the spring of 1861 James Stuart went to Fort Benton to meet the steamer *Chippewa*, which was expected there, to endeavor to purchase tools and other supplies. But the steamer and all her cargo[37] was burned before arrival. On returning to Gold Creek he found that Blackfoot marauders had stolen all his horses except three that were every night kept tied at the cabin door by his brother. Nothing daunted, however, he hired two men who owned a whip-saw to get out lumber for sluice-boxes at ten cents a foot, and sent to Walla Walla, which since the discovery of the Nez Percé mines had become a thriving town, to procure picks and shovels, Worden & Co. of that place having a pack-train on the Mullan road, then about completed. The tools did not ar-

[37] The *Chippewa* exploded 400 miles below Fort Benton, a deck-hand having taken a lighted candle into the hold to steal some alcohol from a cask, when the spirit took fire. There were 280 kegs of powder on board. Both alcohol and powder were intended for the Indian trade. The boat was run ashore, and the passengers ran a mile away. It is soberly stated that a safe weighing 2,000 lbs was hurled three quarters of a mile by the force of the explosion. The passengers were left to get to Fort Benton as they could. Corr. *S. F. Bulletin*, Aug. 28, 1861.

rive until it was too late to commence mining that year, but a ditch had been dug, and every preparation made for beginning in the following spring. Late in the autumn three other men—W. Graham, A. S. Blake, and P. W. McAdow—arrived at Gold Creek, and prospected in a dry gulch where the village of Pioneer was located, finding good indications, and remaining until spring to work their claims. Anderson having taken a steamer down the Missouri in 1860, there remained only the Stuarts and the new arrivals, five in all, to make the experiment at mining.

The results at first were not flattering, the claims, excepting one in Pioneer gulch, which paid from six to twenty dollars per day, yielding no more than from one and a half to three dollars. While working for this small amount the Stuarts kept their remaining horses picketed on a sloping piece of grass-land, which was afterward discovered to conceal an enormously rich deposit, which took the name of Bratton Bar in 1866. A man named Hurlbut discovered the placers on Big Prickly Pear Creek about midsummer of this year.

In my account of the Idaho mines I have mentioned that in 1862, and later, certain immigrants and gold-hunters made the attempt to reach Salmon River mines from Fort Hall, or the South pass, and failed, some being killed by Indians, and others being scattered among various localities. Such a party arrived in June 1862 at Deer Lodge.[38] They discovered a

[38] As an episode in the history of settlement, the following is interesting: In April 1862 a party of six men left Colorado 'for Salmon River, or Oregon, or anywhere west, to escape from Colorado, which we all then thought a sort of Siberia, in which a man was likely to end his days in hopeless exile from his home and friends, because of the poorness of its mines.' At a ferry on the north Platte they fell in with 14 others, and finding Bridger's pass filled with snow, the winter having been of unusual severity, the joint company resolved to proceed across the country to the Sweetwater, and through the South pass. On arriving at Plant's station, on the Sweetwater, it was found in flames, the Indians having just made a raid on the stations along the whole line of the road between the Platte bridge and Green River. Here they found a notice that another party of 18 men had retreated to Platte bridge to wait for reënforcements. They accordingly sent two expressmen to bring up this party, and by the time they were ready to go on, their force was 45 men, well armed and able to fight Indians. Replenishing their supplies at Salt Lake,

rich placer on a branch of Gold Creek, which they named Pike's Peak gulch. Many others arrived by steamers at Fort Benton, some of whom stopped at Gold Creek.[39] Four boats from St Louis reached Fort Benton in 1862.[40]

In the winter of 1859 a petition had been addressed to the legislature of Washington by the settlers of Bitterroot Valley and the Flathead agency, to have a county set off, to be called Bitterroot county. This petition had seventy-seven names attached, and chiefly those of the Mullan wagon-road company, who could hardly be called settlers, although a few names

they continued their journey, overtaking at Box Elder a small party with 3 wagons loaded with the frame of a ferry-boat for Snake River, above Fort Hall, J. Mix being one of the ferry-owners. From the best information to be obtained at Salt Lake or Snake River, they would find their course to be the old Mormon settlement of Fort Lemhi, and thence 60 miles down the Salmon River to the mines. But on arriving at Lemhi on the 10th of July, they found a company there before them under Samuel McLean, and heard of another, which had arrived still earlier, under Austin, all bound for Salmon River mines, and deceived as to the distance and the practicability of a road, the former being 360 miles, and the latter impassable for wagons. The wagons being abandoned, and the freight packed upon the draught animals, nothing was left for their owners but to walk. Thirty-five men decided to proceed in this manner to the mines, most of McLean's party remaining behind. The 3d night after leaving Lemhi the company encamped in Bighole prairie, and on the following morning fell in with a Mr Chatfield and his guide, coming from Fort Owen to Fort Lemhi to settle a difficulty arising from the Lemhi Indians having killed and eaten one of McLean's horses; but learning from the company just from Lemhi that the matter had been arranged, Chatfield turned back; and his conversation induced 22 of the company to resign the idea of Salmon River, and turn their faces toward Deer Lodge, the remainder continuing on the trail to Elk City, from the point where it crossed the Bitterroot River, near its head. Among those who stopped on the Montana side of the Bitterroot Mountains were Henry Thrapp, M. Haskins, William Smith, Allen McPhail, John Graham, Warner, Thomas Neild, Joseph Mumby, James Taylor, J. W. Bozeman, Thomas Woods, J. Caruthers, Andrew Murray, Thomas Donelson, N. Davidson, James Patton, William Thompson, Murphy, and Dutch Pete. Ten of the 22 remained at Fort Owen, taking employment there at the Flathead reservation, of which John Owen was agent. Twelve went to Gold Creek, where they arrived about the last of July. *Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Feb. 25, 1869.

[39] According to Mullan, of 364 immigrants arriving at Fort Benton in July, a large number were destined to Walla Walla, with saw and grist mills, and many to the mines. *Mil. Road Rept*, 34–5. This year, also, La Barge, Harkness, & Co. established a trading-house near Fort Benton, and intended to erect mills near the Deer Lodge mines. Among those who arrived by steamer were W. B. Dance and S. S. Hauser. Jerome S. Glick, David Gray, George Gray, George Perkins, William Griffith, Jack Oliver, and Joseph Clark stopped at Deer Lodge mines.

[40] *Emilie*, June 17th; *Shreveport*, do.; *Key West No. 2*, June 20th; *Spread Eagle*, do.

of actual pioneers are to be found among them.[41] The petition does not appear to have been presented until the session of 1860–1, when two counties, called Shoshone and Missoula, were created out of the region east of the later boundary of Washington, the 117th meridian.

No election was held in Missoula county until the 14th of July, 1862, when James Stuart was elected sheriff. It was not long before he was called to act in his official capacity, and to arrest and bring to trial an aged Frenchman who had stolen some horses and other property. He was tried in a mass-meeting of the miners, who, compassionating his age, his sorrow, and poverty, made up a purse for him, and sent him out of the county to trouble them no more. The next horse-thieves fared worse. They were three men, named William Arnett, C. W. Spillman, and B. F. Jernagin, and arrived on American fork of Hellgate River from the west, about the middle of August, having with them half a dozen good American horses. When they had been there a few days, the owners of the horses also arrived, and entering the settlement at the mouth of Gold Creek, which was now beginning to be called by the urban appellation of American Fork, and where Worden & Co. had opened a store, under the cover of night, requested the aid of the sheriff and miners in capturing the trio. Arnett and

[41] The list is as follows: W. W. Johnson, J. A. Mullan, G. C. Taliaferro, J. Sohon, C. R. Howard, James S. Townsend, Theodore Kolecki, W. W. De Lacy, George H. Smith, Cyrus Spengler, A. J. Horton, William Lowery, A. E. D'Course, J. Cashman, William Ping, Charles J. Clark, Daniel F. Smith, Robert P. Booth, David Carroll, James Conlan, Isaac H. Rocap, Frederick Sheridan, W. L. Wheelock, John C. Davis, Thomas Hudson, W. Burch, D. Hays, John Carr, George Ruddock, Patrick Graham, Canhope Larard, John Larard, Joseph Tracy, William O'Neil, Patrick Mihan, James N. Heron, Edward Scully, M. McLaughlin, William Craig, William Hickman, J. C. Sawyer, A. J. Batchelder, A. L. Riddle, James McMahon, William Galigher, L. Neis, Zib. Teberlare, George Young, John Owens, W. D. Perkins, Richard Smith, Loars P. Williams, William Henry, William Proyery, C. E. Juine, D. M. Engely, J. B. Rabin, Thomas W. Harris, Henri M. Clarke, S. H. Martin, Jefferson Morse, James Gotier, Angus MacCloud, John De Placies, James Toland, P. Macdonald, E. Williamson, John Silverthorne, John M. Jacobs, John Pearsalt, Louis Claimont, Louis G. Maison, Narcisse Mesher, A. Gird, Joseph Lompeny, Richard Grant, Michael Ogden. *Wash. Jour. House*, 1860–1, 35–6.

Jernagin were found engaged in a monte game in a drinking-saloon, the former with a pistol on his knees, ready for emergencies. When ordered to throw up his hands, Arnett seized his pistol instead, and one of the pursuers shot him dead, as he stood up with the weapon in one hand and the cards in the other. So tight was his dying clutch upon the latter, that they could not be removed, and were buried with him. Jernagin surrendered, and on trial was acquitted and sent out of the country. Spillman, who was arrested in Worden's store, and who was a finely built man of twenty-five years, made no defence, and when sentenced to be hanged, preferred no request except to be allowed to write to his father. He met his death firmly, being hanged August 26, 1862, the first of a long list of criminals who expiated their lawlessness in the same manner, and on whom the vigilants of Montana executed justice without any legal circumlocution. Soon after this affair, news of new placers on Willard (called on the maps Grasshopper) Creek, in the Beaverhead Valley, drew away the miners from Gold Creek, the Stuarts among the rest; and as the affairs of the new mining settlements deserve a chapter to themselves, I will proceed to recount them.

CHAPTER II.

TOWN-BUILDING AND SOCIETY.

1862–1864.

EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS—PIONEERS OF MONTANA—PROSPECTING PARTIES —ORGANIZATION OF DISTRICTS—STUART AND BOZEMAN—DE LACY— BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SETTLERS—FREIGHTS AND FREIGHT TRAINS —EARLY SOCIETY IN THE MINES—ROAD-AGENTS AND VIGILANCE COMMITTEES—LEGALLY ORGANIZED BANDITTI—THE SHERIFF HIGHWAYMAN AND HIS DEPUTIES—A TYPICAL TRIAL—WHOLESALE ASSASSINATION AND RETRIBUTION.

AMONG those detained in Beaverhead Valley because wagons could not go through from Lemhi to Salmon River was a party of which John White and John McGavin were members. This company, about the 1st of August, 1862, discovered placers on Willard or Grasshopper Creek, where Bannack City was built in consequence, which yielded from five to fifteen dollars a day to the hand. White, who is usually accredited with the discovery, having done so much for his fame, has left us no other knowledge of him or his antecedents,[1] save that he was murdered in December 1863.[2]

[1] I learned of McGavin from A. K. Stanton of Gallatin City, another of the immigrants of 1862, who mined first on Bighole River. Stanton was born in Pa, Dec. 1832. Was the son of a farmer, and learned the joiner's trade. In 1856 he removed to Minnesota, and like many of the inhabitants of that state was much impressed with the fame of the Idaho mines. He started for Salmon River with a train of which James Reed was captain. He tried mining at Bannack, but not realizing his hopes, resolved to take some land in the Gallatin Valley and turn farmer and stock-raiser. He secured 440 acres of land, and presently had 80 horned cattle, 150 horses, and 17,000 sheep. In 1882 he married Jeanette Evenen.

[2] White and Rodolph Dorsett were murdered at the milk rancho on the road from Virginia City to Helena by Charles Kelly. *Dimsdale's Montana Vigilantes.* There seems to be no good reason for using the Spanish word *vigilantes* instead of its English equivalent 'vigilants' in these northern countries.

Almost at the same time Joseph K. Slack, born in Vermont in 1836, and who had been seeking his fortune in California and Idaho since 1858, discovered placers on the head of Bighole River that yielded fifty-seven dollars a day to the man.[3] Also about the same time John W. Powell discovered mines on North Bowlder Creek, in what was later Jefferson county. These repeated discoveries occasioned much excitement, and the Deer Lodge mines were abandoned for those east of the Rocky range.

In August a train arrived from Minnesota, under James Reed, like the others, in quest of Salmon River, but willingly tarrying in the Beaverhead Valley;[4] and several weeks later a larger train under James L. Fisk, which left Minnesota in July, by a route north of the Missouri, and was convoyed over the plains by a government escort. They were destined to Washington, but the greater part of the company resolved to put their fortunes to the test in the Rocky Mountains.[5]

[3] Slack settled at or near Helena, and raised stock.

[4] In this train came John Potter, the Hoyts, Wooster Wyman, Charles Wyman, Still, Smith, Mark D. Leadbetter, French and son, and W. F. Bartlett. S. H. D., in *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Feb. 25, 1869.

[5] The company consisted of 110 men, and an unknown number of women and children. Their names, so far as known, were W. S. Arnold, Mrs Arnold, Hosea Arnold, Smith Ball, Mrs Ball, Dr Biddle, Mrs Biddle, B. B. Burchett, Mrs Burchett, Miss Sallie Burchett, Miss Mary Burchett, Mrs Bennett, Henry Buckner, Mrs Buckner, Mrs Brown, Thomas Caldwell, Mrs Caldwell, J. M. Castner, Mrs Castner, Joseph Carrol, Mrs Carrol, J. B. Caven, Mrs Caven, Mr Dalton and 2 sons, Mrs Dalton, Miss Desdemonia Dalton, Miss Matilda Dalton, Mrs L. W. Davenport, Miss Mary Donnelly, Mrs Catherine Durgan, Mrs Hewins, James Harby, Mrs Harby, G. Kuster, Mrs Kuster, Frank Le Graw, Mrs Le Graw, Mr Meredith, Mrs Meredith, Mrs Susan Peabody, Frank Ray, Mrs Ray, Dr Ray, Ned Ray, Mr and Mrs Short, Mr and Mrs Tilly, H. T. Tyler, Mrs Tyler, Wilson Waddams, Mrs Waddams, Miss Sarah Waddams, Henry Zoller, Mrs Zoller, Miss Emma Zoller, N. P. Langford, Charles St Clair. Besides the above and others already named, there were at Bannack City and that vicinity in the winter of 1862–3, John Ault, Harry Arnett and brother, James M. Arnoux, William Babbett, Ephraim Bostwick (killed by Crows on Bighorn River 1863), George S. Bachelder, William H. Bell (died at Bannack Nov. 12, 1862, the first death in that camp), Henry A. Bell, Samuel W. Bachelder, Joseph Bender, David A. Bentley, William Buchanan, Stewart Buchanan, William Becken, Charles Benson, John Bertwhistle, R. M. Biggs, Patrick Bray, Con. Bray, George Brown, Joseph A. Browne, John Bothwell, John Burnett (killed by Indians on Salmon River, March 1863), George Beatty, Mr Buttica, Henry B. Bryan, Felix Burton, Richard Tinker Brown, Joseph Brown (killed by Indians on Salmon River, March 1863), Ed. Brown, William Buffington, N. W. Burris (killed by

About four hundred persons wintered on Grasshopper Creek, and called the camp Bannack City after

Indians at the mouth of Maria River 1865), William Butz, Henry R. Brooks, Peter Butler, Mr. Boyd, William Cook, John Campbell, John Carrico, Joseph Carrigan (killed by Indians on Salmon River 1863), J. M. Castner, Albert G. Clarke, Herman Clarke, George Colburn, Mr. Cole, the two doctors Cox, Henry Crawford, Robert Homer Crawford, George M. Carhart (killed by road-agents in 1863), William Carr, Peter Cardwell, Josiah Chandler, Jesse Crooks, Thomas H. Clark, William Cole, George Copley (killed in attempting to arrest a road-agent 1864), H. Conover, Thomas W. Cover, E. Crawford, J. W. Crow, F. E. Curtis, Louis Cossette (killed by road-agent Reeves and others 1863), William Clancy, George Cobb, George Cobb, Jr, Jac. Cleveland (killed by road-agent Plummer December 1862), Alexander Carter, Theodore Carrick, Clemens, Cooper, Nathaniel J. Davis, William H. Deriar, J. Donnelly, Elijah M. Dunphy, Gilbert Durant, Tom Duffey, Dobbins, John Durgan, L. W. Davenport, Charles M. Davis, George Dewees, Edwin D. Dukes, Frank Dunbar, James Dyke, Richard Duryea, Baptiste Dorrica, George Edwards (murdered by road-agents Jan. 1863), Jason W. Eddings, J. F. Emory, Robert Ells, John Ellis, William H. Emerick, Charles Entwhistle, John Falls, James Fergus, James S. Ferster, Thomas Foster, David E. Folsom, Charles Falen, William Faulds, Watson Forst, Thomas Fallon (killed by Indians on Salmon River March 1863), Fox (who shot Arnett in arresting him in July 1862, at Gold Creek), W. L. Farlin, O. D. Farlin, William Fenton, Dr Fossett, Patrick Florida, J. M. Galloway, H. T. Geey (killed by Crows on Bighorn River May 1863), John G. Gill, William Goodrich, Jack Gunn, James Gourley, Ard Godfrey, Philip Gardner (called the Man Eater), James Gemmell, Barney Gilson, W. C. Gillette, J. S. Glick, William Graves (hanged by vigilants at Fort Owen 1864), Daniel Gould, Charles Guy (murdered on Rock Creek by persons unknown), Lon Gillem, Gwin (killed by Sioux while descending the Missouri in 1863), James Harby, Amos W. Hall, Ed. Hibbard, Holman, William T. Hamilton (known as Wild Cat Bill), John J. Hall, S. T. Hauser, Harry Heusted, George Hillerman (nicknamed the Great American Piebiter), Peter Horan, Hector Horton, Frank and Dr Hoyt, Barney Hughes, Edward House, Freeman House, George Hurd, Rolla Hurd, George Hacker, Heister, Richard M. Harris, Robert Holladay, Daniel H. Hunkins, William Hunter (hanged by vigilants near Gallatin City Feb. 1864), Hawley, Henry C. Harrison, James Hauxhurst, John Higgins, Charles Hammond, David A. Hopkins, John Innes, J. F. Irwin, George Ives (hanged by vigilants near Nevada City Dec. 1863), John M. Jacobs, David Jones, Leander Johnson, Augustus Jordan, William Kiplinger, Conrad Kohrs, John Knowles, James King, William Kinney, John Kane, Dr A. Ketchum, Lawrence Keeley (murdered by Peter Horan in 1863), R. C. Knox, E. R. King, Thomas Kirkpatrick, John Kirtz (killed by the caving of the earth in Alder gulch in 1864), G. Kuster, Joshua Laffin, Henry Lansing, Lear, E. P. Lewis, E. D. Leavitt, Philip Lovell, B. Franklin Lowe, Jason Luce (shot in Salt Lake for the murder of Bill Button in 1863), Hays Lyon (hanged at Virginia City by vigilants, Jan. 1864), Samuel Livingston, M. H. Lott, Wilford Luce, Andrew Luzi, Henry Lynch, Frank M. Madison, H. M. Mandeville, Capt. O. H. Maxwell, Daniel McFadden, John S. Mendenhall, Saml Mendenhall, L. C. Miller, H. H. Mood, Moore, William Moore (a road-agent), H. F. Morrell, Gabriel Morris, John Murphy, Elijah Markham, Perry McAdow, John Mannheim, Charles Murphy, George Manning, Richard McCafferty, George McIntyre, Robt Menefee, John Merry, William Mitchell (killed by Indians on Salmon River March 1863), David Morgan, Harry Moore, James H. Morley, Julius Morley, Thomas Metcalf, Thomas McNamara, Mackey, James Marsden, Andrew Murray, Alfred L. Nichols, Lemuel Nuckolls, A. J. Oliver, W. H. Orcutt, Thomas O'Conner, Frank Parish (hanged by vigilants in Virginia City Jan. 1864), A. Prairie, Thomas D. Pitt, C. W. Place, Putnam, E. Porter, George

the aboriginals of that region, not knowing that in the Boisé basin another Bannack City was being founded at the same time in the same way.[6] At Bighole mines were a few men who preferred wintering near their claims,[7] and a few others were scattered about the forks of the Missouri on land claims.[8] At

Pratt, Edwin R. Purple, Frederick Peck, Alonzo Pease, George Perkins, Thomas Pitcher, David Phillips (murdered with Lloyd Magruder's party in the winter of 1863–4, as related in the foregoing *History of Idaho*), H. Porter, Henry Plummer (chief of the band of road-agents), S. Jeff. Purkins, Harry Phleger, Mark Post, William Parks, Charles Reeme, Charles Revil, Charles Rumley, W. C. Rheem, Thomas Riley, Frederick W. Root, John W. Russell, L. F. Richie (died from an accidental gunshot wound in 1863), Raymond, Charles Reeves (road-agent), William Rouch, Harry Rickards, John Rhinehart, Orson J. Rockwell, Henry Rodgers, James Roup, Rowley, Patrick Skye, Shaw, William Stamps, M. V. Sewell, George Shears (hanged at Hellgate by vigilants in 1864), J. H. Shepherd, Joseph Stark, John Scudder, Asa Stanley and brother, Cyrus Skinner (hanged by vigilants at Hellgate in 1864), O. J. Sharp, William Spencer, John A. Smith, H. P. A. Smith, Smith (killed by Indians on Salmon River in March 1863), John B. Spencer, Sweeney, J. V. Suprenant, William Still, G. and Jas Stuart, Jerry T. Sullivan, R. M. Spencer, William Simpson, A. J. Smith, Enoch Smith, Lew P. Smith, James Spence, George H. Smith, A. K. Stanton, G. W. Stapleton, E. C. Stickney, William Sturgis, Christopher Stoker, Joseph Swift, Jr, F. M. Thompson, C. L. Tisdale, H. T. Tyler, William Terwilliger, William Townley, Benjamin Townley, C. O. Trask, Trainer, Thibodeaux, John C. Terrill, Robert Tingley and 2 sons, one named Robert), Drewyer Underwood, John Vedder, Vancourt, John Vanderbilt, Woodworth, J. H. Wildman, S. Walton, N. Wall, E. P. Waters, William Wallace, Cyrus D. Watkins, Frank Watkins, Ned Williamson, George Wing, P. C. Woods, William Wright, Wilds, James Wiggington, Wendell, Horace Wheat, George Wickham, J. R. Wilson, Warren Whitcher, Frank H. Woody, J. S. Willard, James N. York, Charles L. Young. John A. Smith, one of the founders of Bannack, died April 19, 1872. In 1854 he was interested in the town site of Florence, on the Missouri River, above Omaha, and kept a ferry there. Afterward he kept a ferry on the Elkhorn and Platte rivers successively. He was a member of the first Nebraska legislature. In 1858 he went to Colorado, returning to Nebraska the same year, and coming to Montana in 1862. *Denver News*, May 18, 1872.

[6] *Montana Scraps*, 9; *Walla Walla Statesman*, Dec. 6, 1862; *Bonanza City Yankee Fork Herald*, Jan. 3, 1880; *Zabriskie's Land Laws*, 857–9.

[7] Frederick H. Burr, James Coulan, Louis D. Ervin, and James M. Minesinger spent the winter in Bighole Valley.

[8] Among the latter was F. J. Dunbar, who was born in Ohio, April 1837, and removed to Wisconsin at the age of 18 years, having first learned the plasterer's trade. From Wisconsin he went to Iowa; then to Colorado in 1859, with the gold-seekers, driving an ox-team. While prospecting in Colorado he discovered the Mammoth mine, which afterward sold for $80,000, also the Julia, and other quartz mines. But he seems not to have worked his discoveries; and after crossing the plains three times, finally joined the immigration to Salmon River, which stopped at Bannack in July. In November he went to look at the country at the mouth of the Gallatin River, and being favorably impressed with it, removed his wife and property in December and chose his future home, being then recently married to Anna Campbell. He erected the first house in Gallatin Valley, a log building 18 by 20 feet. When Gallatin City sprung up he kept a hotel for four years. He became the owner

Fort Benton were thirty or forty persons of different nationalities, such as attach themselves to fur companies.[9]

At the Blackfoot agency, established in 1858 on Sun River, by Alfred J. Vaughn, agent for that tribe, were a few persons.[10] On the west side of the Rocky Mountains, in Missoula county, Washington, were over two hundred persons, inclusive of the mining, trading, missionary, and other classes. Of these Deer Lodge Valley had about seventy.[11] Already a town

of 500 or 600 acres of land. Another settler in the Gallatin Valley this year was John E. Reese, born in Wales, Jan. 12, 1819, who immigrated to New York in 1856, and settled on a farm in Pa, where he remained but 2½ years, when he went to Salt Lake. In 1862 he found himself in Bannack; but choosing farming instead of mining, he settled 15 miles north of the present town of Bozeman, having no neighbor nearer than 7 miles. He married Mary Davis in 1840, who was the first and for some time the only white woman in his section. He owns 240 acres well cultivated, and some horses and cattle.

Robert P. Menefee, born in Mo., in 1833, went to Kansas at the age of 22 years, and was engaged in the political struggle there from 1855 to 1858, when he went to Utah, driving an ox-team. While in Salt Lake he was clerk for Gilbert Garrison. In Oct. 1862 he went to the mines at Bannack. When Virginia City arose he was postmaster from Aug. 1864 to Feb. 1865. He then remained for a few months in Deer Lodge Valley, returning in the autumn. He took some land in Gallatin Valley in 1867, together with John S. Mendenhall, whom he bought out in 1870. There also resided on a farm near Bozeman, Riley Cook, a young man whose parents emigrated from the east to Boisé Valley in 1862. He was born the following year, being one of the first, if not the first native of Idaho of white parentage. He lived there on a farm until 1881. James Redford was a native of Ireland, who immigrated to America in 1851, at the age of 21 years, and located himself in Pa, where he worked at common labor until 1855, when he went to Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado in succession. He drove freight teams across the plains two seasons, then engaged in mining in Colorado. In 1862 he came to Bannack with a mule-team, locating himself at Bivens gulch and mining for 11 or 12 years. In 1864 he married Julia Edwards. They had 10 children, and owned 240 acres in the head of Jefferson Valley, where they engaged in raising horses and cattle.

[9] Andrew Dawson was agent in charge; George Stull and M. Carroll, chief clerks; Hunick, sub-clerk; Henry Bostwick and Francis Veiele, interpreters; Benjamin De Roche, Joseph Spearson, Charles Choquette, Peter Choquette, Michael Champagne, and Henry Robert, interpreters and traders; Vincent Mercure and Joseph Laurion, carpenters; John Nubert, tailor; Henry Martin, blacksmith; George Weipert, tinner; Paul Longleine, overseer of workmen; Antoine Burdeau, Clement Cournoya, Charles Cournoya, Charles Cunaud, Edward Cunand, Milton Foy, Joseph Hule, William Keiser, John Largent, Joseph Lucier, William Truesdale, Isaiah Tremblez, employés; Daniel Carafel, a free man; Philip Barnes and Henry Mills, negro employés; James Vanlitburg, negro cook. *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 347–8.

[10] The agent at this time was Henry W. Reid. The farmer was J. A. Vail, whose wife and sister-in-law, Miss O'Brien, were the only white women resident in Montana previous to 1862. Another person on Sun River was James M. Arnoux.

[11] Gold Creek had Thomas Adams, Reese Anderson, A. Cook, Stephen Fernier, Joseph Howard, Mrs Hewins, Peter Kishner and partner, Linn,

was laid off on the east side of Deer Lodge River, near its junction with the Hellgate, called La Barge City, the seat and centre of the business and population of Indian-trader antecedents, where the Antoines, Louis, and Baptistes were as numerous as over the border in the provinces. At the mission of St Ignatius, at Fort Owen, and in the Hellgate and Bitterroot valleys, were the greater part of the two hundred inhabitants,[12] who were not miners, but stock-

Peter Martin, Amelia Martin, Robert Nelson, Henry S. Pond, Parker, R. A. Thompson, and Job Townsend. At La Barge City, whose first name gave place to Deer Lodge City, were Henry Beauregard, Anthony Cosgrove, Calvin Carroll, Mrs Carroll, David Contoi, Frank Cabbau, Louis Demars, Dionisio, Louis Descheneaux, John Dayton, William Fairweather, Louis Grandmaison, Joseph Hill, Homer Heweins, Thomas Lavatta, Charles D. La Breche, Henry Larriveé, François La Montague, Josef Martin, H. A. Milot, Mack the fiddler, François Narmondin, Giles S. Olin, Frank Olin, Mrs G. S. Olin, George Orr, Madame René Peltier, Augustus G. Peltier, Mrs Peltier, Miss Peltier, Eli Pellerin, Joseph Prudhomme, Benoni S. Peabody, Mrs Susan Peabody, Leon Quesnelle, Baptiste Quesnelle, Joseph Quesnelle, Thomas Riley, James Reed, Henry Thomas (commonly called Gold Tom), Francois Truchot, and Young, besides most of the traders already named as being in the mountains including the Grants, John S. Pemberton, and C. A. Broadwater of Cottonwood Creek, John Franks, John Carr, and Edgar Henry of Dempsey Creek, and George Ives and Charles S. Allen of Dublin, composed the suburban population.

[12] At St Ignatius mission, on a branch of Flathead River, were fathers Joseph Carnana, Caliphonio, Urbanus Grassi, Joseph Giorda, Joseph Ménétrey, Magri, Louis Vercruyssen, and Aloysius Vanzini; also the following persons: Frank Bison, William Claessens, Joseph Coture, Louis Corville, Peter Irvine, Louis Pelon, Charles Reidt, Joseph Specht, and Charles Schafft. At Frenchtown, on the Missoula River, Joseph Asline, Louis Brown, George Beaupré, Philip Carr, Baptiste Dusharme, Adolph Dubreuil (called Tin-cup Joe), David Kitson, Edward Lambert, Damien Ledoux, Joseph Larose, Henry W. Miller, Caroline Miller, Lucretia Miller (later Mrs Worden), Mary C. Miller (later Mrs Lent), Eustache Neron, Joseph Poutré, Moise Reeves, Luther Richards, M. T. Tipton, Emil Tuleau, Thompson, and George Young. At the Flathead agency on the Jocko River were Charles Hutchins (agent), O. S. Barnes, William Badger, John Dillingham (killed in July 1863 at Alder gulch, by Haze Lyons, Buck Stinson, and Charles Fubbs), Charles Frush, William Holmes, A. B. Henderson, Michael Larkin, Frederick Sherwood, James Sinnett, Daniel Sullivan, and Dr Terry. At Fort Owen, John Owen, L. L. Blake, W. W. De Lacy, George W. Dobbins, Louisa Dobbins, Mrs William Goodrich, C. E. Irvine, and Cyrus McWhirk. In the Bitterroot Valley, Joseph Blodgett, Edward Burk, William H. Babcock, William Bantee, Mrs Bantee, Louis Clairmont, Edward Carron, John Chatfield, Henry M. Cone and Elva Cone (the first white man and woman married in Bitterroot Valley), Benjamin Crandall, Napoleon Dumontie, Thomas Frewen, A. K. Gird, Thomas W. Harris, George Hurst, E. B. Johnson and children, P. M. Lafontain, Joseph Lomprè, William Meredith, Mrs Meredith, Antoine Martineau, C. J. Parker, John Peters, Mrs Peters, John Slack, John Silverthorne, W. A. Tallman, and George M. Windes. At Hellgate Rond, Peter J. Botte, Albert Batchelder, Daniel S. Calkins, Marcus Doan, John Frazier, Mrs Helen Grant, Julia P. Grant, Adeline Grant, C. P. Higgins, W. B. S. Higgins, George Holman, John Lowre, Thomas Mineinger, Peter McDonald, Robert A.

raisers and farmers, or settled in some regular occupation. How these six or eight hundred people passed the winter, midway between the Missouri River at Omaha and the lower Columbia, after the knowledge we have acquired of the American pioneer, it is not difficult to imagine. Building went on briskly, with such material as was at hand. Few were idle, and they were men with whom the vigilants came in time to deal peremptorily. On the road to Salt Lake teamsters kept their heavy wagons going until the snow in the passes closed them out.[13]

As soon as spring opened, parties began to be made up for prospecting, not for mines only, but for eligible situations for town sites, it being already settled in the minds of the first comers that a large population was to follow in their wake. Such a company, under James Stuart, left Bannack April 9th for the mouth

Pelky, Adeline Pelky, Jefferson Henry Pelky (son of Robert A. and Adeline, was born at Grass Valley 3 miles below Hellgate, Jan. 13, 1862, being the first white child born within the present limits of Montana), Joseph Pion, David Patter, H. E. Rouse, Mrs Rouse, William Sinclair, Jeremiah L. Sinclair, James Sinclair, Mary Sinclair, Colin Sinclair, I. N. Stinson (hanged at Bannack by the vigilants in Jan. 1864), James Sellers, Susan Sellers, William Scott, Richard Smith, George P. White, Josephine White (first white couple married anywhere in Montana, the ceremony being performed at Hellgate March 5, 1862, probably by the first justice of the peace, Henry R. Brooks), Henry Williams, and Frank L. Worden. At Grass Valley were Henry R. Brooks (appointed justice of the peace by the Wash. legislature of 1861–2, the first court held being in the spring of 1862, and first cause Tin-cup Joe vs O'Keefe), Worthington Bills (formerly of Oregon and Washington), and Hezekiah Van Dorn. At Two Creeks, David M. Brooks, J. P. Lavallie, John Little, Daniel P. Nichols, James Nolan, and Amos Overlander. At Flathead House, or Hudson's Bay post, James McIver, Angus McLeod, Lochlin McLaurin, and Montgomery. At Missoula Ferry, John S. Caldwell. At Koriaken Defile, C. C. O'Keefe (called Baron O'Keefe of Castle O'Keefe) and D. C. O'Keefe. Mail-carrier to Walla Walla, W. W. Johnson. This completes the list of white inhabitants of Montana in the winter of 1862, as given in the archives of the Historical Society of Montana, with additions from other authorities; and though not a perfect roll, it contains over two thirds of all the population, according to the best accounts.

[13] The pass by Fort Lemhi, according to Granville Stuart, is the second lowest in the Rocky range. The lowest is that which leads from Beaverhead Valley to Deer Lodge Valley, and the only one that never becomes impassable with snow, which seldom falls to a depth of more than 2 feet, while in the Dry Creek pass, as it is called, which was adopted for the Salt Lake route in 1863, it is sometimes 10 feet deep. *Montana as It Is*, 79–80. This little book of Stuart's contains a great variety of information concerning the topography, climate, resources, nomenclature, routes, distances, etc., of Montana, and is an easy reference on all these subjects.

of the Stinkingwater River, where it was expected another division would join them.[14] This party, however, did not arrive in time, and were left to follow when they should strike the trail, Stuart continuing on with the advance to the Yellowstone country, which it was the design of the expedition to explore. The men remaining were only six in number; namely, Louis Simmons, George Orr, Thomas Cover, Barney Hughes, Henry Edgar, William Fairweather. They followed the trail of Stuart's party for some distance, but before overtaking them, were met by Crows, who, after robbing them, placed them on their own miserable sore-backed ponies, and ordered them to return whence they came. This treatment, which called out nothing but curses from the disappointed prospectors, eventuated in their highest good fortune. On their disconsolate journey back to Bannack they made a detour of a day's journey up Madison River above their crossing, and passing through a gap to the south-west, encamped on a small creek, and proceeded to cook such scanty food as the Indians had left them, while Fairweather occupied his time in panning out some dirt in a gulch where he observed a point of bed-rock projecting from the hillside. To his surprise he found thirty cents in coarse gold in the first panful of dirt, and upon a few more trials, $1.75 to the pan. After this discovery the explorers needed no sauce to their dinner. The stream was called Alder Creek, from its fringe of alder-trees, and the place of discovery Fairweather gulch. It was sixty-five miles nearly due east from Bannack.

Claims were immediately staked off, and Hughes returned alone to Bannack to procure supplies, and inform such friends as the party desired to have share the benefits of the discovery. But a prospector is

[14] James Stuart was chosen captain by those who presented themselves at the rendezvous. They were Cyrus D. Watkins, John Vanderbilt, James N. York, Richard McCafferty, James Hauxhurst, Drewyer Underwood, Samuel T. Hauser, Henry A. Bell, William Roach, A. Sterne Blake, George H. Smith, Henry T. Geery, Ephriam Bostwick, and George Ives. *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 150.

sharply watched, and when Hughes returned to Alder Creek, which proved to be one of the heads of Stinkingwater,[15] he was followed by two hundred men. Unable to prevent them, Hughes encamped a few hours' ride from the mines. Having informed his friends, he stole away in the night with them, and so gave them time to make their locations before the others left camp.

When the two hundred arrived, a mining district was formed, named after Fairweather, with Dr Steele president and James Fergus recorder. This was on the 6th of June, 1863. Eight months afterward there were five hundred dwellings and stores on Alder Creek; and Virginia City when a year old had a population of four thousand.[16] Like many other mining towns, it had a dual existence, consisting of two towns joining each other, the second one being called Nevada.[17] Together they made one long street, with side streets branching off at right angles. The joint city was twenty miles from the junction of Stinkingwater with the Jefferson fork, in latitude a little north of 45° and longitude 111½° west. It was 400 miles from Salt Lake, 1,400 from Omaha, 1,000 from Portland, 600 from navigation on the Columbia, and 500 from practicable navigation on the Missouri, except once, or perhaps twice, a year in good seasons, when steamboats could come to Fort Benton, 200 miles north. What did that matter? Gold smooths away all difficulties, and out of Alder Creek gulches, in the immediate vicinity of Virginia City, were taken,[18] in

[15] So called by the Indians, from the sulphur springs which run into it.

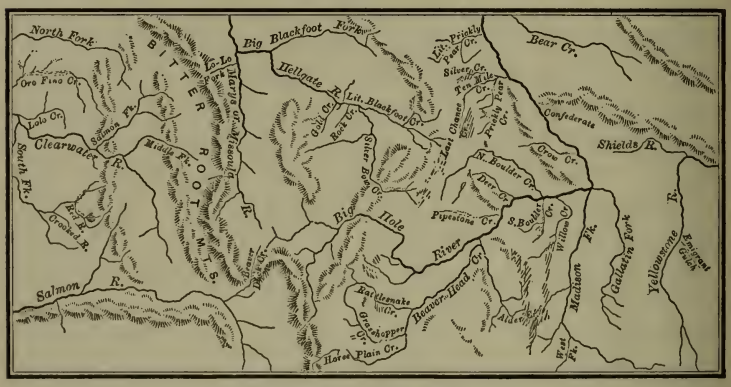
[16] The town was first called Varina, after the wife of Jefferson Davis, but soon changed to Virginia. W. W. De Lacy, in *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 113. G. G. Bissell, while acting as judge in the trial of Forbes, a road-agent, refused to write Varina at the head of a legal document, and wrote Virginia instead, which settled the matter. *McClure's Three Thousand Miles*, 229.

[17] Central and Summit cities have since been added to the suburbs of Virginia.

[18] *Aux Mining in Colorado and Montana*, MS., 7-9; *Ross Browne's Rept; Frye's Travellers' Guide*, 41; E. B. Neally, in *Atlantic Monthly*, Aug. 1866, 239. J. M. Carlton, born in Alderbaugh, Maine, in 1815, was a hotel-keeper at Virginia City. He located himself in Bannack in 1862, but removed to Virginia, of which he was mayor for several terms. He died April 22, 1876,

the first three years, $30,000,000. Five other districts were organized on Alder Creek—Highland, Pine Grove, and Summit up the stream, and Nevada and Junction below. About a thousand claims were located, which yielded well enough to pay a good profit when wages were from $10 to $14 a day.

But Alder Creek was not the only rich mining locality. A spur of the mountains which runs down between the Stinkingwater and Madison rivers contained highly productive mines. Wisconsin gulch, so named because a Wisconsin company first worked it,



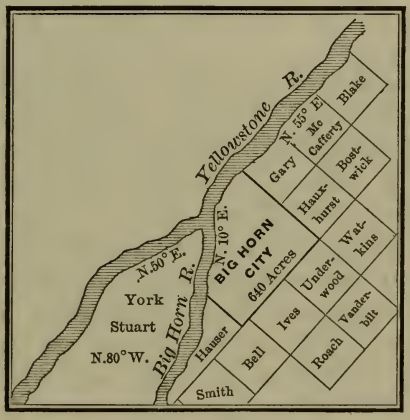
GULCHES AND LODES IN 1865.

Bivens' gulch, named after its discoverer, celebrated for coarse gold and nuggets weighing over three hundred dollars, Harris and California gulches, all paid largely. In this same spur of the mountains were a number of quartz veins bearing gold and silver, the value of which could only be guessed at from the richness of the placers.

We will now look after the party of James Stuart, which narrowly missed discovering the Alder Creek mines by hurrying on to the Yellowstone country instead of stopping to prospect where they found indi-

leaving a wife and daughter. He had been one of the founders of St Paul, Minnesota. *Bozeman Avant-Courier*, April 28, 1876.

cations.[19] Keeping a generally north-east course, they crossed Madison River, finding plenty of burnt quartz, and 'raising the color' when prospecting; crossed the Gallatin Valley where it was watered by two forks, and found it superior to Deer Lodge; crossed the divide between the Missouri and the Yellowstone, reaching that river on the 25th, keeping down the south bank two days beyond Big Bowlder Creek, when they fell in with a band of Crows, from which they narrowly escaped through the intrepid behavior



BIGHORN CITY.

of Stuart. It became an almost daily occurrence to meet thieving Crows. They pursued their way down the Yellowstone, reaching Pompey's Pillar on the 3d of May.[20] On the 5th they arrived at Big-horn River, where they found "from ten to fifty very

[19] Says James Stuart, in his journal of the Yellowstone expedition: 'To-day we crossed two small creeks and camped on the third one, near the divide between the Stinkingwater and Madison rivers...The country from the Stinkingwater to the divide is very broken, with deep ravines, with plenty of lodes of white quartz from 1 to 10 feet wide. In this camp Geery and McCafferty got a splendid prospect on a high bar, but we did not tell the rest of the party for fear of breaking up the expedition.' This prospect was on a fork of Alder called Granite Creek. When the party returned they found these gulches full of miners. *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 152–3.

[20] On this rock, named by Lewis and Clarke, Stuart found carved the names of Clarke and two of his men, with the date, July 25, 1806. Also the names of Derick and Vancourt, dated May 23, 1834.

fine colors of gold in every pan" taken from loose gravel on a bar near the mouth. On the 6th five men were detailed to lay out a town on the east side of this river, which they accordingly did, surveying 320 acres for the town site, and lots of 160 acres each surrounding it for the suburban possessions of the company. The stakes may be there still, but the town has not been peopled to this day.

On the 11th, as the party were travelling up the Bighorn, they discovered three white persons riding and leading pack-animals, whom they endeavored to intercept; but the strangers, taking them for road-agents, escaped.[21]

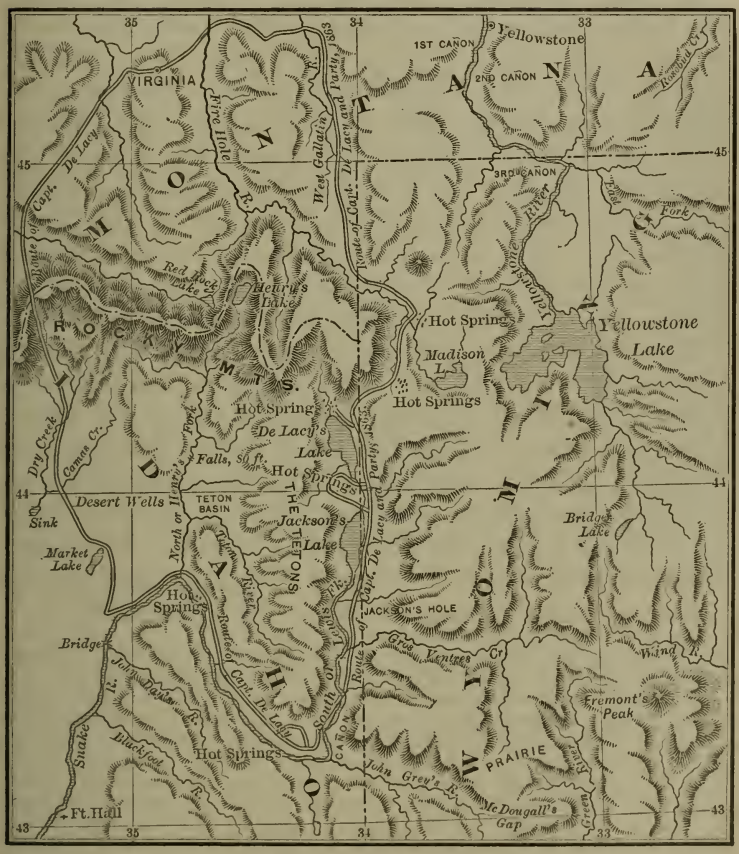
On the night of the 12th of May, Stuart's camp was attacked, and Watkins, Bostwick, and Geery left dead in the Crow country. The survivors, on the 28th, after a toilsome journey, arrived at the Sweetwater, sixteen miles below Rocky Ridge, where they found good prospects in the loose gravel. On the 22d of June the company arrived at Bannack City, having travelled sixteen hundred miles since leaving it in April, and without having done more than learn the inhospitable nature of a large part of the country explored.

In August a company of forty-two men, most of them new arrivals, left Virginia City to explore the head waters of the south fork of Snake River.[22] They

[21] They proved to be J. M. Bozeman, accompanied by the trader John M. Jacobs and his young daughter. They were looking for a wagon route from the three forks of the Missouri to Red Buttes on the North Platte, which they succeeded in finding, and which became known as the Bozeman cut-off. Bozeman laid out the town of that name in the Gallatin Valley, and was a man much respected for the qualities which distinguish the actual pioneer. He met the fate which has overtaken so many, being killed by Indians on the Yellowstone, near the mouth of Shield River, April 20, 1867.

[22] Their names were W. W. De Lacy, J. Bryant, S. Brown, A. R. Burr, David Burns, Lewis Casten, J. C. Davis, F. A. Dodge, John Ferril, J. H. Ferguson, George Forman, T. J. Farmerlee, Aaron Fiekel, S. R. Hillerman, Charles Heineman, H. H. Johnson, James Kelly, D. H. Montgomery, H. C. Mewhorter, A. H. Myers, J. B. Moore, John Morgan, W. H. Orcutt, J. J. Rich, Joseph W. Ray, H. Schall, W. Thompson, Major Brookie, E. P. Lewis, John Bigler, J. Stroup, Richard Tod, Jack Cummings, D. W. Brown, Charles Lamb, E. Whitcomb, A. Comstock, C. Failor, Charles Ream, J. Gallagher (hanged by vigilants), Smith, Dickie, J. H. Lawrence, E. Sheldon. De Lacy, in *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 140.

were out 51 days, and travelled 500 miles, discovering much new country, but finding no rich deposits of gold.[23]



De Lacy's Expedition.

[23] De Lacy was employed by the first legislature of Montana to make a map of the country to assist in laying off counties, and in this map was embodied the knowledge acquired by his personal observations. It was lithographed and published, as also another in 1870. He also draughted a map of Montana in 1867 for the surveyor-general's office. In 1868 he wrote a letter on the railroad facilities of Montana, which was published in Raymond's report of the *Mines of the West* the following year. In this letter he states his discoveries of Shoshone Lake, which he had called after himself, and the Madison Geysers. In 1872 Prof. Hayden visited these places, and failed to give the proper credit; even after being reminded of it he neglected to do so, wishing, of course, to appear as the discoverer of the lake, the true source of Snake River, and the wonderful geyser basin at the head of the Madison.

Another expedition of this year was that of a large company of immigrants which started from St Cloud, Minnesota, under the escort of James L. Fisk, who conducted the Minnesota train of the year previous.[24] On both occasions he pursued the northern route; in 1863 via Fort Ripley, the Crow Wing Indian agency, Otter Tail City, Dayton, Fort Abercrombie, Thayen Oju River, lakes Lydia, Jessie, and Whitewood, the head of Mouse River, and the Côteau du Missouri, crossing the White Earth, Porcupine, Milk, and María rivers, reaching Fort Benton on the 6th of September. In his report, Fisk mentions that the farm at the Blackfoot agency was in charge of a Mr Clark, Vail having gone to the Bannack gold-field. Wheat, oats, and all kinds of vegetables were raised at the agency, and the catholics had established a mission, St Peter's, within fifteen miles of the place. The only farm in Prickly Pear Valley belonged to Morgan, who was erecting a large log house and outbuildings, covering a considerable area, the whole surrounded by a stockade ten feet in height. The population of Bannack and Virginia City together, he tells us, was twelve thousand in the early summer.[25]

[24] Fisk's report is contained in *H. Ex. Doc.*, 45, 38th cong. 1st sess., and is extremely good in a descriptive and also in a historical sense.

[25] Among other immigrants of 1863 who settled in Beaverhead county were: William B. Carter, born in Ohio April 23, 1840. At the age of 23 years he came to Montana with a horse-team, and established himself on Alder Creek, freighting goods from Salt Lake for 4 or 5 years, in company with E. C. Bennett, who came with him from Ohio. Bennett died. Carter married Anna B. Selway in 1868, and settled at Dillon. Frederick Temple, born in Germany Aug. 14, 1840, came to America an infant and lived in Ohio and Missouri until 20 years of age, then went to Colorado, following the rush to Montana in 1863. Mined in Alder gulch and Prickly Pear Valley until 1866, when he went to Indian Creek. In 1867 he took a farm near Radersburg, and married Sorate Richards in 1874. Archie Macumber, born in New York Dec. 1, 1838, removed to Mich. when a boy, and resided there till 1859. Went from Colorado to New Mexico, and returning, went to the Salmon River mines. Made some valuable discoveries, and spent the winter of 1862 in Salt Lake, returning to Virginia City in 1863, and going into freighting for two years, then selling groceries. Went to the Lemhi mines when they were discovered, and finally settled at merchandising, but sold out and secured a farm of 320 acres near Radersburg. In 1870 he married Mrs Martha Kennon. John Brady, Bowlder Valley, born in Ireland Aug. 5, 1825, came to the U. S. in 1856, settled in Missouri, where he remained until 1860, and then went to Colorado, and to the Montana mines in the spring of 1863. On the discovery of Alder Creek placers he went there and fol-

He sold the horses, cattle, and wagons belonging to the government at Virginia and Bannack cities, and

lowed mining for 5 years, after which he removed to Bowlder Valley, where he soon had 480 acres of land, 400 or 500 head of cattle, and some other stock. He married, in 1861, Anna Magillie. William Rogers, Bowlder Valley, born in Ireland Feb. 17, 1837, came to the U. S. in 1856, remaining in New York one year, going thence to St Louis, to Colorado, and to Virginia City in 1863, then to Diamond City, where he mined for three years. He then settled in Jefferson county, where he farmed with 600 or 700 acres of land, raising horses and cattle. He married, in 1860, Anna McEntre. They were among the first settlers in North Bowlder Valley. John Cull, Bedford, was born in England July 7, 1832, immigrated to America in 1856, and to the Colorado mines in 1861, driving an ox-team. In September 1863 he followed the rush to Alder Creek, mining on the small gulch 12 miles from Virginia City for a year, and afterward on the Blackfoot River. He then tried prospecting for new mines, and with George Detwiller discovered Basin Creek mines, and subsequently Indian Creek mines, in 1865. In 1869 he went to the Cœur d'Alêne mining region, and from there to California, returning to Indian Creek and mining there until 1876, when he went to the Black Hills, and from the Black Hills to Bear Paw Mountain in 1878, and back again to the Black Hills, to Leadville, to Santa Fé, New Mexico, and finally, after stopping again at Leadville, to Indian Creek. William Vaughn, born in Virginia Aug. 5, 1825, removed at the age of 18 years to Missouri, and in 1850 to California, returning in 1853 to Missouri. In 1859 he went to Colorado, and thence to Virginia City mines, where he remained a year, after which he mined on Indian Creek, Confederate gulch, Grizzly gulch, and Tucker gulch, returning at last to Indian Creek, where he located 50 acres of placer ground, which he mined by hydraulic apparatus, and had 500 feet of flume. H. J. Marsh was born in Ohio April 2, 1838, and raised on a farm. Removed to Illinois in 1863, and thence to Montana the same year by overland coach. He took a farm of 320 acres on White Tail Deer Creek and met with good success raising horses.

Settlers in Madison county: John Willhard, born in Germany Sept. 28, 1838, came to the U. S. in 1854, and crossed the plains with a mule-team in 1860, to Colorado, where he mined and farmed until May 1863, when he followed the immigration to Montana. After mining one season at Virginia City he took a farm of 640 acres in the Beaverhead Valley, a mile below Twin Bridges. In company with Lester Harding he discovered Carpenter's Bar. Carl Rahmig, born in Germany Oct. 3, 1837, came to the U. S. in 1858, locating in Iowa, where he remained until 1862, when he went to Nevada with a horse-team. After a short stay there and in Cal. he went to Idaho, and thence to Montana. His first residence was in the Prickly Pear Valley. After prospecting and mining until 1870 he settled on a farm in the valley of Willow Creek, between the Madison and Beaverhead rivers, and raised stock. O. W. Jay, born in New York May 2, 1844, removed with his parents to Wisconsin and Illinois, being raised a farmer. At the age of 17 years went to Colorado, returning the same season to Illinois. In 1863 went again to Colorado, and the same year to Virginia City, where he mined until 1870, when he secured a farm of 1,100 acres. He married Ella J. Wilcox in 1874. Wilson Butt, Fish Creek, born in Indiana March 7, 1827, removed to Cal. overland in 1849, where he mined for five years, returning to Missouri in 1854. In 1862 went to Colorado, where he remained until the following year, when he went to Alder gulch, and in 1865 to Helena. In 1870 he settled in Jefferson Valley, farming 280 acres, and raising grain and stock. Sanders E. Word, Ennis, born in Ky Dec. 16, 1846, removed in 1854 to Missouri. At the age of 17 years began driving freight teams across the plains, which business he followed several years. He settled on the upper Madison River, devoting himself to farming and stock-raising. Joseph Eveans,

returned via Salt Lake, travelling to that place by the Bannack City express, which was a covered

Ennis, born in Indiana Jan. 30, 1836, went to Colorado at the age of 25 years, driving a mule-team; mined for three years in that country, and then went to Virginia City, but soon settled on a farm on the Madison River. William Fletcher, Ennis, born in New York March 24, 1829, was raised a farmer, and resided in his native state until 1856, when he emigrated to Nebraska, and to Montana in 1863, driving a horse-team. Remained a year at Bannack, when he went to Virginia City and engaged in the business of supplying the market with beef. He married Zilphia Wakefield in 1866. Christopher Richter, born in Germany June 8, 1834, came to the U. S. in 1856, and engaged as a coal-miner in Pa, although a cooper and brewer by trade, but soon went to St Louis, and then to St Charles, Missouri, working at his trade of coopering until 1860, when he went to Colorado for a year, and from thence to New Mexico, returning and going to Montana in 1863. He went into brewing beer in 1864, with Henry Gilbert, at Virginia City, in which business he continued for 8 years, then went to farming on the upper Madison, where he raised stock. He also owned a quartz mine called the Germantown, half a mile from Spaulding, which assayed 62 ounces of silver and 58 ounces of gold per ton. He married Anna Ackler in 1862.

Settlers of Gallatin county: George E. McKinsey, born in Indiana Aug. 22, 1822. In 1854 he removed to Nebraska, remaining there until 1863, when he went to Montana with an ox-team, and mined for three years at Alder gulch. In 1866 he removed to Madison Valley, and established a ferry, but went back to mining the following year, and in 1869 returned to Middle Creek, settling fina'ly near Bozeman in 1871. He married Sarah Anna Wilson in 1850. Andrew Cowan, Hillsdale, born in Ky March 1834, and raised on a farm. Went to Salt Lake from Missouri by stage in 1863, and from there to Virginia City. Engaged in freighting for one year, after which took a farm of 480 acres in the Gallatin Valley, and raised cattle and horses. He married Rachel C. Tribble in 1872. Henry Heebe, Central Park, born in Pa Nov. 17, 1840, was bred a farmer. In 1856 went to Kansas, where he resided until 1863, when he proceeded to Montana. In 1864, together with William Coly, William Riley, and Clarke, he discovered the celebrated Pony mine, and the McDonald and Strawberry mines. Heebe sold his interest in the Pony for a trifle, and settled on a farm on the Gallatin River. C. Etherington was born in England June 25, 1831, and emigrated to the U. S. in 1854. After 3 years spent in Pennsylvania, went to Kansas, and thence to Colorado in 1859. Returned to Kansas, and again to Colorado in 1862, whence he went to Virginia City and Bannack in the following year, and settled in 1864 in the Gallatin Valley, 12 miles south-west of Bozeman, being the oldest resident of his section of the valley, and delighting to be called Kit Carson by his neighbors.

Settlers in Lewis and Clarke county: Nicholas Kessler, Helena, born in Germany, May 26, 1833, immigrated to the U. S. in 1854, going first to Ohio and then to Ill., where he was in the grain, flour, and general produce business. In 1860 he went to Pike's Peak, Colorado, where he mined in different localities until 1863, when he went to Virginia City, where he kept a bakery and a drinking-saloon for a few months. In 1864 went home to Germany, returning to Montana in 1864 and establishing a brewery within two miles of Helena. He also made brick at the rate of 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 yearly, with old-fashioned hand-moulds, employing in brewery and brick-yard 45 men, at wages varying from $40 to $210 per month, with board and rooms. Used 9,000 bushels of barley in 1883, most of it raised in Montana, some coming from Cal. Made 2,852 barrels of whiskey. There being no facilities for education, his school district being poor, Kessler erected a brick school-house at a cost of $700, and employed a teacher at $65 per month. William James English, Prickly Pear Valley, was born in Ireland, in August 1834, and

wagon, leaving Bannack once a week with passengers.[26] At the ferry on Snake River, which was guarded by soldiers from General Connor's army,[27] he found 150 wagons from Denver bound to the mines on the east slope of the Rocky Mountains, and farther on 400 more wagons, all with the same destination.

Almost in the light of expeditions must be considered the long journeys by freight trains. Usually a company was formed of several teams; but considering the small number of men who must guard a large amount of property on these journeys to and from Salt Lake and the Missouri River, the service was one requiring at times more than ordinary nerve. Twenty-five or thirty cents per pound was sometimes added to the river freights for the land transportation.

The condition of early society east of the mountains was not very different from that which we have seen in Idaho. If vice is hardly forced by the law's awful presence to conceal itself under a cloaking of decency, how free is it to flaunt its filthiness where there is no law; and how apt are men, who under other circumstances would have avoided the exhibition of it, to indulge a prurient libertinism here. In the mines even the most reverend

emigrated to Canada at the age of 9 years, removing to Nebraska 3 years afterward. From Nebraska he went to Colorado by mule-team, and thence to Virginia City in 1863. Was employed mining at wages, which were from $6 to $11 per day, according to the work. He owned the first cooking-stove brought to Alder gulch. In 1868 he settled on a farm of 160 acres near Helena. He married Margaret Neuman in 1863. I find mention of Peter Daly, wife, and 2 step-daughters of this year's immigration, with no information concerning them.

[26] The expresses from the two Bannack cities, both in Idaho, in 1863, came together at the Snake River Ferry and made great confusion in distributing mail matter, the letters for Bannack or Idaho City often going to Bannack in Beaverhead Valley, and vice versa. *Boisé News*, Sept. 29, 1863.

[27] Colonel P. Edward Connor of the 2d U. S. cavalry of Cal., known as the fighting second, in a battle on Bear River, Jan. 29, 1863, killed 278 Indians on the field and 25 in escaping across the river, not to mention 3 Indian women and 2 children butchered, and capturing all their property. This battle put an end to the killing of immigrants on that section of the road for several years. Connor was brevetted major-general. He lost 26 killed, 49 wounded, and 69 who suffered amputation of fingers and toes from freezing. *Virginia Montana Post*, Feb. 9, 1867.

may study social problems from the life. Here, too, crime assumes gigantic proportions, and organizes for a war upon industry and thrift.

For a much more complete history of the road-agents and vigilance committees of Montana than I have space for, I refer the reader to my *Popular Tribunals*, this series. The name of this extensive class, 'road-agents,' which sprang up so quickly and disappeared so suddenly, became a mocking allusion to their agency in relieving travellers of whatever gold-dust or other valuables they might be carrying, and was preferred by these gentry to the more literal one of highway robbers. It is said, however, that the origin of the word came from the practice of the robbers of visiting overland stage stations, and, under the pretence of being agents of the mail line, changing their poor horses for better ones. The accoutrements of a road-agent were a pair of revolvers, a double-barrelled shot-gun of large bore, with the barrels cut down short, and a knife. Mounted on a fleet and well-trained horse, disguised with mask and blankets, he lay in wait for his prey. When the victim approached near enough, out he sprang, on a run, with levelled gun, and the order, "Halt! throw up your hands!" Should the command be obeyed, the victim escaped with the loss of his valuables, the robber riding away, leaving the discomfited traveller to curse at his leisure. But if the traveller hesitated, or tried to escape, he was shot.

Chief among this class and head of a large criminal association was Henry Plummer, gentleman, baker, legislator, sheriff, and author of many murders and robberies. Villany was organized in strict accordance with law. When Plummer was sheriff of Bannack in 1863 his chief associates in crime were sworn in as deputies.

In October the coach of Peabody and Caldwell which ran between Virginia City and Bannack was halted in a ravine by two road-agents and the passengers robbed of $2,800. In November Oliver's Salt

Lake coach left Virginia City and was robbed before reaching Bannack. One of the fraternity named Ives shot a man who threatened to give information. To rid themselves of Dillingham, first deputy sheriff at Virginia City—a good man who would not join the gang—three of them shot him. They, as well as Ives, were arrested. In the matter of the murderers of Dillingham, some were in favor of a trial by a jury of twelve men, others opposed it on the ground that Sheriff Plummer would pack the jury. It was at length agreed to put the matter to vote, and it was decided in mass-meeting that the whole body of the people should act as jurors. Judge G. G. Bissell was appointed president of the court, with Steel and Rutar as associates. E. R. Cutler, a blacksmith, was appointed public prosecutor, and James Brown assistant, while H. P. A. Smith was attorney for the defence. Indictments were found against Stinson, one of the deputy sheriffs, and against Haze Lyons and Charles Forbes. In the cases of Stinson and Lyons a verdict of guilty was returned by the people. A vote being taken on the method of punishment, a chorus of "Hang them!" was returned, and men were set to erect a scaffold and dig graves. While these preparations were in progress Forbes was being tried. But the popular nerve had already begun to weaken, and besides, this murderer was a handsome fellow, tall, straight, agile, brave, and young, and the popular heart softened toward him. The same jury that condemned the others acquitted him on the false evidence of an accomplice and Forbes' eloquent speech in his own behalf, by a nearly unanimous vote. His attorney even fell upon his neck and wept and kissed him. How could the crowd hang the other wretches after this turn of affairs? The prisoners themselves saw their advantage, and pleaded eloquently for their lives, and some women who were present joined their prayers to those of the doomed men. The farce concluded by another vote being taken on a commutation of sentence; they were

simply banished, and hurriedly left the scene of popular justice. All this while poor Dillingham yet lay unburied, on a gambling-table in a brush wickiup.[28] Thus ended the first murder trial at Virginia City.

Ives, like Plummer and Forbes, was a gentlemanly rascal,[29] and many persons refused to believe him a common murderer. A large number of persons collected from the mines about to witness his trial. The counsel for the accused were H. P. A. Smith, L. F. Richie, Wood J. Thurmond, and Alexander Davis. W. F. Sanders conducted the prosecution, assisted by Charles S. Bagg. Wilson was the judge. Sanders[30] mounted a wagon and made a motion that "George Ives be forthwith hanged by the neck until he is dead," which resolution was at once adopted. He was hanged a few feet from the place of his trial.

Having dared to execute one murderer, the people breathed a little more freely. But it was plain that the whole community could not go on holding court to try all the desperadoes in the country, hundreds of whom deserved hanging. It was out of this necessity, to protect society without turning it into a standing army, that the first movement arose to form a vigilance committee. Soon after the execution of Ives, five citizens of Virginia City and one of Nevada City found each other taking steps in the direction of such a committee. In a few days the league extended to every part of what is now Montana, and two men were hanged on the 4th of January in Stinkingwater Valley.

[28] A wickiup was a brush or willow tent, or shanty. They were made by laying cross-poles on four upright posts and covering them with bushes. Some made by the Indians were not over 6 feet square. In Montana the conical skin tent used by the mountain tribes was called a *tepee*.

[29] George Ives was from Ives Grove, Racine county, Wis., and a member of a highly respectable family. He caused an account of his death at the hands of Indians to be sent to his mother, to conceal from her his actual fate. *Dimsdale's Vig. of Montana*, 223.

[30] Sanders was a nephew of Judge Edgerton, first governor of Montana, and sole authorized power in the territory for some months. The vigilants gave Edgerton their support, which also gave moral support to Sanders. The legislature subsequently confirmed some of the governor's acts, and refused to confirm others. Undoubtedly his influence and that of his nephew was exerted for the public welfare.

Meanwhile evidence was accumulating against the chief of the road-agents and his principal aids. Feeling sure of this, Plummer, Stinson, and Ray determined to lose no time in leaving the scene of their many crimes. But just as their preparations were about completed they were quietly arrested, taken to a gallows in waiting, and hanged.[31]

During the month of January 1864 there were twenty-two executions in different parts of Montana. Smith and Thurmond, who defended Ives, were banished along with some spurious gold-dust manufacturers.

[31] *Dimsdale's Vig. of Montana*, 128. The author of this pamphlet was born under the flag of Great Britain, and was very English in sentiment, yet he fully justifies the first committee of safety in their executions. Dimsdale was a contributor to the *Virginia and Helena Post*, and became its editor. He was appointed by Gov. Edgerton superintendent of public instruction of Montana, was orator of the grand lodge of masons, and possessed a large fund of general knowledge, with great versatility of talent. He prepared his book on the vigilants only two weeks before his death, which occurred Sept. 22, 1866, at the age of 35 years. He was pronounced 'genial, generous, and good.' *Virginia and Helena Post*, Sept. 29, 1866; *Salt Lake Vidette*, Oct. 11, 1866.

Dimsdale says that the Magruder party were murdered by order of Plummer, and quotes the confession of Erastus Yager (who was nicknamed Red). Yager stated that of the band in Bannack and Virginia Plummer was chief, William Bunton second in command and stool-pigeon, Samuel Bunton roadster (sent away by the band for being a drunkard), Cyrus Skinner roadster, fence, and spy. At Virginia City George Ives, Steven Marshland, John Wagner, Aleck Carter, William Graves, Buck Stinson, John Cooper, Mexican Frank, Bob Zachary, Boone Helm, George Lane, G. W. Brown, George Lowry, William Page, Doc. Howard, James Romaine (the last four were the murderers of the Magruder party), William Terwilliger, and G. Moore were roadsters. Frank Parrish and George Shears were roadsters and horse-thieves. Ned Ray was council-room keeper. The password was 'Innocent.' They wore their neckties in a sailor-knot, and shaved their beard down to moustache and chin whiskers. All the above were hanged; and afterward Jack Gallagher, Joseph Pizanthia, James Daniels, Jake Silvie (who had killed 12 men), John Keene, R. C. Rawley, John Dolan, James Kelly, James Brady, and William Hunter. For a multitude of other murders and hangings in Montana, see *Popular Tribunals*, this series.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL AND JUDICIAL.

1864–1866.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY—BOUNDARIES ESTABLISHED—GOVERNOR EDGERTON—JUDGES APPOINTED—FIRST LEGISLATURE—SEAT OF GOVERNMENT—SEAL—MAP—MEAGHER, ACTING GOVERNOR—PARTY ISSUES—CONVENTION—ELECTION—EARLY NEWSPAPERS—VIGILANCE COMMITTEE INFLUENCE—EASTERN SOLONS—DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE EARLY JUDGES—BEIDLER—MORE LEGISLATION—GOVERNOR SMITH—EDUCATION—ASSAY OFFICE—SURVEYOR-GENERAL—REMOVAL OF CAPITAL.

UP to this time the territory later called Montana was still within the limits of Idaho, which embraced the mining country east of the Rocky Mountains. On the 26th of May, 1864, congress passed an act providing a temporary government for a new territory to be called Montana, the boundaries of which embraced 143,776 square miles, or 92,016,640 acres;[1] commencing at a point formed by the intersection of the 27th degree of longitude west from Washington with latitude 45°, thence due west to longitude 34°, thence to latitude 44° 30′, thence west along that line to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and along their crest to its intersection with the Bitterroot Mountains, thence along the summit of the Bitterroot Mountains to its intersection with longitude 39°, thence along that degree to latitude 49°, thence east along that line to longitude 27°, and thence southward on that degree to the place of beginning.[2] It com-

[1] *Zabriskie's Land Laws*, 857.

[2] *Id.*, 860–71; *U. S. Acts*, 91–7, 38th cong. 1st sess.; *Camp's Amer. Year-Book*, 1869, 497–500: *Como Sentinel*. Aug. 13, 1864.

prised the north-east part of Idaho, the south-east part being reattached to Dakota, from which it was taken when Idaho was first organized.

It will be remembered that in 1863 Sidney Edgerton, formerly of Ohio, was appointed chief justice of Idaho, but that Governor Wallace of that territory, in laying out the judicial districts, assigned him to the district east of the mountains, in order to exhibit his dislike of imported judges. As the territory was not organized until September, and the Idaho legislature did not meet to lay out districts until December, there was little opportunity for the exercise of judicial functions in Edgerton's district before Montana became a separate territory, and the former chief justice of Idaho was appointed governor of Montana. He was commissioned June 22, 1864, and the territorial secretary, Thomas Francis Meagher, on the 4th of August, 1865.[3] The judges appointed were Hezekiah L. Hosmer chief justice, and Lorenzo P.

[3] Two other men had been previously appointed who declined: Henry P. Torsey, June 22, 1864, and John Coburn, March 3, 1865. Edgerton was without a secretary for the first year he was governor. Sidney Edgerton was born in Cazenovia, Madison co., N. Y. His father was Amos Edgerton, who married Zevirah Graham, both educated in the best schools of their times. The father dying, the mother was left, while Sidney was but 6 years of age, to support and educate the family of 6 children, with whom she removed to Ontario co., N. Y., where Sidney grew to man's estate, alternately following the avocation of a builder and attending the higher schools, or teaching village schools. For 2 years he was principal of the Genesee Wesleyan seminary at Lima, Livingston co. In 1840 he went to Akron, Ohio, to read law with the famous Rufus P. Spaulding. In 1842 he entered the Cincinnati law school, then under the charge of Timothy Walker, author of *American Law*, from which institution he graduated in 1844, returning to Akron to practise, forming a partnership with Van R. Humphrey and William H. Upson. Edgerton was strongly anti-slavery in his convictions, and a leader of that unpopular party, finding no national organization to adhere to before the birth of the republican party in 1855. In 1858 he was elected a member of congress, and again in 1860. His appointment to the chief justiceship of Idaho, in 1863, followed, and on arriving at Bannack, then a part of that territory, and finding a large population there without law or officers, he reported to Gov. Wallace and awaited the designation of the courts, but no court was appointed within the district to which he was assigned, nor was there any officer there to administer the oath of office. He was selected by the people to go to Washington to endeavor to have the territory of Montana organized, in which business he was successful, and was appointed governor. At the expiration of his term he returned to Akron, Ohio, where he continued the practice of his profession. Owing to the turbulence of the times, Gov. Edgerton did not receive the just meed of his qualities and services in Montana. *Sanders' Notes*, MS., 1–11.

Williston and Lyman E. Munson associates.[4] Edward B. Neally was commissioned United States district attorney,[5] and George M. Pinney marshal.[6] Internal revenue officers appointed were Nathaniel P. Langford collector, and Truman E. Evarts assessor. None of the district judges were on the ground before late autumn. The first election was held on the 24th day of October, for the choice of a legislature[7] and a delegate to congress. Samuel McLean was chosen delegate by a majority of thirteen hundred votes.[8] The legislature met December 12th at Bannack, was sworn in by Judge Williston, and proceeded harmoniously to business.[9]

The condition of politics in Montana was a repetition, to a considerable extent, of the anti-administration sentiment of Idaho, and for the same reason, that it was overrun by southern men, escaping from draft into the confederate army. But otherwise there was this difference between Idaho and Montana, that the former was founded by western men from Oregon,

[4] Ammi Giddings was the first associate judge appointed, but declined.

[5] O. F. Strickland was appointed A. A. atty-gen. in 1865, and William M. Stafford in 1866.

[6] Cornelius F. Buck was the first appointed, but declined.

[7] The legislature consisted of 20 members, 7 in the council and 13 in the lower house. The council was composed as follows: Beaverhead county, Frank M. Thompson and Ebenezer D. Leavitt; Madison county, Charles S. Bagg, Anson S. Potter, and Robert Lawrence; Jefferson county, Nathaniel Merriman; Choteau, Deer Lodge, and Missoula, Frank L. Worden. Lawrence was chosen president. Appointed by the council: George Heynes secretary; Frank H. Angevine assistant secretary; Robert Hereford engrossing clerk; John C. Ryan enrolling clerk; Harrison G. Otis sergeant-at-arms; Harris Gilman door-keeper; W. P. Edgerton page. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 1864, 1, 6. The members of the house of representatives were: Beaverhead county, J. C. Faul, A. J. Smith; Deer Lodge, James Stuart; Jefferson, George Detwiller speaker, J. N. Buck, Milo Cartwright; Madison, Francis Bell, Wiley Huffaker, Alexander E. Mayhew; Washington, J. McCormick, J. H. Rogers, Patrick Ryan, John Owen (elected but not seated), E. B. Johnson.

[8] W. F. Sanders was put forward as a candidate by the loyal population. James Tufts, who had been speaker of the Idaho legislature, also had aspirations. *Portland Oregonian*, Sept. 14, 1864.

[9] According to J. N. Bond, who has furnished me with a manuscript narrative of the early *History of Colorado, Idaho, and Montana*, in each of which territories he has borne a pioneer's part, not one of the members of the first legislature of Montana had ever served before in the capacity of lawmaker, and the governor himself was ignorant of parliamentary rules. p. 61 of Bond's MS. It would seem, however, that this statement should be taken with allowance, particularly in regard to the governor, who was a graduate of a law school, and had been a member of congress.

Washington, and northern California, who were chiefly descendants of men bred in the south-western and southern states, while Montana had a large percentage of her first population from the northern states.[10] That portion of the governor's message which related to the existing war, being referred to a committee of Bagg, Thompson, and Leavitt in the council, Bagg reported, as chairman, in language strongly anti-administration, while refraining from uttering sentiments openly disloyal. Leavitt, not being willing to indorse such a report, a few days afterward offered a resolution strongly loyal, which was adopted by a majority of the council, the whole

SEAL.

being done without any discourteous exhibition of political hostility. According to the requirements of the organic act, the legislature proceeded to locate the seat of government, which was fixed at Virginia City. A seal for the territory was adopted, which had as a central group a plough and a miner's pick and shovel;

[10] There was strong political feeling in the first canvass. The leaders of the dominant party were Sample Orr, W. L. Ewing, Warren Toole, Alexander Davis, H. Y. Pemberton and Thomas Thoroughman of Missouri, W. B. Dance of Montana, W. L. McMath, N. J. Bond, and Samuel McLane of Colorado, and Ansell Briggs, whilom governor of Iowa, who was president of the first democratic convention of Montana in the autumn of 1864. The leader of the republican element was W. F. Sanders. *Bond's Hist. Col., Idaho, and Montana*, MS., 58.

on the right the falls of the Missouri; on the left mountains; underneath the motto, Oro y Plata. Upon the margin surrounding the whole were the words, The Seal of Montana Territory.

There being no map of the territory by which the legislature could define the district boundaries, W. W. De Lacy was employed to make one for the purpose, to be further completed when the districts were laid off. Among the earliest acts was one incorporating the Historical Society of Montana. Acts were passed repealing the statutes of Idaho, adopting common law, and providing for the codification of the territorial laws.[11] A common-school system was adopted, and an act passed to prevent carrying concealed arms.[12] Acts were passed incorporating Virginia City, and the towns of Montana (the name being changed to Prickly Pear), Missoula, Marysville, Willow Creek, Ophir, North Ophir, Junction City, Jefferson, Gallatin, East Gallatin, Brandon, Beaver, and Alki. Several of these had only an ephemeral existence, and were soon not to be found on the maps. A large number of mining, road, bridge, and ferry companies were incorporated, showing the activity of the population in seizing upon business opportunities.

But an error was committed by the first legislature, which practically disorganized the territory for two succeeding years. According to the organic act, the first legislature was to be apportioned by the governor; but thereafter the time, place, and manner of holding elections, and the apportioning of the representation in the several counties, were to be prescribed by law, as well as the day of commencing the regular sessions of the legislative assembly. The law-makers, instead of keeping within their privileges as granted by the organic act, of gradually increasing their numbers to thirteen councilmen and twenty-six represent-

[11] The code commissioners were William H. Miller, George W. Stapleton, and W. F. Sanders. *Helena Montana Post*, Dec. 4, 1868.

[12] Where the majority were openly armed, such a law could effect little reform in the practice of shooting a man at sight.

atives, passed a bill defining the districts in the territory, apportioning the legislators among them, and included in the bill the substance of another, to increase the number of councilmen at once to thirteen, and the assemblymen to twenty-six. The governor returned the bill with his veto, and his reasons therefor. But the temper of the legislature being adverse to correction, it adjourned without passing any apportionment bill. The effect was to prevent an election of representatives in 1865. In the latter part of summer Edgerton returned to the east, and Meagher, the territorial secretary, arrived, on whom devolved the functions of executive. There was a strong desire on the part of the democratic portion of the inhabitants of Montana to form a state constitution, which they affected to believe, from the population flowing in at this period, they would be justified in doing. In their extremity of doubt, they called upon Meagher to settle the question of his own authority to order a new election for the specific purpose of organizing a state convention.[13]

Meagher replied in a clear and logically written letter, that only an enabling act of congress could restore to the territory the right to elect a legislative body, and advised them to appeal to congress for such relief. His views, however, underwent a change a few weeks later, when he published a proclamation recalling his first decision, declaring his authority to convene the legislature, and summoning the members of the council elected on the 4th of October, 1864, and the members of the house of representatives elected on the 4th of September, 1865, to meet at Virginia City on Monday the 5th of March, "for the transaction of business, as well as to give legislative sanction and validity to the convention," which had been called by another proclamation to assemble at Helena the

[13] The inquirers were Thomas E. Tutt, R. W. Donnell, James T. Hodge, Mark A. Moore, Peter H. Rea, J. H. Shober, W. K. Roberts, Alexander W. Woolfolk, E. C. Moore, R. C. Ewing, and others. *Montana Scraps*, 20–1.

26th of March. Meagher's change of opinion was of so radical a nature that he declared in a public address his intention to have the laws so framed by the legislature he had convoked that "no judge, whatever his powers or consequence, should dispute or disobey them;" and further, that he would enforce those laws "with the whole power of the county of Madison, and if need be, with the whole power of the territory." He said a good deal also about glorying in his democracy, and having been deceived as to his true prerogatives by republican rascals. In short, he made it plain to the anti-administrationists that he should be upon their side in any political contests. He set at liberty a criminal under sentence of three years incarceration for manslaughter. Judge Munson requested him to annul the pardon, but he refused. The liberated desperado made use of his freedom by going to Helena with threats to take the lives of some of the witnesses against him, and while there was taken and hanged by vigilants.[14] In these various ways the acting governor gave offence to the best sense of the community, which otherwise would cheerfully have acknowledged the talents and bravery of 'the Irish patriot.'

The first legislature, recognizing the insufficiency of the salaries of the territorial officers, had increased the pay of the governor and judges from $2,500 a year to $5,000,[15] the deficiency to be made up by the territory, and at the same time increased their own per diem to twelve dollars.

The legislature summoned by the secretary repealed the law. So far as the chief justice and Williston were concerned, there was some appearance of propriety in refusing to give them double pay, inasmuch as they had, after the usual manner of territorial judges, absented themselves from the territory, leav-

[14] The *Virginia Montana Post*, March 31, 1866, upheld the vigilants, saying they had hanged Daniels because of his crimes, and not because he had been pardoned, as the governor's party chose to construe it.

[15] *Mont. Jour. Council*, 1864, 101.

ing Judge Munson to perform the duties of all the three districts. A resolution was passed by the Helena bar, that in their opinion justice required that Judge Munson should be reimbursed the expense incurred by him in discharging the duties of the absent judges, in a sum at least equivalent to the compensation repealed.[16] The resolution was treated with contempt, and the war upon a Connecticut judge by southern democrats continued unabated, resulting in the organization of the union party of Montana, at Virginia City, March 29, 1866.[17] Meantime the legislature[18] legalized the existence of a state convention, and that body assembled on the 9th of April, at Helena. It was rather a meagre affair, Choteau and Beaverhead counties being unrepresented, and so many delegates being absent that a quorum could not be made out, and the convention resorted to the expedient of voting for the absent members! A memorial to congress was prepared, avowing the loyalty of the people of Montana, setting forth the resources of the territory, and asking for such congressional legislation as would be for the best interests of a mining community, and also would prevent a reannexation to Idaho of that portion of Montana lying between the Bitterroot and Rocky mountains, which the former territory was then endeavoring to recover, in order to

[16] *Virginia Montana Post*, March 31, 1866.

[17] At the preliminary meeting, T. C. Everts was called to the chair, F. C. Deimling being appointed secretary. The committee appointed to report at the regular meeting March 31st was composed of Phelps, Strickland, Merriman, and A. J. Davis. The central committee was composed of, Madison county, F. C. Deimling, A. J. Davis, R. H. Robinson; Edgerton county, R. P. Seely, E. W. Carpenter; Jefferson county, N. Merriman, Jacob Wettleson; Missoula county, F. C. Worden, Thomas Roop; Deer Lodge county, O. G. Darwin, B. P. Johnson; Choteau county, H. D. Upham, G. E. Upson; Gallatin county, R. C. Clark, R. C. Knox; Beaverhead county, E. D. Leavitt, A. J. Smith. President of committee, F. C. Deimling; vice-president, J. S. Lott; secretaries, O. F. Strickland, W. M. Stafford; treasurer, J. J. Hull.

[18] The members of the council for the 2d term were Anson S. Porter, Charles S. Bagg, E. D. Leavitt, W. J. McCormick, Nathaniel Merriman, E. F. Phelps, J. G. Spratt. Potter president. Officers, R. J. Mitchell secretary, E. S. Calhoun assist secretary, William D. Leech and A. H. Barrett clerks, John Bigler sergeant-at-arms, George Reid door-keeper. Members of the house, A. J. Smith, H. D. Herd, A. V. Corry, G. H. Hanna, L. Daems, J. N. Rice, J. S. McCollough, James McElroy, A. E. Mayhew, J. La Fontaine, R. B. Parrott, A. S. Maxwell, R. W. Mimms.

divide southern from northern Idaho, as I have elsewhere mentioned, with other matters of general interest; calling the attention of congress to the necessity of an early appropriation for public buildings, to the desire of the memorialists for a branch mint, and to the discovery only just being made that cereals of all kinds, as well as gold and silver, might be reckoned among the productions of the country; but nothing was said of a state organization,[19] which indeed was not justified by the condition of the territory in point of finance or population.[20]

A feeling of insecurity prevailed concerning the legality of the acts of the legislature, which soon forced that question into court. An attachment suit being brought in the third judicial district, the defendant set up in his defence the invalidity of the laws passed at the March session, and was sustained by the decision of Judge Munson, whose opinion was published at length for the benefit and at the request of the bar of Helena.[21] An appeal was taken to the supreme court; but before that convened the comptroller of the treasury had refused to honor drafts for money to pay the expenses of the legislature, and it became understood that congress would not recognize its acts. This gave the anti-administration party cause for indignant protests against the tyranny of congress and the administration. Open-air meetings to denounce Judge Munson and the government be-

[19] The members of the convention which failed so signally in its purpose were: From Edgerton county, R. C. Ewing, J. A. Johnson, W. J. Pemberton, O. F. Hart, W. L. Steel, R. B. Parrott, A. S. Maxwell, E. B. Waterbury, A. M. Woolfolk, Thomas E. Tutt. From Madison county, Thomas Thoroughman, W. B. Napton, Geo. W. Hill, William N. Couch, J. T. Rucker, George Wilhelm, P. C. Evans, John P. Rogers. From Jefferson county, T. F. Boler, W. G. Barclay, J. C. Gillman, J. H. Shober, W. F. Evans. From Gallatin county, A. Metcalf, W. B. Morris, J. D. Davidson, A. J. Hunter, H. P. Downs. From Missoula county, John Pomeroy, C. E. Irwin. From Deer Lodge county, W. B. Irwin, A. E. Mayhew, James Stuart, Michael Holland, D. L. Irvine, W. J. McCormick, T. H. Buir, Reuben Borden, Blakely.

[20] There had really been no census taken when the first apportionment was made; only an estimate by the United States marshal; nor had any yet been taken.

[21] *Virginia Montana Post*, June 9, 1863.

came the fashion with the democracy, at the head of whom was Acting Governor Meagher, reiterating his determination to enforce the laws enacted by the legislature he had called into being. Twenty-four hours later, in the same place, union orators denounced the course of the delegate in congress as a "wanton disregard of the interests of the territory," and the conduct of the executive for failing to file his official bond for a long period, thereby preventing the congressional appropriations from being made available; for illegal and extravagant use of the public money; for neglect to settle with the accounting officers; for impudent denial of the powers and rights of lawyers, courts, and citizens to call in question the legality of his legislative bantling; "for his scandalous disregard of the common decencies of life; and above all, his infidelity to the institutions of liberty, and his wanton abuse of the American people, who have furnished him an asylum from the officers of the laws of his native land."

There was just ground for this outpouring of the vials of wrath and sarcasm on the heads of Montana's delegate and governor. McLean, in a speech on a bill before congress to amend the organic act of Montana, which disallowed the powers of the late legislature, stupidly threatened that body with taking Montana over the line into British Columbia. "Do not," said this Solon, "by unwise and oppressive legislation, drive us over the border, while our love of country would actuate us to stand upon its outer edge, a living wall of strength in the defence of the land." As for Meagher, he could be eloquent, but he could not be honest.

On the 1st of August he issued a proclamation based upon the election act of the legislature of 1864, which called for a general election on the first Monday of September of each year, and also upon the apportionment act of the March session of 1866, notifying all county officers whose duty it was to appoint officers

of election and to give notice in their several counties that a general election would be held on the 3d of September, 1866, for the choice of thirteen councilmen and twenty-six representatives. Seeing that Meagher and his adherents were determined in their course, the union party put forth a ticket of 'anti-state and legislative' candidates, and the party journals[22] took up their arms for a campaign.

[22] A history of the pioneer newspapers will not be out of place here. The *Montana Post* was the first journal started in the territory. In 1864 John Buchanan brought a press and material from St Louis to Fort Benton, with a view to locating at some point in the new commonwealth. He fixed upon Virginia City, where the first number of the *Post* was issued August 27, 1864. After printing two numbers Buchanan sold to D. W. Tilton and Benjamin R. Dittes. Dittes was a native of Leipsic, Saxony, born in 1833. He was for a number of years on the upper Missouri at the various trading posts, and in Colorado in 1863, when Alder gulch was discovered, to which he removed that year, building one of the first houses in Virginia City. The firm of D. W. Tilton & Co. continued to publish the *Post* at Virginia City until the winter of 1867–8, when Dittes purchased Tilton's interest, and in conjunction with Mr Pinney, removed it to Helena. The change was not favorable, and Dittes withdrew, the paper being suspended in the spring of 1869. Dittes died Nov. 6, 1879. *Helena Herald*, Nov. 6, 1879.

Another paper published by Tilton and Dittes was the *Tri-Weekly Republican*, which was started the 7th of July, 1866, at Helena, and after printing 32 numbers was removed to Virginia City and published there as the *Tri-Weekly Post*. After the removal of the office of the *Montana Post* to Helena, a daily was issued, the first number appearing April 20, 1868.

The second newspaper in Montana in point of time was the *Montana Democrat*. Kirk Anderson, a reporter and correspondent of the *St Louis Republican*, about 1857 established a 'gentile' newspaper in Salt Lake City, called *The Valley Tan*, which ran for a year and a half, or thereabouts, when Anderson returned to St Louis, and going south on the breaking-out of the war, died. The material of this first gentile journal in Utah was purchased in 1865 by John P. Bruce to start the *Democrat* in Virginia City. It sustained the action of the acting governor and the democratic party generally. It became a daily in March 1868.

In March 1866 T. J. Favorite removed the press and material of the *Radiator* from Lewiston, Idaho, to Helena, Montana, where it became the *Montana Radiator*. In November of the same year it was sold to Posnainsky and House, who changed the name to *Helena Herald*, and employed R. Emmet Fisk to edit it. The Fisk brothers afterward purchased it. It was republican in politics, and became a daily in 1867.

The *Rocky Mountain Gazette*, a democratic paper, was started at Helena about the last of August 1866, by Wilkinson, Maguire, and Ronan. It was destroyed in the great fire of 1872. The *Beaverhead News*, republican, began to be published at Bannack about the same time, by J. A. Hosmer, son of the chief justice.

The next newspaper established was the *Independent*, at Deer Lodge City, by Frank Kenyon, in October 1867. A half-interest was sold to John H. Rogers in May 1868, who assumed charge of the editorial department. In January 1869 Rogers purchased the entire interest, and, notwithstanding the name, ran it in the interest of the democratic party. In 1874 it was removed from Deer Lodge to Helena by L. F. La Croix, formerly of the *Gazette*, who purchased the material and good-will of the paper in company with McQuaid

In the mean time Chief Justice Hosmer returned to Montana, in the district to which he was assigned by Governor Edgerton, and his duties were resumed in August. In his charge to the grand jury he reviewed the history of the vigilance committee, the necessity in which it originated, and the good which had resulted from it, but warned them that to continue their operations in the presence of an organized judicial system would prove detrimental to the best interests of society, and besought them to convince the people, by their thoroughness in searching out and punishing offenders, that the laws were sufficient for the purposes of justice.[23] The judge soon had occasion to reprove the citizens of Virginia City for a laxity as great as the sternness of the vigilants had been strong. John Gibson having been indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment and a heavy fine, for an assault with attempt to kill, thirty-three names were appended to a petition to have his punishment reduced to a mere fine for assault, compelling the man to pay fifty dollars for the privilege of attacking another behind his back and striking him senseless to the ground, from which injury his victim was a long time in recovering. The reason given by the petitioners for their request was that it would be very expensive to the people to keep Gibson in prison, and the inability of the criminal to pay a heavy fine. It was a mere matter of dollars and cents, and not of justice or order, for which the chief justice very properly censured the petitioners, while refusing to commute Gibson's sentence.[24]

and Kerley. A daily was issued in the same year. J. E. Kerley was born Aug. 12, 1840, and came to Cal. in 1853 by the ocean route. Learned the newspaper business, and worked in the offices of the *Trinity Journal* and the *Mountain Democrat* 5 years. In 1865 he went to Helena, Montana, and mined subsequently at Cañon ferry, and was in the grocery business. Finally he settled in Deer Lodge, became proprietor of the *Independent*, as above, and opposed hanging by the vigilants without trial. He served several terms in the legislature.

[23] *Virginia Montana Post*, Aug. 11, 1866.

[24] There is a pleasant book, written by A. K. McClure of Pennsylvania, and published in 1869, entitled *Three Thousand Miles through the Rocky Mountains*, in which there is a good deal said about the administration of the

Indeed, the absence of a penitentiary had been one, if not the principal, reason for the prompt executions of the vigilance committee. Now, persons convicted of offences for which they were sentenced to a period of incarceration not exceeding three years were confined in the county jail, those sentenced to a longer term being taken to Detroit and confined in the Michigan penitentiary by order of the government. The expense attending the journey of the United States marshal, and the opportunities for escape which were offered, made this method of disposing of criminals anything but economical or satisfactory. These were some of the obstacles in the way of the smooth working of the judicial machinery. No capital offence was tried in the United States courts until in August 1866, when James H. Foster was tried for the murder of Philip Mallory, in Judge Munson's court at Helena, pronounced guilty, and sentenced to be hanged on the 5th of October. Foster's attorneys, however, managed to secure for him a new trial, on the ground of a defective indictment, but the grand jury again found a true bill for murder.

Montana was more fortunate than many other of the Pacific territories, in having for her early judges men of ability and integrity. Nor was it the fault of the people that crime sometimes assumed such magnificent proportions, but rather the lack of law-compelling

vigilants and the courts in Montana. The author remarks of Hosmer, that he 'started wrong in the outset—like a timid driver failing to wield the reins with vim in his first drive of a vicious team; and the team has measurably driven the driver ever since. Stern in his integrity, and well versed in the law, he does his part creditably in all things, save in exercising with a firm purpose the high prerogatives of a court of justice.' I have not found the timidity imputed to Judge Hosmer by McClure—at least not in any important matters. The same author finds Judge Munson too lax in his jurisdiction—yet Munson, single-handed, steered the judicial craft through the breakers of southern-democratic disorganization for a year, without losing his position or the respect of the people, who presented him with a gold watch as a testimonial in October 1866. Williston, McClure describes as a martinet, 'who learned the duties and prerogatives of courts from his father, one of Pennsylvania's best judges in the best days of her legal tribunals;' and calls him 'fastidious, foppish, and genial.' This species of criticism, in which the wise men of the east love to indulge, howsoever it may satisfy a certain class of readers, only tends to render the writers contemptible in the eyes of those who know something of what they are talking about.

machinery; for when the good men of Montana saw that the courts were unable to cope with crime, they arose as one man and cleansed the community of its wickedness.

Montana judges had to deal with many difficulties—with a large amount of perplexing business involving novel questions for which there was no law and no precedent, yet which made or unmade the fortunes of the litigants.[25] They had to deal with crime much in excess of the usual average in organized communities, and to endeavor to suppress lawless hanging by the administration of legal justice, when they were perfectly aware that the rule of law, on account of the embarrassments[26] under which they labored, was not

[25] Chief Justice Hosmer in his last charge to the grand jury gives a humorous picture of his court, which as a bit of history is valuable also. He says that he first organized a court in his district in December 1864. 'Most of the suits had been commenced when Montana formed a part of Idaho, and a nearly worn-out copy of an original house bill of the civil practice act of Idaho, with written interlineations and corrections, was the sole guide to the attorneys in making up a calendar of 80 cases. This worn and dilapidated pamphlet, dirty from constant use, and covered with paper so scribbled over that its original color was hardly discernible, was the vade mecum of bench and bar in all the early practice of the territory.' It was always being borrowed and getting lost. 'Anxious clients and eager lawyers attributed the law's delays more frequently to the absence of this peripatetic monitor than to any other cause...The question arose concerning the integrity of this old book. Montana of herself had no laws. Should the laws of Idaho prevail? or should we fall back upon the common law? The evenings of a week were spent in the various arguments of the lawyers, and the question was at length decided. Close upon the heels of this discussion followed another of equal duration on the gold and greenback question; then another as to the legality of instruments in action which had not been stamped simply because there were no stamps in the territory...Our first court-room, the dining-hall of the Planters' House, was a model of rustic judicial architecture. Upon a long table, whose tottering legs threatened any one having the termerity to climb upon it with instant demolition, behind another table of smaller dimensions, ...on one of the stools which had served apprenticeship at the dinner-table, sat the judge, in the language of Milton, "he above the rest proudly eminent." ...In the arena below, the jurors, the bar, the suitors, spectators, prisoners, even the dogs, mingled together in incongruous confusion. Under all these seeming embarrassments, the course of justice was slowly onward...An importation of Idaho laws superseded the worn-out house bill, and in a week's time a hall of ampler dimensions, suitably arranged, was provided for the court.' *Virginia Montana Democrat*, April 11, 1868.

[26] Wilbur F. Sanders, in a chapter on the early judiciary of Montana, contained in his *Notes*, MS., says: 'Justice has not been done to the courage which enabled these early judicial pioneers to step into such a community and so act as to practically drive the vigilance committee out of existence in a short period of time.' I would here make my acknowledgments for many favors received from time to time from the very able and public-spirited author of these manuscript *Notes*, who also contributes in effect the following remarks on Montana tribunals.

so effectual in preserving the lives and property of the public as the action of the vigilance committee

From the time of the first settlement in Montana to May 1864 there was not an officer authorized to administer oaths or the laws in the territory, and no organization, if we except a partial organization of the county of Missoula by the legislature of Washington, where there was a single justice of the peace. Yet for two years there had been a number of considerable settlements in the territory, and property, real and personal, of great value, owned, titles created and conveyed, crimes punished, and other forms of redress resorted to known to the judicial tribunals. And this was a necessity. Thrifty and active communities were engaged in mining and commercial transactions of large moment and amounts; cargoes of goods were arriving and being sold and transported, calling into being all the processes by which civilized communities assume to regulate affairs between men and enforce justice. The story of those days furnishes a remarkable example of the force of habit in such matters which characterizes the American people, and demonstrates that they readily follow the forms of law, and abide by the consequences when their acts lack legal sanction.

The primary tribunal, constituting what I would call the first period of judicial proceedings in Montana, was known as the miners' court, and regulated all rights, legal, equitable, and admiralty. Prior to March 1863, when the territory of Idaho was created, comprehending what is now Montana and a part of Wyoming, within the limits of these latter there was not a volume of the statutes of Washington, out of which Idaho had been carved, nor had the legislature of Idaho met or enacted any laws. No man was authorized to administer an oath, acknowledge a deed, certify a contract, or determine any controversy. Hence the necessity of some regulations to which the people consented. The occupied mineral regions were divided into districts of convenient size. Public meetings were called, usually upon Sundays, when the people had leisure, and some citizens were elected president of the district, miners' judge, sheriff, and coroner, their duties being undefined except by name, and the admonition that they should discharge the functions which usually devolved upon such officers. In a community where the criminal class possessed great strength, a prosecuting attorney was added to the list of officers. The entire strength of these districts was wielded by these officials in repressing and punishing crime, and for the vindication of pecuniary rights or the redress of financial wrongs. These courts without hesitation granted divorces, and the judges performed marriage services without question. They summoned any party complained of into their courts, brought in juries of six citizens whenever demanded, listened to lawyers with the customary impatience, declared the law dogmatically without question, instructed juries as to their duties, received their verdicts and entered judgment upon them, or set them aside with the same degree of regularity and sobriety which characterizes similiar tribunals now. If the courts did not hold quite so strong the principles of law over the juries, or direct and control them as is customary in more stable communities, the fault was not confined to miners' courts. Probably there were more disagreeing juries then than now, although this is still a chronic disorder in Montana. Not infrequently cases were tried half a dozen times before a jury agreed. Their fluctuations were remarkable, there being generally five obstinate men on one side, and at the next as many on the other side. It was a frequent occurrence that the judge arrested proceedings, and ordered the sheriff to obtain for the court and jury and members of the bar refreshments from the nearest saloon. The costs of a suit were fixed somewhat arbitrarily by the judge, generally upon a scale of prices arranged by him; but if the trial was important and exciting, and the parties making money fast in the mines, he discriminated against wealth. The lawyers got paid very well. The sheriff was an important figure in the mines. He usually selected the juries upon an open

had been. The first legislature adopted codes, civil and criminal, but owing to the delay in printing them, the courts were thrown back upon manuscript bills of that session for guidance. Under this practice, in the first three years, in the first district alone, six hundred

venire, and if he had particular friends engaged in litigation, would take care of them in the selection. Changes of venue and nonsuits were practically unknown. There was generally provided by the rules and regulations of the district an opportunity for the defeated party to appeal to a 'miners' meeting,' which he was permitted to do without giving bonds, and simply upon serving a notice on the party and judge of his appeal to the president of the district; the miners, as jurors, being supreme over the judge and the parties to the contention. These miners' meetings were most often held in the open air, and if the weather was cold, or some incident of the saloons attracted them, they absented themselves until one of the parties to the suit rallied them by signifying that a question of supreme importance was about to be decided, when they returned and voted for their favorite. At these miners' meetings the appellate judge usually occupied a wagon, and the lawyers and witnesses spoke and testified from the same eminence. The witnesses might be interrogated by any one who wished to know further about the case, exhibit his learning, or make a display of his feigned impartiality. These tribunals were sometimes swayed by the politics of their clients or their counsel, and sometimes influenced by the liquid refreshments furnished by one side, or occasionally by a sordid motive; but whatever consideration determined the result, it was manifested by a viva voce vote of all present, except the litigants and their counsel, and was final. If there was any doubt about the vote, there was a division and a count, the opposing voters standing on either side of a line, while the sheriff or president ascertained the exact number of each. Once definitely settled, there was no further appeal. Property worth many thousands of dollars was involved in these suits, and titles were passed which stand to this day as firmly as any established by any courts. There was a lofty scorn of technicalities about these courts, which treated with contempt a lawyer's suggestion of the illegality of a written contract which had less than the required number of United States revenue stamps upon it.

Thoughtful men were troubled as to what was to follow, and many believed that these determinations were of such consequence that they would be confirmed by an act of the legislature when it should convene, as probably would have been the case but for the restrictive laws of congress. As it was, they remained practically the determination of all controversies. These tribunals continued to exercise some jurisdiction until the arrival in the territory of the justices of the supreme court in October 1864; but in the spring of that year commissions had arrived from Lewiston for justices of the peace and probate judges, and the statutes of the first session of the territory of Idado were also received. It was found that certain jurisdiction had been conferred upon these officers, limited indeed, and comprehending but a small portion of the jurisdiction necessary to be exercised by judicial tribunals, and therefore the miners' courts were continued, presenting the spectacle of the courts authorized by law exercising a limited authority, while the larger contentions were determined by an unauthorized and volunteer tribunal. The two, however, never came in collision, but worked together harmoniously until the supreme court was organized. This constituted the second period of judicial history. During the last ten months of the latter period, the vigilance committee divided jurisdiction with the courts, but took cognizance only of the more flagrant offenses. The third period has been treated of above.

and fifty cases were disposed of, six being criminal trials. Few cases were ever appealed to the supreme court, and but one of those few was reversed. At the session of the legislature of December 1867, the civil code of California was adopted, because it originated in a state whose interests were, at the time when it was framed, similar to those of Montana at this time, and which had dealt with the knotty questions of quartz-mining, water rights, placer claims, and their congeners. This greatly simplified the business of the courts. But the criminal code remained unimproved. Under it nearly half of all the complaints tried resulted in acquittal, owing greatly to the ambiguity of the language in which a crime was defined by the legislators. Of the four capital cases tried in Judge Hosmer's court all failed of conviction, not because the indictment was faulty or the jury were not properly charged, but because they disagreed on the interpretation of the law and the charge of the judge. More than twenty persons tried for murder during the term of the first set of district judges were acquitted, the juries being drawn from the same people who had sustained the vigilance committee. It cannot much be wondered at that there existed dissatisfaction with the courts, though they were not responsible for defective statutes, or that lynch-law so often hastened to remove criminals from their jurisdiction. The cause lay even deeper than I have intimated, in the great infusion of a reckless element, which was strengthened by still larger numbers of careless and tolerant persons, whose experience of the freedom of the frontier had made them callous to the horrors of violated law, even when it brought them face to face with sudden death.[27] A shooting scrape was a common occurrence, and had so many sides to it—besides the danger that any man might want to shoot another some time, and to establish a precedent

[27] Dimsdale, *Vig. Montana*, says that the shooting of a man in a barber's saloon did not interrupt the business of shaving.

might be troublesome—that it was difficult to arouse a sense of outrage in the minds of the majority, except where the murder had been perpetrated for robbery in a treacherous and brutal manner. Even this, as we have seen, they failed to punish. Such was the condition of society in Montana in its earlier period, and such to a great degree it remained for a score of years, although on the statute-books there existed a law against drawing a weapon in anger.[28] All this tends to prove the absurdity and futility of the jury system, a relic of past ages which has outlived its usefulness.

A question discussed at this period was one which deeply touched the foundations of society and its good order, and which disturbed particularly the first judicial district. Montana having been organized out of the territories of Idaho and Dakota, for the first six months every commercial transaction had been conducted in tacit, if not expressed, recognition of the fact that placer gold was the exclusive currency of

[28] In the earlier period John X. Beidler was deputy U. S. marshal, as well as collector of customs for the district of Montana and Idaho, and colonel in the territorial militia. He was from Chambersburg, where he was known as an 'excellent maker of brooms, cocktails, and juleps, and a fellow of infinite jest.' In Montana he wore a white slouched hat with an immense brim, loose frock-coat with ponderous pockets, pants and vest of the same cloth, loosely cut, high-topped boots, the inevitable woolen shirt, a brace of faithful pistols in his belt, and a huge 'Arkansas toothpick,' or bowie-knife, in a leather sheath. This was his travelling costume. At other times he could be quite foppish; and at all times he was a general favorite, except with the law-breakers. Like most favorites, he had a pet name, which was simply X. The local newspapers noticed his movements as X, and so frequently in connection with the arrest of some criminal that the journals of other localities took it for granted that X was a cabalistic sign for vigilance committee. But although he was undoubtedly on that committee's service at times, he was an officer of the regular courts, whose activity, endurance, sagacity, and readiness in drawing and firing made him the terror of evil-doers, and which procured him the thanks of the legislature in 1883. McClure says: 'When he goes for a desperado he generally takes him without papers, as he terms it; and when he commands, no one has yet been reckless enough to question his authority or dispute his power. He has hung some 30 of the most lawless men the continent could produce, and has arrested hundreds, often in distant regions and without assistance, and has never been repulsed. Many have tried to get the drop on him, but in vain.' *Three Thousand Miles*, 376–8.

The first U. S. marshal commissioned was Cornelius F. Buck, June 22, 1864, who declined. The second, commissioned Feb. 2, 1865, was George M. Pinney. The third, commissioned March 18, 1867, was Neil Howie. The fourth, commissioned May 15, 1869, was William F. Wheeler, who was recommissioned in 1873. J. J. Hall was deputy marshal after Beidler.

the country, and that United States treasury notes were worth fifty cents on the dollar of the former currency. The custom of conducting business on this basis was so well established that it had never been thought necessary to specify in writing in what currency given sums of money should be paid. Two questions which presented themselves were therefore of the greatest significance. First, was Montana without statutory enactments, or were all those laws of a general nature passed by the legislature of Washington, not inapplicable in their form and nature to the western counties of Montana, in force in that portion of Montana west of the Rocky mountains, and such general laws passed by the legislature of Dakota in force east of the Rocky mountains; and were the laws of Idaho passed at its first legislative session, in the winter of 1863–4, of like nature and force after their passage throughout the territory, or did the organization of a new territory out of Idaho itself operate to repeal all the statute law then in force? Second, what should be the measure of damages upon contracts made in the territory to pay a given number of dollars, not expressed to be in gold-dust, but unquestionably so intended by the contracting parties?

Judge Hosmer, when he opened his court, made first his impressive charge to the grand jury, as before mentioned, and then, deferring all other business, invited the opinions and arguments of the bar on these vexed questions. As we know already, a majority of the population of the territories of Idaho and Montana at this period were in sympathy with disunion, and a political bias was likely to be given even to questions of abstract law. A majority of the bar therefore argued that the organic act of the territory wrested all its geographical area from the force and operation of the statutes of the other territories which had once had jurisdiction. In the absence of authorities or precedents, a single letter of secretary Buchanan to General Kearney in California, in which

it was stated that the Mexican laws not inconsistent with the laws of the United States, and applicable to the existing state of affairs, would remain in force, was the only authority for the opposite side of the argument. It was Judge Hosmer's opinion that the former laws remained in force until a Montana legislature enacted others, which should also be consistent with the constitution of the United States.

On the question of contracts, a large majority were of the opinion that contracts made while gold-dust was currency, for the payment of a given number of dollars, could only be liquidated by dollars of market value as measured by gold-dust. A few members of the bar, however, maintained that a promise within the United States to pay any number of dollars could always be liquidated by whatever the United States had declared to be the legal tender for the payment of debts. It does not appear that Judge Hosmer decided this question, but wisely left it to the legislature, which held its first session before his court adjourned; and it soon ceased to be a disturbing question, popular sentiment in the mines being a unit in favor of gold.

Notwithstanding no ground of complaint could be found against the United States judges, except that they exercised their right to hold opinions in consonance with their convictions, shortly before the expiration of their terms judges Hosmer and Munson were warned by the anti-administration journals, and requested by the legislature, which had assigned them to the uninhabited counties of Bighorn and Choteau, to resign, and did resign, their places being filled by the appointment of Henry L. Warren, chief justice, and Hiram Knowles[29] associate. Williston remained

[29] Knowles was threatened because in a case which concerned the administration of the estate of George Carhart, killed by Plummer's band at Plummer's bidding, Plummer pretending to take out administration papers in a miners' court and selling Carhart's interest in the Dakota mine to the Montana Mineral Land and Mining company, the judge decided against the company, and in favor of the proper heirs. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, May 25, 1870. Knowles was from Keokuk, Iowa, and had resided in Nevada. He was appointed from Deer Lodge county, Montana, at the request of the bar. *Virginia Montana Post*, July 26, 1868.

until 1869, when he was succeeded by George G. Symes.[30]

To return to the proceedings of the governor and legislature. Meagher was fond of proclamations, and considering that he was only, at the most, acting governor, drew upon himself the ridicule of the opposite party, who dubbed him, in a kind of merry contempt, the Acting One. He had called a third session of the legislature before the governor appointed to succeed Edgerton arrived, October 3, 1866. This was Green Clay Smith of Kentucky, whose coming was without noise, and who assumed the executive office quietly and gracefully. The legislature which had been elected under the apportionment of the previous one, consisting of the maximum allowed by the organic act, namely, thirteen in the council and twenty-six in the lower house,[31] met November 5th, and proceeded to enact laws. Governor Smith, in his message, recommended some legislation looking to the establishment of a permanent and healthy system of education, and made some suggestions concerning such a system. He called attention to the debt of the territory, already amounting to $54,000, and to the manner in which the assessments and collections were made. While the assessment roll showed $4,957,274.53 of

[30] Decius S. Wade was commissioned chief justice after Warren in 1871, and again in 1875. Knowles was retained two terms. John L. Murphy, commissioned Jan. 27, 1871, Francis G. Servis Sept. 21, 1872, and Henry N. Blake July 30, 1875, were the associate justices down to a comparatively recent period. *Con. Hist. Soc. Montana*, 326–7.

[31] In the council, Charles S. Bagg, A. A. Brown, William H. Chiles, J. E. Galloway, T. J. Lowry, Mark A. Moore, Sample Orr, E. F. Phelps, J. G. Spratt, David Tuttle, E. B. Waterbury, E. S. Wilkinson, G. G. Wilson. Bagg president. William Y. Lovell, F. W. A. Cunningham, C. V. D. Lovejoy, C. C. Menaugh, clerks. J. B. Caven sergeant-at-arms; Henry Catlett doorkeeper. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 3d sess., 4. In the house, A. E. Mayhew, Ray W. Andrews, C. P. Blakely, I. N. Buck, M. Carroll, T. D. Clanton, John Donegan, A. M. Esler, J. Gallaher, T. L. Gorham, H. Jordan, W. W. Johnson, A. S. Maxwell, J. L. McCullough, Peter McMannus, Louis McMurtry, R. W. Mimms, John Owen, J. W. Rhodes, M. Roach, J. H. Rogers, A. J. Smith, H. F. Snelling, J. B. Van Hagan, J. W. Welch, J. B. Wyle. Mayhew speaker. A. H. Barrett, James K. Duke, Hedges, McCaleb, clerks. O. P. Thomas sergeant-at-arms. William Deascey door-keeper. *Mont. Jour. House*, 3d sess., 4. McMannus killed a man in 1867, and was soon himself killed. *Boisé Statesman*, Aug. 3 and 17, 1867.

taxable property, the treasurer's report showed only $20,316.95 paid in taxes from eight counties. The county of Choteau paid no tax, and refused to organize or conform to the laws. The governor recommended the repeal of the law creating the county, thereby throwing it back into Edgerton county, whose officers would do their duty. But the treasurer of Edgerton county had [32] neglected to collect taxes, and left it in debt, when it was amply able to appear solvent. Two other counties, Meagher and Beaverhead, also failed to make any returns, for which evil the legislature was directed to find a remedy. Indeed, with all the legislating that had been done, the affairs of the young commonwealth were in a sad way, and not likely soon to be amended, under the existing practices of the legislature, which, while it affected economy in cutting down the salaries of federal officers, doubled the number of territorial officers, and paid them well for doing their duty ill.[33] Indeed, they did not think twelve dollars a day high pay for making laws which congress might repudiate, but for which the territory had to pay.[34] In addition to the debt, apparent and acknowledged, there was a large amount of scrip outstanding, of which there was no official record. The governor recommended the legislature to inquire into this matter, and the request was complied with, the inquiry resulting in finding the debt of the young commonwealth to be over $80,000. The $20,000 in the treasury was supposed to be applied to liquidation, as far as it went, and the remaining $60,000 was funded at a high rate of in-

[32] This was P. H. Read. His excuse was that he had no time to attend to his official duties, being employed in a mercantile house! *Virginia and Helena Post*, Sept. 29, 1866.

[33] The sheriff of Madison county, A. J. Snyder, was indicted for forgery. According to the *Helena Republican* of Sept. 20, 1866, he was able to escape the consequences of his crime by a free use of money among lawyers. The same paper says, 'We have a police magistrate, McCullough, said to have belonged to a band of guerillas.' The 'left wing of Price's army' was not all in Idaho, although Montana early officials were not so notoriously corrupt as in the sister territory.

[34] The pay of a legislator, under the organic act, was $4 per day. *Zabriskie's Land Laws*, 868.

terest for the tax-payers of the future to pay. Even this was not all, there being over $28,000 due the members of the second and third legislatures, which they had voted themselves.

Governor Smith recommended that instead of asking for a mint, as was talked of, congress should be petitioned for an assay office. A surveyor-general was very much more needed[35] than a mint, if county boundaries and private land claims were to be correctly established. Another good suggestion of Smith's was the adoption of the civil code of California, by which the bar and courts of Montana would have the experience of many years of legislation under similar circumstances, and the opinions of the supreme court of the United States on questions likely to arise. As I have before said, this suggestion was carried out, although not by this legislature. Public buildings being still wanting, he recommended that congress be asked for means to erect those absolutely necessary for the preservation of the public archives, and auditor's and treasurer's books, and the safe-keeping of convicted felons.[36] They were also advised to labor in behalf of the Northern Pacific railroad, to convince the national legislature of the great benefit of such a highway to the whole northwest territory, and especially to Montana.

[35] Solomon Meredith was commissioned surveyor-general of Montana April 18, 1867. He was instructed to make the initial point of the surveys at Beaverhead rock, named by Lewis and Clarke. *Lewis and Clarke's Journal*, 257. But this not being convenient, the starting-point was fixed at a limestone hill 800 feet high, near the mouth of Willow creek, between that stream and Jefferson river, 12 miles from the three forks of the Missouri. The base line was run 30 miles east and 34 miles west from this point, and the standard meridian 42 south and 60 miles north from it in 1867. De Lacy, being draughtsman in the office of the sur.-gen., corrected his map by the survey. *Tri-Weekly Mont. Post*, Nov. 16, 1867. Orville B. O'Bannon was appointed register, and George McLean receiver, of the land-office. Meredith was succeeded in 1869 by Henry D. Washburn, who was followed in 1871 by John E. Blaine, who gave place in 1874 to Andrew J. Smith. The registers following O'Bannon were Lorenzo B. Lyman, Addison H. Sanders, William C. Child, and James H. Moe. The receivers after McLean were Richard F. May, Solomon Star, and H. M. Keyser, down to 1875.

[36] Congress appropriated in 1866, for a penitentiary, $40,000 out of the internal revenue, to be collected annually for three years; this being the first appropriation for territorial buildings in Montana. *Cong. Globe*, 1866–7, app. 180; *Virginia Montana Post*, Feb. 23, 1867.

The seat of government, located at Virginia City when that was the centre of the mining population, was already coveted by other towns, centres of other rich mineral districts, and by the inhabitants of counties centrally located with reference to the whole territory. The legislature of November 1866 settled the question, so far as they were concerned, by removing the capital to Helena.[37] The organic act required a vote of the people upon the final location of the seat of government, and other events were to occur which would nullify their action.

[37] *Montana Jour. House*, 3d sess., 165, 176, 271, 319.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL HISTORY.

1866–1886.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION—ALL MADE NULL BY CONGRESS—USEFUL LAWS—THE CAPITAL QUESTION—PARTY ISSUES—THE SEVERAL LEGISLATURES—GOVERNOR ASHLEY—GOVERNOR POTTS—NEWSPAPERS—RAILWAY LEGISLATION—THE RIGHT-OF-WAY QUESTION—TERRITORIAL EXTRAVAGANCE—NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY—LOCAL ISSUES—RETRENCHMENT AND REFORM.

HAVING discharged the onerous duties of his office for a few months, Governor Smith returned to the states, and Meagher again came to the front. Once more he proclaimed a special session of the legislature, the motive of which was that a law had just been passed by congress and approved by the president convening the 40th congress on the 4th of March, whereas the election law of Montana, which fixed the day of general election on the first Monday of September, would leave the territory without a delegate from March until September. Not that a delegate had ever been of much service to the country, but that it was imperative the office should be filled. The proclamation therefore called upon the legislature to convene at Virginia City on the 25th of February, 1867, for the purpose of altering the election law so as to provide for the election of a delegate without loss of time, "as well as for the adoption of such other alterations and amendments as, under the present circumstances of the territory and the nation at large, it may appear expedient to enact."[1]

[1] *Virginia Montana Post*, Feb. 23, 1867.

There was another motive for a special session, which was the passage of a number of toll-road charters, a favorite method of taxing immigration and the travelling public generally. It was the same greed that had cursed eastern Oregon and Idaho. A few hundred dollars expended in grading odd bits of a natural roadway, and an exorbitant toll exacted for every man and animal that passed over it; or a few logs thrown across a stream, and another toll to be paid for that; after which, there was the ferry just beyond, for which a higher charge than either had to be paid. And these latter were also monopolies, their charters prohibiting any other bridge or ferry within a certain number of miles. Fifty-eight charters, chiefly of this sort, were granted at the November session, and a new batch was now to be allowed, if the legislature came together once more.[2] In vain the press, which had the interest of the country at heart, opposed itself to these abuses; they had to have their day.

The legislature met on the 25th, and continued in session until the 6th of March. A number of local laws were enacted, and an attempt was made to amend the election law so as to hold an election for delegate and county officers in April, and secure these places to their own party. But the measure failed, the legislature foreseeing that to tamper with so important a law, in the absence, too, of a number of the legislators, would be to invoke the displeasure of congress. Scarcely had they adjourned finally when the telegraph announced that all their law-making, from the time when the first legislative body had failed to carry out the provisions of the organic act by passing an apportionment bill, had been declared invalid by congress, together with their numerous oppressive charters,[3] except such as could be sustained in the courts.

[2] It cost $37.50 for each wagon from Salt Lake to Helena, and as much from Helena to Bighorn River.

[3] 'The legislative assemblies of the several territories of the United States shall not, after the passage of this act, grant private charters or special priv-

The power they had abused was taken away from them. The salaries of the chief and associate justices were raised to $3,500 annually, and the pay of legislators left where it had been first fixed. The judges were authorized to define the judicial districts, assign themselves by agreement, and fix the times and places of holding court, not less than two terms yearly at each place. The governor was authorized to divide the territory into election districts, the election to be held at the time and place prescribed by the legislatures of 1864 and 1865, and the qualification of voters to be the same as in the original act, save restrictions by reason of race or color.[4] There were two years and a half of legislative existence blotted out, and everything had to be begun over at the point where the first legislature left off in a fit of peevishness because the governor endeavored to check their extravagance and love of power. Nevertheless the legislative assembly was authorized to reënact, one by one, such acts of the bogus legislatures as they deemed beneficent.[5]

The situation was unique for a territory which had contributed, in its brief existence of three years, thirty millions in gold to the world's treasure. But it was this prodigality of wealth which drew to it the cormorants of avarice and crime. The republicans nominated for delegate W. F. Sanders, who received, out of 10,901 votes cast, 4,896. Cavanaugh was returned by a majority of 1,108.[6] As to the legislature, Madi-

ileges, but they may, by general incorporation acts, permit persons to associate themselves together as bodies corporate for mining, manufacturing, and other industrial pursuits.' *Zabriskie's Land Laws*, 871.

[4] The organic act of Montana, in respect of qualification of voters, was the same as in the organic act of Idaho, which permitted 'every free white male inhabitant above the age of 21 years,' an actual resident, etc., to vote at the first election. The amendment to the organic act of Montana above quoted, 'saving the distinction therein made on account of race or color,' was an introduction of the 15th amendment to the U. S. constitution before that amendment had been adopted by congress.

[5] The telegram from Washington read as follows: 'Congress has annihilated the bogus legislature of Montana and annulled its laws. The election is fixed for September. U. S. judges' salaries fixed at $3,500. Montanians celebrate here to-night.'

[6] *Helena Herald*, Dec. 7, 1876; *Virginia Montana Post*, Oct. 5, 1867. Cava-

son county elected one republican, the only one elected in the territory, and he was ruled out, not because he was not elected by a majority, but because he was not wanted in that body, where, indeed, he would have been of little use.[7]

Many useful statutes were now placed upon record. One, an act to amend an act to locate the seat of government, which removed the capital to Helena, subject to the vote of the people, failed. The governor, who had once approved the measure, now thought fit to veto it, for the bill called for votes on two places only, he said; there might be another more suitable. The surveyor-general's report showed that when the county lines came to be adjusted, Helena might fall in Jefferson county, and Virginia City in Beaverhead. The Northern Pacific railroad, which all expected to be built in a few years, would naturally be an important factor in the location of the seat of government. For these and other reasons he advised them to let this matter rest for a few sessions, or until the affairs of the territory should shape themselves more definitely.[8] Not satisfied, the legislature passed another bill naming three localities to be presented to the vote of the people, which received the governor's veto for the same reasons, and other technical objections. It was reconsidered and lost, yet it continued to crop up at succeeding legis-

naugh is described as a man of good abilities, but he did not seem to have used them for Montana. He was a lawyer by profession, and was the first delegate from Minnesota. In 1860 he came to Colorado, residing at Central City until he went to Montana. After his delegateship he resided in New York City. In 1879 he returned to Colorado, settling in Leadville, but died soon after arriving. *Denver Tribune*, Oct. 31, 1879.

[7] The council consisted of Charles S. Bagg, president, John W. Corum, W. E. Cullen, Alexander Davis, Sample Orr, Jasper Rand, Thomas Watson; sec., Thomas B. Wade; asst sec., C. C. Menaugh; clerks, H. H. Showers, D. B. Jenkins; sergeant-at-arms, Stephen R. Elwell; door-keeper, John Thompson. The members of the lower house were Wellington Stewart, speaker, J. M. Anderson, N. C. Boswell, H. R. Comly, W. H. Edwards, James Gallaher, H. A. Kennerly, F. E. W. Patton, J. W. Rhodes, John A. Simms, W. Tennant, J. R. Weston, Samuel Word; clerks, H. A. Barrett, F. A. Shields, J. G. McLain, William Butts; sergeant-at-arms, O. P. Thomas; door-keeper, H. J. Hill. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 4th sess., 4.

[8] *Mont. Jour. House*, 4th sess., 84–88; *Deer Lodge Independent*, Nov. 30, 1867.

latures until 1874, when the capital was permanently located at Helena.[9] The penitentiary, however, was located at Deer Lodge City, by act of this legislature, and without active opposition.[10]

[9]An act was before the legislature in 1868 to remove the capital to Deer Lodge City. The majority of the committee to which it was referred—H. W. English, T. B. Edwards, and Sample Orr—reported against it; and the minority—Jasper Rand and Thomas Watson—in its favor. *Mont. Council Jour.*, 5th sess., 90. The minority report prevailed, and the bill was finally approved, on being amended to read Helena instead of Deer Lodge. The majority of votes was claimed for Virginia City, Madison county, in order to make sure of the result, casting between 1,800 and 1,900 votes, instead of her usual 1,200 or 1,300. Choteau county was thrown out altogether, on account of alleged irregularities. Owing to a change in the periods of the legislature, which became biennial by act of congress in 1869, the capital question was not voted upon again until 1872, when Helena, Deer Lodge, and Gallatin contended for the boon, and Virginia City still managed to hold it. In 1874 a vote was again taken for the removal to Helena. The history of the struggle of Virginia City to retain the capital is one of dishonor. Forged election returns from Meagher county were substituted for the actual abstract. The canvass was made in the presence of the governor, Potts, the secretary, Calloway, and the U. S. marshal, Wheeler. It was said that the governor knew the returns to be fraudulent. However inconsistent that may be with his usual fair course, he made no effort to secure a fair recount when it was made apparent that there had been a forgery committed. The secretary is said to have planned the fraud, or to have been a party to it. He issued a circular requesting the returns to be sent through the express office, and allowed them to remain there 18 days, during which time the false abstract was made. The governor refused to offer a reward for the discovery of the criminal. A large reward was offered by others, but failed of its object. There was an effort made by Potts and Calloway to unseat Knowles, by whose judgment in the courts the electoral count was declared a fraud. The case was taken before the supreme court, and a recanvass ordered, which resulted in a majority of 457 for Helena. This ended a long struggle, in which all the dishonest practices of unscrupulous politicians were exhausted to defeat the choice of the people. *Deer Lodge Independent*, Sept. 21 and Oct. 2, 1874, Jan. 15 and 22, 1875; *Helena Herald*, Feb. 19, 1874; *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, May 9 and Aug. 8, 1874.

[10]The corner-stone of the penitentiary was laid June 2, 1870, A. H. Mitchell being commissioner. The plan of the building was a central main structure 36 by 30 feet, with two wings 70 by 44 feet. It was built of brick, and one wing completed in October. Gov. Potts appointed Conrad Kohrs, Granville Stuart, and John Kinna prison commissioners, and James Gilchrist warden. The penitentiary cost, when occupied, in 1871, $49,300. It was placed by law under the charge of the U. S. marshal, William F. Wheeler, and opened for the reception of 12 prisoners on the 2d of July of that year. The expenses of the prison, including salaries of officers, were paid by the general government, until May 15, 1873, when the territory assumed the expenses, and the government paid $1 per day for keeping its convicts. In August 1874 this rule was reversed, the government again assuming charge, and the territory paying $1 per day for its convicts. The actual cost of keeping prisoners was from $1.86 to $2.03 per day, in the first few years. It has gradually been reduced to $1.36. These statements are taken from a written account of the penitentiary by Marshal Wheeler, except the plan of the building, which is copied from the printed documents of the period. The prisoners had no regular employment, although they had made many improvements in the prison, and manufactured their clothing, or performed any labor required.

That part of the amendment to the organic act which required the election law to conform to the new condition of the country with regard to race and color failed to receive that attention demanded by the mandate of congress, and while the Montana legislators amended the election act of 1864–5, they left upon the statute the interdicted phrase, "white male citizen," which contempt, when it came to the ears of the government, came near causing the annulment of all the laws of this session, a repeal of the organic act of Montana being threatened,[11] whereupon the discriminating phrase was expunged. Another way of emphasizing their anti-union tendencies was shown in the apportionment act, which was still made to call for the maximum number of legislators, less two in the house of representatives,[12] leaving nothing for the future expansion of the population to build upon. They memorialized congress for permission to form a state constitution while the territory was still deeply in debt,[13] and at the same time, for more than a million dollars to pay the Indian-war debt. A good deal of this money would come into the itching palms of the politicians and all the state officers, if they succeeded in getting an enabling act passed. To give increased flavor to the proceedings, the chief justice of the territory and Judge Munson were asked, by resolution, to resign, as I have before mentioned. By this time the legal forty days' term was exhausted, but an extra session was called, which met on the 14th of December and sat for ten days. Then congress enacted that

In 1877 there were 83 prisoners in the penitentiary. *Wheeler's Montana Penitentiary*, MS., 1–10.

[11] *Virginia Tri-Weekly Post*, Dec. 7, 1867; *Virginia Montana Post*, Feb. 29, 1868.

[12] The number at the 6th session was 11 councilmen and 20 representatives. The council was increased to 13 at the 7th session, and the assemblymen to 26 at the 8th. At the 9th session there were 14 members of the council. No two legislatures for a series of years were constituted of exactly the same number of members, the reason lying probably in the election or non-election of certain districts.

[13] There was a bill introduced in the senate, by Morton of Indiana, early in 1869, to enable the people of Montana to form a constitution and state government, which failed.

the territories should hold their legislative sessions biennially after July 1, 1869. This change, as usual, gave rise to fresh opportunities. The legislature of 1868 enacted that the next session should convene on the first Monday in November 1870, under the impression that the law was in conformity with the act of congress, which decreed that the representatives of Montana should be elected for two years, and that the legislature at its first session after the passage of the act should provide for carrying into effect the provisions of the statute. But the Montana law was passed on the 15th of January, in anticipation of the act of congress, which was approved in March following, and made no change in the term of the election of legislators. A legal question was involved, but they would hold the session, and settle the question at law afterward. To the legislature of 1868 was elected one republican, from Gallatin county, namely L. S. Wilson.[14] In 1869 the democracy in Deer Lodge county bolted, and the best men of the party inviting the best men of the republican party to join them, formed a people's party, to correct abuses, and succeeded in sending three members to the legislature.[15] A few republicans were elected to

[14] The members of the 5th legislature were, in the council, S. Russell, president, Charles S. Bagg, J. W. Corum, W. E. Cullen, W. B. Dance, Alexander Davis, Thomas B. Edwards, H. W. English, A. G. P. George, A. H. Mitchell, Sample Orr, Jasper Rand, Thomas Watson; sec., C. C. Menaugh; asst sec., W. F. Kirkwood; clerks, H. H. Showers, R. P. Vivian; sergeant-at-arms, Stephen R. Elwell; door-keeper, John Thompson. House of representatives, A. E. Mayhew, speaker, R. D. Alexander, J. P. Barnes, A. W. Brison, H. R. Comly, Andrew Cooper, John Donnegan, J. M. Ellis, Simeon Estis, R. K. Findlay, J. H. Hicks, C. W. Higley, J. C. Kerley, M. P. Lowry, John McLaughlin, W. F. Powers, John W. Rhodes, D. L. Shafer, G. W. Stapleton, W. Stewart, Otis Strickland, J. M. Sweeney, G. W. Wentworth, L. S. Wilson; clerks, R. E. Arick, A. H. Barrett, T. E. Rounds, William Butz; sergeant-at-arms, O. P. Thomas; door-keeper, L. O. Holt. *Mont. Jour. House*, 5th sess., 4.

[15] The *Montana Democrat* of June 12, 1869, gives the people's platform, in which it is said: 'The continual increase of the county indebtedness, burdensome taxation for worthless services, a reign of violence and disorder resulting from the non-enforcement of the criminal laws and the non-punishment of convicted offenders, and the building-up of a faction dangerous to the welfare of the country, and which aims at control of all county affairs,' are reasons for uniting to overthrow this power. It declared that an emergency had arisen in which it was the duty of all good citizens to lay aside

county offices in different parts of the territory, enough to show a growing sense of the evils of a one-sided administration.

In the mean time a new governor had been appointed, James M. Ashley of Ohio. His course in politics had been that of a republican radical, which made him repugnant to the reigning party in Montana. While endeavoring to conciliate this party, hoping, it was said, to become delegate to congress, he subjected himself to its scorn, and failed in his administration, while he was declared to be, in many respects, the best executive that Montana had had. The legislature of 1869, in an effort to deprive him of the appointing power vested in him by the organic act, passed a law relating to the tenure of office, which was vetoed by the governor, and passed over his head, the intent of which was to keep in place certain territorial officers, at a severe cost to the tax-payers.[16] In consequence, there was a suit in the courts, whereby it was decided that neither the legislature nor the governor, the one without the other, had power to appoint, and a bill was before congress in 1870 which proposed to deprive the Montana legislature of all appointing power, and to bestow it upon the gov-

party predilections, to vote for local officers without regard to party. Affairs had indeed came to a sad pass when the democratic journals advocated a rupture in their own well-drilled ranks. The *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Oct. 8, 1869, gives some particulars. It estimates the valuation of this county at $1,100,000. On a basis of 23 mills to the dollar, the tax for county purposes would amount to $11,000; the territorial $4,000; the school tax $3,000; the poor tax $2,000; for completing county building $1,400; total $24,900. County scrip was worth 20 cents on the dollar. The sheriff's office alone had been costing the county $22,000 per annum. How was $11,000 to be made to meet such expenses, and pay 10 to 15 per cent interest on a large indebtedness? It was this problem which extorted a cry for reform.

[16] Members of council in 1869, Walter B. Dance, president, John P. Barnes, L. Daems, Thomas R. Edwards, H. W. English, C. W. Higley, John Jones, A. H. Mitchell, Samuel Word, Thomas Watson, A. G. P. George; sec., R. S. Levcridge; asst sec., A. M. Carpenter; clerks, George W. Hill, A. J. Urlin; sergeant-at-arms, John Thompson; door-keeper, John S. Bartruff. House of representatives, J. R. Boyce, speaker, A. H. Barrett, R. O. Bailey, N. C. Boswell, J. A. Browne, G. F. Cope, F. E. Collins, V. A. Cockrell, S. R. Elwell, J. F. Forbis, J. Gibbs, R. O. Hickman, H. Jordan, H. Lamme, J. Murphy, T. E. Rounds, P. Scott, A. J. Smith, W. D. Wann, P. T. Williams; clerks, George W. Rockfellow, Benjamin Ezekiel, Philip Evans, R. Hedge; sergeant-at-arms, William Deascey; door-keeper, O. P. Thomas. *Mont, Jour. Council*, 6th sess., 4.

ernor, as well as to make the secretary ex-officio superintendent of the public buildings in progress of erection, or thereafter to be erected, and prescribing such an oath of office as few leading democrats in Montana could take without perjuring themselves. The bill failed, to the chagrin of Ashley, who instigated it.

In 1870 Benjamin F. Potts of Ohio was appointed governor. He had been a major and a major-general in the civil war, and was a republican in principle; but the democrats of Montana made a distinction between republicanism in a mild or a radical form. Even the republicans had become disgusted by Ashley's overtures to the enemy; so that in consequence of these complications Potts was welcomed by both parties. The democrats pronounced him not a brilliant man, but honest, and affected a good-natured toleration of him. But when in 1872 congress amended the organic acts of all the territories, by giving the governor power to fill vacancies during the recess of the council, in the offices of treasurer, auditor, and superintendent of public instruction, great indignation prevailed in certain quarters, and the governor's head was threatened. It might have been supposed that such an amendment would have been welcomed at that time, the result of the previous course of the legislature in enacting once that those officers should be elected by the people, which was contrary to the organic act, and again that they should be elected by the legislature, while the organic act said they should be appointed or nominated by the governor and confirmed by the council, having been that the territorial treasurer had been unable to settle his accounts, and the bonds of Montana had gone to protest, that there had been no superintendent of public instruction, and that the auditor had illegally retained his office for four years.[17] Yet it

[17] William G. Barkley was treasurer and William H. Rodgers auditor at this period. Ashley appointed James L. Fisk, and Rodgers refused to yield.

was said by democratic journals that Governor Potts had urged the amendment out of spleen, because the legislature had not confirmed his appointments, while others contented themselves with laying the blame of territorial subordination to congress at the door of the constitution of the United States.[18]

Changes in the executive office could have little effect against the power of a united legislature. At the seventh session an act was passed prohibiting a foreign-born person who had declared his intention of becoming a citizen from voting in the territory,[19] in defiance of the organic law, which act congress was certain to disapprove, and which had, like other obnoxious and idle statutes, to be expunged by the following legislature. The election law was the weapon with which those having control of it could punish non-sympathizers. According to the act of congress making the sessions of the legislature bien-

Suit was brought in the district court of Virginia City, and appealed to the supreme court, and again appealed to the U. S. supreme court, which refused to consider it, and it came back to the supreme court of Montana. Meanwhile Rodgers held the office from 1867 to February 1874, four years of the time illegally. The territorial treasurers appointed from 1864 to 1875 were J. J. Hull, 2 years; John S. Rockfellow, 1½ years; W. G. Barkley, nearly 4 years, during which time Leander W. Frary was appointed, in 1869, but failed to obtain possession of the office; Richard O. Hickman, 4 years; Daniel H. Weston. The territorial auditors were John S. Lott, 2 years; John H. Ming, 1 year; William H. Rodgers, over 7 years, or from Dec. 1867 to Feb. 1874; James L. Fisk, appointed in 1869, but unable to obtain possession of the office; George Calloway, who resigned in Dec. 1874; Solomon Star, who held until Jan. 1876, and resigned; David H. Cuthbert. The superintendents of public instruction were, Thomas J. Dimsdale, 2 years; Peter Rowen and Alexander Barrett, both of whom immediately resigned; A. M. S. Carpenter, 1866 to 1867; Thomas F. Campbell, 2 years; James H. Mills, resigned; S. G. Lathrop, 1869; Cornelius Hedges, 1872. *Con. Hist. Soc. Mont.*, 332–3.

[18] *Helena Independent*, June 8, 1872; *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, June 15, 1872.

[19] The council elect was composed of A. H. Mitchell, president, S. J. Beck, Seth Bullock, T. E. Collins, Robert Fisher, J. M. Howe, C. J. Kinney, R. Laurence, John Owen, A. T. Shoup, G. W. Stapleton, Granville Stuart, W. L. Warren; clerks, R. E. Arick, A. M. S. Carpenter, N. Dickinson, H. C. Wilkinson; sergeant-at-arms, James Cadigan; door-keeper, John Thompson. House of representatives elect, Harry R. Comley, speaker, A. D. Aiken, W. E. Bass, John Billings, Israel Clem, W. W. Dixon, James Garoutte, H. Jordan, N. D. Johnson, T. J. Lowry, F. M. Lowrey, C. A. McCabe, J. C. Metlin, P. H. Poindexter, C. Puett, S. F. Ralston, Daniel Searles, H. D. Smith, S. M. Tripp, C. McTate, R. P. Vivian, O. C. Whitney, John Williams, Wright, who did not appear and qualify; clerks, Benjamin Ezekiel, Benjamin S. Word, J. D. Alport, W. Freeman; sergeant-at-arms, P. H. Maloney; door-keeper, L. B. Bell. *Mont. Jour. House*, 7th sess., 3.

nial, the seventh session was held in December and January 1871–2. During this interregnum of legislative power much uneasiness was manifested, and an effort was made to bring about an extra session by importuning the then delegate, William H. Claggett, to procure the passage of an act postponing the election for delegate in 1872 to October, and granting an appropriation for an extra session. Claggett refused to ask congress to interfere with territorial legislation by introducing such a bill, and when a member of congress was found who would do so, objected to its passage, in consequence of which it failed, and there was no extra session in 1872, nor was that delegate returned to congress at the August election.

Indeed, that Claggett, who was a republican, should have been in congress at all was an anomaly in early Montana politics, and was only to be accounted for on the ground that he was not a political aspirant, but was an able man, and belonged to the 'west side,' where a majority in some instances had been obtained against the regular democratic ticket. He was nominated in a convention of the representatives elect, and ran against E. W. Toole, beating him by a majority of over five hundred. He proved to be a useful and influential delegate, doing more for Montana in the first eight months of his term than the two preceding delegates had done in seven years.[20]

[20] W. H. Claggett was grandson of Thomas Claggett, of Marlborough, Maryland, a wealthy and respected citizen, who died in August 1873. William H. Claggett seems to have derived some sterling qualities by descent, and not to have stood in any fear of wire-pulling politicians. He won great praise, even from the opposite party, for his energy and ability in the delegateship. I give herewith a summary of his services. Within a week after arriving in Washington he secured a bill to open the Bitterroot Valley to settlement, by having the Indians removed to the reservation on the Jocko River, and securing the immediate survey of the lands. He also procured the exchange of the Yellowstone Valley with the Crows, who removed to the Judith basin. He arranged with Gen. Sheridan, and influenced congress, since not enough soldiers could be sent to Montana to protect the frontier, to keep the Sioux temporarily quiet by feeding and clothing them to the amount of $750,000; getting an order from General Sherman that the troops on the line of the N. P. R. R. should patrol the frontier, and securing the passage of a bill providing 1,000 breech-loading needle-guns and 200,000 rounds of ammunition for the settlers in remote situations. He found the only law giving indemnity to losers by the predatory acts of the Indians had been repealed, and he had it

But that did not prevent the legislature from passing a bill at the session of 1871–2 changing the time of the election of his successor to 1872, thereby shortening his term to one year. Congress, as it happened, passed a bill changing the time of election of representatives and delegates to the 43d congress to the first Monday after the first Tuesday in November 1872, so that the Montana act was partly shorn of its force. In opposition to his better judgment, those who desired his reëlection persuaded him to run a second time in 1872, when he was defeated by the well-organized democratic party, and Martin Maginnis[21] elected by a majority of about three hundred.

The extra pay of the legislature had been abolished and forbidden by congress, which paid all the legislative expenses. An obstacle was thus removed, and in March 1873 Governor Potts issued a proclamation calling an extra session for the 14th of April, the nominal excuse for which was the imperfections in the laws passed at the late regular session, but the real reason for which was that there existed in Montana a numerous faction, or ring, who were determined in their efforts to inveigle the taxpayers of Montana, already overburdened with debt, into pledging the faith of the territory to build a rail-

restored. He secured 6 new post-routes and 20 post-offices. He drew up and had passed the national-park bill, setting apart 50 miles square to the use of the nation forever. N. G. Langford was made superintendent, and put to laying out roads. He secured 3 national banks, 1 at Helena, capital $100,000; 1 at Deer Lodge, capital $50,000; and 1 at Bozeman, capital $50,000. He secured an assay office for Helena with an appropriation of $50,000; and another appropriation of $5,000 to pay for the printing of the laws of the 7th session of the Montana legislature; half that amount to pay a deficiency in settling with the printer of the laws of the 5th session; and an additional appropriation for the survey of the public lands. He procured the amendment giving the governor power to appoint in recess. He assisted in amending the quartz law of the territory, giving those who performed a certain amount of labor upon their claims a patent to the same. He procured an amendment to the organic act empowering the legislature to incorporate railroads. He secured the privilege of having all territorial offices filled by persons domiciled in the territory, excepting U. S. judges, Indian agents, and superintendents. He had the courage to refuse to do something which he was requested to perform, but never lost a single advantage to Montana through neglect or incapacity. Claggett was formerly of Nevada.

[21] Maginnis was a worthy successor to Claggett, and secured many benefits to the territory. He was in congress continuously for ten years.

road which was to enrich them if it ruined the commonwealth. There had been much discussion of the question of the legality of a tax levied for such a purpose, some of the journals taking strong ground against it,[22] on the side of the people.

The governor in his message gave a statement of finances, showing an increase of debt in sixteen months of over $29,000, which he did not hesitate to say was due to the "extravagant expenditures of the last legislative assembly, which reached nearly the sum of $45,000;" or to tell them that the finances of the territory had been so managed by the law-making power as to give little hope for its future.

[22] The *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, republican, edited and owned by James H. Mills, was unremitting in defence of the people's interests. The *New Northwest* was established July 9, 1869, at Deer Lodge. It was an 8-column journal, and ably conducted, without being radical. The journalism of Montana was for the most part conducted with dignity, ability, and considering their remoteness from the great world, with success. The *Montanian*, first published at Virginia City by Joseph Wright and L. M. Black, July 12, 1870, was a democratic journal. Wright left in August 1871, when G. F. Cope conducted it for two years. Cope sold it to a joint-stock company, H. N. Blake being editor, who resigned on being appointed district judge, and was succeeded by H. T. Brown. It was at last sold to the *Madisonian* in 1876. The Bozeman *Avant-Courier*, democratic, was founded Dec. 15, 1871, by Joseph Wright and L. M. Black, with J. W. Allen associate editor. In 1874 Black, desiring to change the policy of the paper, and Wright's lease having expired, made a new lease to J. V. Bogert without giving Wright notice. This caused the seizure and suspension of the *Courier*, from September 25th to November 13th, when Wright, having secured other material, resumed its publication. It was published semi-weekly in 1876, but only for a short time. In February 1877, the paper passed into the hands of W. W. Alderson, J. V. Bogert, republican, associate editor. The *Courier* was the pioneer journal of eastern Montana, to whose development it was devoted. The Helena *News Letter* was started in Feb. 1869. The *Missoula Pioneer*, democratic, was established in 1871 by the Pioneer Publishing Company, at Missoula City, in Missoula county, and was devoted to the development of western Montana, Leonidas Boyle and W. J. McCormick, editors. Frank M. Woody and T. M. Chisholm purchased the paper in 1873, and changed its name to *Missoulian*. Chisholm sold his interest the same year to W. R. Turk. The *Madisonian*, published at Virginia City in Sept. 1873, was a political democratic journal, edited by Thomas Deyarman, sheriff of Madison county. When the *Montanian* discontinued, it purchased its material and good-will. The *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, devoted to the agricultural development of the country, was started in Nov. 1875, by R. N. Sutherlin, at Diamond City, in Meagher county. The *Tri-Weekly Capital Times*, established in Sept. 1869 by Joseph Magree, S. P. Basset, and I. H. Morrison, at Virginia City, was a democratic journal, 6-column sheet. On June 1, 1870, it was transferred to the charge of William T. Lovell and Joseph Wright, who subsequently published the *Montanian*. The *Bozeman Times*, another democratic newspaper, was established in 1875 by Henry C. Raleigh and F. Wilkinson, edited by E. S. Wilkinson. It was a 7-column paper, devoted to democracy.

The public debt was in excess of half a million of dollars, which the territory, being possessed of great resources, might pay, but which should not be increased. This advice came after congress had applied the remedy, by prohibiting extra compensation from the territorial treasury, and advancing the pay of the legislators to a compromise between penury and extravagance. The governor recommended legislation which should prevent the sheriff of Madison county charging $222 for taking a convict to the penitentiary at Deer Lodge, a distance of 120 miles, and similar unnecessary wastefulness of the public money,[23] without taking into account that to hold offices and spend the people's money freely were prerogatives of the party dominant in Montana at that time, with which they could never be persuaded to part voluntarily.

On the proposition to vote county bonds to aid in constructing a railway from the Central Pacific to Helena, the governor had an opinion decidedly unfavorable to the project, which he pronounced suicidal. As to the legality of imposing a tax for such a purpose, he held that taxes must be imposed for a public and not for a private purpose; and that when taxation was prostituted to objects not connected with the public interests, it became plunder. Some of the governor's suggestions with regard to retrenchment were carried out; but the railroad bill, the main object for which an extra session had been brought about, was passed and approved by the governor, namely, "A bill for an act enabling and authorizing any county or counties within the territory of Montana to aid in the construction of a railroad, and to subscribe to the capital stock of the same."[24]

[23] The county of Deer Lodge paid the sheriff during the previous year $7,355 out of its treasury, in addition to the fees of the sheriff paid by litigants in civil causes. The sheriff of Gallatin county received $2,671 in the same way; the county assessor $3,843; the clerk and recorder $1,947 each—all of which was in addition to their proper fees. The aggregate debt of those counties was $97,000. The amount paid for salaries in Gallatin in 1872 was $32,736.62. Message of Gov. Potts, in *New Northwest*, April 19, 1873.

[24] The council of the extraordinary session was composed of G. W. Staple-

By this act it became lawful for the county commissioners of any county to submit to any incorporated company a proposition to subscribe to the building of a railroad from the Union Pacific, the Central Pacific, or the Utah Northern into or through the territory of Montana, not exceeding twenty per cent of the taxable property of the county; but upon condition that Madison, Jefferson, and Gallatin counties should subscribe fifteen per cent, two per cent to be paid as soon as the road reached those counties, and thirteen per cent when it should be completed. A similar proposition should be presented to the other counties, with the difference that the amount to be subscribed was ten per cent in Meagher and twenty per cent in Lewis and Clarke counties, with other provisions, the chief of which was that an election was to be held, at which the people should vote upon the question of subsidy, yes or no.[25]

ton, president, E. T. Yager, John Owen, W. B. Dance, W. E. Bass, D. P. Newcomer, Robert Lawrence, Robert Fisher, Seth Bullock, J. C. Stuart, S. J. Beck, and Owen Garrigan, with one vacancy; clerks, A. M. S. Carpenter, R. W. Hill, A. J. Davidson, W. G. Barkley; sergeant-at-arms, James Cadigan; door-keeper, H. J. Johnson. House of representatives, John H. Rodgers, speaker, E. D. Aiken, James M. Alger, Joseph A. Brown, Alexander Carmichael, W. A. Chessman, George S. Coleman, Otho Curtis, Isaac Dean, A. Dusold, Benjamin Ezekiel, R. K. Emerson, Joseph W. Hartwell, Curtis L. Harrington, F. George Heldt, James Kennedy, J. C. Kerley, Samuel Mallory, Christian Mead, George W. McCauley, C. C. O'Keefe, Isaac S. Stafford, Wilbur F. Sanders, C. W. Sutton, Carey M. Tate; clerks, W. W. Chapman, E. H. Hurley, L. Hawkins; sergeant-at-arms, W. T. Shirley; door-keeper, L. B. Bell. *Mont. Jour. House*, extra session, April 14 to May 8, 1873.

[25] *Missoulian*, May 16, 1873. A bill introduced by W. F. Sanders called for a subscription by counties to the amount of $2,300,000, they giving bonds payable in 30 years, with 7 per cent interest, to be paid semi-annually, which failed to pass. The one which passed was a substitute. When Claggett was in congress he was importuned to secure a right of way across the public lands for any railroad companies, and to secure money to pay for the extraordinary session. He managed the matter adroitly. He would not ask for the money until a bill he had introduced granting right of way, and requiring a two-thirds vote of the tax-payers to authorize a county or municipal subsidy, should have passed. Should congress pass the bill, Montana would be safe, and he would do his best to get an appropriation for the extra session. This diplomatic course was the origin of the substitute bill. But the U. S. senate did not favor aiding railroads in the territories, and the right-of-way bill was not passed. Claggett did, however, secure an amendment to the organic act empowering the legislature to incorporate railroads, which could do no harm under the restriction of the right-of-way bill. The bill finally passed, in March 1875, and his successor secured $20,000 appropriation to pay the expenses of the extra session.

The failure to secure a grant from congress of a right of way for railroads across the public lands, and the disinclination of the people to be any more heavily taxed than they were, kept the question from being put to a vote before the eighth session of the legislature, occurring in January and February 1874.[26] From the message of Governor Potts, it is evident the Montana law-makers had not much amended their habits of extravagance.[27] The reforms recommended by the executive had not yet reached county commissioners, whose per diem was ten dollars; nor sheriffs, who received three dollars a day for subsisting prisoners in jail; nor prosecuting attorneys, who received three thousand dollars per annum. Under the existing law the cost of collecting taxes was four times greater than in the states east of the Missouri. Only two counties had paid any of their indebtedness the last year, Deer Lodge and Beaverhead. All the other counties had increased their debt, Lewis and Clarke owing $148,550.39; and in Meagher county the commissioners had refused to levy a school tax of three mills, their economy beginning by closing the public

[26] The new members of the council were R. E. Arick, O. B. Barber, A. H. Beattie, Charles Cooper, J. J. Davis, and L. R. Maillet. The lower house was the same as in 1873, except a new member, J. M. Arnoux. Clerks of the council, A. M. S. Carpenter, Robert W. Hill, T. E. Collins, W. B. Morrison; sergeant-at-arms, J. E. Allen; door-keeper, J. M. Castner. Clerks of the house, A. H. Barrett, W. W. Chapman, E. P. Owens, S. Hughes; sergeant-at-arms, George Broffy; door-keeper, George Linder. *Mont. Council Jour.*, 8th sess., 3.

[27] In his message to the 8th legislature, the governor made the plain statement that in his first message he had recommended the repeal of the law granting extra compensation to U. S. officers and legislators out of the territorial treasury, but that his advice had been disregarded, except as to the U. S. judges, and that the sum of $32,614.80 was drawn from the treasury of Montana and paid to that legislature; and at the close of that session, 1871–2, $201,000 had been paid by the territory, under the law granting extra compensation, since the assembling of the first legislature. This fact, and the rapid increase of the debt by the law-making power, had caused him to ask the interposition of congress to annul the extra-compensation laws; and he had accompanied his request with an abstract of the financial condition of Montana, which produced the desired result in the passage of a law of congress prohibiting the passage or enforcement of any law by a territorial legislature by which officers or legislators should be paid any compensation other than that provided by the laws of the United States. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, vol. xvii. 416. Under this law Montana had expended $41,350.21 less in 1873 than in 1872, and warrants had advanced 10 cents on a dollar in consequence.

schools.[28] These revelations did not prepare the people to regard favorably any scheme which should increase their burdens, and for the time railroad legislation was interrupted.

Meantime a lively interest was felt in the subject of transportation, and much discussion was being had in the public prints as to which route should have the preference. The Northern Pacific, dear to the people of Montana from a sentiment dating back to the days when the United States senate debated a route to China via the mouth of "the Oregon River," and now plainly a necessity of this commonwealth to open up a vast extent of rich mineral and agricultural lands, was the first choice of the whole of eastern Montana; while the counties along the line of the projected extension of the Utah Northern to Helena would have liked, could they have afforded it, to see that road constructed.

After the passage of the right-of-way act of congress in March 1875, a railroad convention was held at Helena April 21st, at which, among other declarations, it was resolved that a committee of one from each county should be appointed to solicit propositions from the Northern Pacific, Utah Northern, Portland, Dalles, and Salt Lake, Union Pacific, and Central Pacific railroad companies, and to gather information bearing upon the subject of railroads. The only company which availed itself of the invitation extended by the convention to send commissioners to the legislature, which convened January 1876, was the Northern Pacific. This company appointed its vice-president, George Stark, and its chief engineer, W. Milnor Roberts, a committee to confer with the legislature relative to a plan by which their road could be extended from the Missouri, at Bismarck, to the Yellowstone River, and up the Yellowstone Valley two hundred or more miles, during 1876–7.

The result of this conference was that the North-

[28] Governor's message, in *Bozeman Avant-Courier*, Jan. 9, 1874.

ern Pacific accepted the loan of the credit of the territory in the sum of three million dollars, at eight per cent interest, secured by a lien upon the traffic of the road to and from Montana. An argument in favor of such a loan was that Montana expended annually in freights by the way of the Union Pacific, and by wagons from Corinne, a million of money, to which was added another half million on freights by the way of the Missouri River, and wagons from Benton. The reduction on the cost of freights would soon amount to three millions, if the people could be brought to deprive themselves temporarily of that amount. A similar proposition concerning the Utah Northern was also to be entertained if that company accepted, which it did not, saying that Montana was not able to help build two railroads, and they would wait the action of the people on the Northern Pacific proposition. The election for or against the subsidy was held in April 1876, and there proved to be a majority of only 248 against it.

For such an outcome the legislature[29] was prepared, and passed an act, vetoed by the governor and passed over his head, convening the next legislative body in January 1877. The ostensible reason for changing the time of meeting was to bring it nearer the time of election, as if to amend the election law were not a cheaper method of arranging this matter. Delegate Maginnis was notified to secure an appropriation from congress, and did so.[30]

[29] Members of the council at the 9th session were Asa Brown, president, J. Abascal, J. Allenbaugh, W. E. Bass, Ed. Cardwell, Philip Constans, W. E. Cullen, William Graham, W. O. P. Hays, James Hornbuckle, I. I. Lewis, B. H. Tatem, Thomas Watson; clerks, Harry R. Comley, G. E. Watson, Patrick Talent, H. C. Wilkinson; sergeant-at arms, Otis Strickland; door-keeper, P. H. Maloney. Members of the lower house were S. W. Langhorne, speaker, G. W. Beal, E. G. Brooke, J. C. Burkett, Alfred Cave, A. Carmichael, W. A. Chessman, T. H. Clewell, Otho Curtis, R. S. Ford, D. Kenneally, C. Mead, A. B. Moore, J. C. Moore, W. J. McCormick, J. H. McKnight, L. B. Olds, Brigham Reed, Louis Rotwitt, W. F. Sanders, Granville Stuart, John M. Sweeney, William E. Tierney, P. Woodlock, Samuel Word, F. L. Worden; clerks, A. H. Barrett, J. N. Heldt, N. H. Connelly, J. E. C. Kanouse; sergeant-at-arms, R. K. Emerson; door-keeper, J. N. Thompson. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 9th session.

[30] The council of the 10th session was composed of W. E. Bass, president,

The Northern Pacific having been disposed of, the Utah Northern now came forward with a proposition to the legislature in session in 1877, and offered to build 300 miles of narrow-gauge railroad within three years, 100 hundred miles a year, starting at Franklin, in Idaho, to a point as far north as the Bighole River, and to be called the Utah Northern Extension, for a subsidy of $5,000 per mile in bonds of the territory, to be placed in escrow in New York, to be delivered at stipulated times, and to draw interest at eight per cent per annum from time of delivery, that is, at the completion of every twenty miles.

The proposition to build to the Bighorn was made to carry the road near or to the national park. But it would in that case pass through a rough and elevated region, not likely to be soon settled if ever, and chiefly outside of Montana, and the legislature in framing a bill changed the route to Fort Hall, Idaho, thence to Pipeston, Jefferson county, Montana, to terminate at or to come to Helena. But no survey of any route had been made, and the bill also was very loosely drawn, leaving it to the railroad company to stop at any point by forfeiting fifteen per cent of the proposed subsidy. If the company accepted the terms proposed in the bill as passed by the legislature, it was to signify its acceptance on or before the 25th of March, and their acceptance or non-acceptance was to be announced by a proclamation from the executive office. Whether it was the change in the route, or

John B. Allenbaugh, Asa A. Brown, Philip Constans, W. E. Cullen, Robert Ford, W. O. P. Hays, I. I. Lewis, P. W. McAdow, Arimstead H. Mitchell, Benjamin H. Tatem, Edwin B. Waterbury, Thomas Watson; clerks, Harry R. Comly, Horace C. Lewis, David Marks, Henry C. Wilkinson; sergeant-at-arms, Otis Strickland; door-keeper, Thomas Daly. Members of the house were Alexander E. Mayhew, speaker, Edwin M. Batchelder, Henry B. Brainard, Walter F. Chadwick, Joseph Davis, James A. Dixon, Hugh F. Galen, Richard O. Hickman, Horatio S. Howell, Joseph A. Hyde, Frank C. Ives, Nicholas Kessler, Washington J. McCormick, James McElroy, Henry H. Mood, Benjamin T. Porter, Daniel P. Robbins, John C. Robinson, Louis Rotwitt, Junius G. Sanders, Wilbur F. Sanders, George Stell, William A. Thompson, Robert P. Vivian, Aaron C. Witter, Samuel Word; clerks, Anthony H. Barrett, Henry A. Lambert, Albert J. McKiernan, Clarence O. Ewing; sergeant-at-arms, Stephen Bynum; door-keeper, Daniel Farry. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 10th session.

whether the tone of the most influential newspapers in Montana foreshadowed to the company the failure of the measure at the election which would follow their acceptance, they made no sign on or before the 25th of March, and the proclamation of the governor immediately after announced the conclusion of all this scheming and legislation, which obviated the necessity of a subsidy election on the 10th of April.

The same year, however, the Utah Northern extended its line northward, changing its route to Snake River, through Marsh Valley and Port Neuf Cañon. In April 1879 the president of that company, Sidney Dillon, made a proposition to the governor of Montana to extend the road to the Montana line within the current year, and 130 miles into Montana within the year 1880, provided only that the legislature would, by act, exempt the road from taxation for a period of fifteen years. To be able to accept or reject this proposition, the governor issued a proclamation calling an extraordinary session, to convene on the 1st of July, and in his message strongly advocated the acceptance of the proposition,[31] the message being re-

[31] *Mont. Jour. Council and House*, 1879, 12–14. The reasons given by the governor for calling an extra session were, as stated in his proclamation, that the eleventh legislature had adjourned without making an apportionment of the territory for legislative purposes, as required by a recent act of congress, and as the safety of the inhabitants required such legislation as would enable them by armed organizations to protect themselves from Indian depredations, and as the late legislative assembly had failed to enact a law providing for the funding of the debt of the territory at a lower rate of interest than that being paid, and as serious errors appeared in some of the laws passed at the eleventh session, and many legitimate subjects of legislation failed of maturity at that session, therefore he reassembled them to do what should have been done at the regular session. Nothing was said about railroads, but the anti-railroad journals treated the governor's real design as if it had been proclaimed, and a resolution was introduced in the house censuring, or at least criticising, the executive for assembling them for reapportionment before a census had been taken, at a season of the year inconvenient for most of them, and in violation of a law of congress that no territorial legislature should be convened without an appropriation first having been made to defray the expenses. The resolution was referred to the judiciary committee, of which W. F. Sanders was chairman. His report is a fine piece of diplomatic writing—he being the head and front of railroad agitation — declaring that the legislative assembly was not a political convention, nor was it elected to criticise the management of the executive department of the government. It might memorialize, but it should not scold. If necessary, it might impeach officers created by it; but the resolution did not proceed to that length. It was inappropriate to be considered

ferred to a committee composed of J. A. Hyde, W. C. Gillette, and W. O. P. Hays, the two former, constituting a majority, reported in favor of the governor's suggestions, and the latter against them, upon the ground that the laws of the United States did not permit them to grant a special privilege to one company, which in this case they could not afford to extend to other roads, notably to the Northern Pacific, with its 30,400 square miles of land within the territory, besides its movable property when completed. Two bills were introduced, one to comply with the proposition of the Utah Northern, and another to empower the county of Lewis and Clarke to subscribe $300,000 in bonds to that road. In the former case, the law was absolute without being referred to the people; in the latter, it was subject to an election. Both met with much adverse argument, and both were finally defeated. The legislature adjourned on the 23d, having passed nineteen acts, among which were several tending toward a more economical use of the people's money than had heretofore been the practice of the legislators of Montana.[32]

or passed by the assembly, and it was recommended that it should not pass. This report silenced the murmur against the governor for doing for once, of his own volition, or at the instance of the railroad party, what they had always been ready to do when their pay was $12 a day for enacting laws which filled the pockets of their favorites. There being no money appropriated, nor any in the treasury, made all the difference, had not congress besides already been driven to reduce their pay to four dollars per diem, and forbidden them to take any pay from the territory.

[32] The council of the 11th and extraordinary sessions of 1879 consisted of Armstead H. Mitchell, president, Martin Barrett, William G. Conrad, Warren C. Gillette, Richard O. Hickman, Anton M. Holter, W. O. P. Hays, Joseph A. Hyde, Frank C. Ives, Richard T. Kennon, William Parberry, Junius G. Sanders, Oscar A. Sedman; clerks, Harry R. Comly, Hayden E. Riddle; sergeant-at-arms and door-keeper, Dennis C. Sheehy; chaplain, Rev. John Armstrong. The lower house was composed of Samuel Word, speaker, Samuel Barbour, Elizur Beach, William T. Boardman, Joseph J. Boyer, Edward G. Brooke, Samuel B. Cornick, Caldwell Edwards, James Fergus, John F. Forbis, Alfred B. Hamilton, C. L. Harrington, Joseph E. Marion, Washington J. McCormick, James McElroy, Henry H. Mood, John Noyes, William L. Perkins, John C. Robinson, Wilbur F. Sanders, George Stell, Granville Stuart, John M. Sweeney, James T. Thorpe, Enoch Wilson: clerks, James E. Kanouse, James W. Kemper; sergeant-at-arms and door-keeper, Daniel Searles; chaplain, Mahlon N. Gilbert. The bill reapportioning the territory for legislative purposes was vetoed by the governor because it violated the law of congress requiring the apportionment to be made according to popula-

The failure of the railroad bills did not have the effect to prevent railroad-building. The Union Pacific company could not longer defer competing with the Northern Pacific, which was now approaching the Montana territory with rapid strides. It therefore constructed ten miles of the Utah Northern within the limits of Montana before cold weather interrupted grading. In the following year it constructed 110 miles, and in 1881 reached Helena. With the opening of railroad communication a new era of prosperity, which had been slowly dawning since about 1876, greatly assisted the territory in recovering from its embarrased financial condition. This, together with the restrictions placed upon reckless expenditure by congress, and the faithful admonitions of Potts, who still held the executive office to the satisfaction of both political parties, finally accomplished the redemption of the territory. When the governor found that at the meeting of the twelfth legislature the several counties still owed an aggregate debt of $619,899.86, he pointed out over again that this exhibit did not sustain their boasted ability for local self-government,[33] and that it must deter immigration, and retard the admission of Montana as a state, recommending certain improvements in the laws regulating county affairs.

On the contrary, the improvement in territorial finances was encouraging, there being a net indebtedness remaining of only a little more than $20,000. Few reforms in county administrations were accomplished at this session,[34] and at the meeting of the

tion, and was made 'to answer the demands of locality alone.' The house refused to reconsider the bill, and it was lost.

[33] This reproach of the governor was aimed at a continual harping by certain papers on the tyranny of congress, and the greater prosperity of a territory which could be allowed to choose its officers, and manage its own affairs.

[34] The council of the 12th legislature was composed of 12 members, according to an act of congress of 1878, which ordered at the same time the reduction of the assembly to 24 members, and a new apportionment according to population. The members were Joseph K. Toole, president, E. D. Aikin, Joseph A. Browne, Edward Cardwell, R. S. Ford, W. O. P. Hays, J. B. Hubbell, William B. Hundley, J. C. Kerley, Armistead H. Mitchell, William W. Morris, Frank L. Worden; clerks, Harry R. Comley, Haden E. Riddle;

thirteenth legislature, in January 1883, the county indebtedness had reached the sum of $658,974.32, and this, while the assessed valuation of the territory reached the sum of $33,211,319.12.[35] The revenue for territorial purposes amounted to $90,863.47, and the treasury of Montana had a surplus of over $14,000 in its coffers.

Here, at last, the territorial craft found clear sailing. With regard to the public institutions necessary to the peace, the penitentiary contained sixty-seven convicts, whose maintenance cost seventy-five cents a day, ten of whom earned fifty cents daily at contract labor. During the year 1884 the central portion of the penitentiary building was in process of erection. Fifty-six insane persons were provided for and treated at the public expense, by the contract system. The school system of Montana had reached a condition of much excellence, the schools being graded, and none but competent teachers employed. The population had increased to 40,000, and there was a renewed movement toward a state constitution. Just at this period, after more than twelve years of wise administration, Governor Potts was removed, and John Schuyler Crosby appointed to succeed him, who assumed office on the 15th of January, 1883, four days after the meeting of the legislative assembly.[36] Crosby

sergeant-at-arms, T. B. Harper; J. T. Mason chaplain. The house of representatives was composed of John J. Donnelly, speaker, Elizur Beach, John M. Bell, Henry N. Blake, Henry Chambers, Israel Clem, A. L. Corbly, William E. Cullen, W. D. Davis, Stephen De Wolfe, Amos Eastman, James H. Garlock, Michael Hanley, Curtis L. Harrington, Christian B. Houser, Robert G. Humber, Henry A. Kennerly, Henry M. Parchen, James K. Pardee, Jacob M. Powers, J. C. Rogers, Oscar A. Sedman, John Stedman, Enoch Wilson; clerks, James E. Kanouse, James N. Kemper; sergeant-at-arms, D. H. Linenbarger; chaplain, W. Scott Stites. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 12th sess., 3.

[35] The governor's message shows that the county of Lewis and Clarke paid by its commissioners $3,664.40 for about 4 months' work in assessing the property holders at the rate of 3 per cent per annum. The sheriff received $1.25 per day each for the board of prisoners; more than boarding-house keepers required of their patrons for first-class fare; and other abuses are mentioned. Yet the people go on to-day electing legislatures from the same party which for twenty years has persisted in these spoliations.

[36] The council of the 13th legislature was composed of the following members: Granville Stuart, president, Henry S. Back, W. E. Bass, Edward Cardwell, William A. Chessman, Charles G. Cox, Warren C. Gillette, Armis-

was soon succeeded in the executive office by B. Platt Carpenter, who also served but a brief term, during which the fourteenth regular session of the legislative assembly was held.[37] In 1885 the earnest desire of the people was gratified by the appointment of one of their own number, S. T. Hauser,[38] governor of Montana. At this favorable period let us turn to the material history of the territory.

tead H. Mitchell, William W. Morris, George D. Thomas, Benjamin F. White, Aaron C. Witter, Alfred B. Hamilton (contestant); clerks, James B. Wells, W. I. Lippincott; sergeant-at-arms, Samuel Alexander; chaplain, L. L. Wood. House of Representatives, Alexander E. Mayhew, speaker, Joseph S. Allen, J. D. Armstrong, Joseph A. Baker, Orlando B. Batten, Henry S. Blake, John E. Clutter, Harry R. Comly, Frank D. Cooper, Thomas Dean, Caldwell Edwards, Sidney Erwin, John F. Forbis, Richard O. Hickman, William T. Jacobs, James E. Kanouse, John F. Maloney, Lee Mantle, Perry W. McAdow, Peter B. Mills, William B. Settle, Daniel O'Grady, Robert C. Wallace, Henry J. Wright; clerks, David Marks, J. W. Kemper; sergeant-at-arms, N. Dickenson; chaplain, Frederick T. Webb. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 3. The territorial secretary during Crosby's administration was Isaac D. McCutcheon; chief justice, Decius S. Wade; associate justice in 2d district, Deer Lodge, William J. Galbraith; 1st district temporarily vacant; attorney-general, John A. Johnston; U. S. district attorney, William H. De Witt; U. S. marshal, Alexander C. Botkin; surveyor-general, John S. Harris. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 1883.

[37] This assembly consisted of the following members: Council, F. K. Armstrong, president, Martin Barrett, H. R. Buck, Ed. Cardwell, William A. Chessman, W. H. Cotant, Stephen De Wolfe, James Fergus, F. L. Greene, Will Kennedy, A. H. Mitchell, William W. Morris; clerks, David Marks, S. W. Langhorne; chaplain, L. L. Wood; sergeant-at-arms, Amos Calvin. In the house, James E. Callaway, speaker, J. T. Baldwin, S. V. B. Biddle, Clyde Eastman, Martin L. Emigh, Van H. Fiske, John F. Forbis, George M. Hatch, J. M. Holt, J. H. Jurgens, Conrad Kohrs, P. J. Moore, George R. Nichols, W. H. Norton, J. M. Page, F. L. Perkins, B. F. Potts, John M. Robinson, A. J. Seligman, H. M. Sloan, W. O. Speer, Jesse F. Taylor, George R. Tingle, and J. Wells; clerks, Harry H. Davis, Fred. H. Foster; chaplain, Frederick T. Webb; sergeant-at-arms, Thomas B. Warren. John S. Tooker was secretary of the territory; the judges, the same as in 1883, except that John Coburn was in charge of the 1st district; attorney-general, William H. Hunt. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 1885.

[38] Samuel T. Hauser was born at Falmouth, Pendleton co., Ky, Jan. 10, 1833, and was reared and educated in his native state. In 1854 he removed to Mo. and engaged in civil engineering, serving on the Missouri Pacific and N. P. R. R. In 1862 he came up the Missouri to Fort Benton, and prospected over onto the upper Columbia waters, returning in the autumn to the Bannack mines, and exploring the Lewis and Clarke route down the Yellowstone, in 1863. In 1865, in company with W. F. Sanders, he opened a bank at Virginia City, and erected the first furnaces in the territory. In 1866 Mr Hauser organized the 1st National bank of Helena; also, the St Louis Mining Co., at Phillipsburg, now known as the Hope Mining Co., which erected the first silver mill in Mont. The 1st National banks of Missoula, Butte, and Benton were each organized by Mr Hauser. He is largely interested in stock and mining, organized the Utah & Northern railroad in Mont., and is president of a branch of the N. P. R. R., besides being engaged in many other enterprises.

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN WARS.

1855-1882.

THE BLACKFOOT NATION—CROWS AND SIOUX—THEIR LANDS AND THEIR CHARACTERS—THE OLD, OLD ISSUE—TREATY-MAKING, TREATY-BREAKING, FIGHTING, AND FINISHING—MOVEMENTS OF TROOPS—MONTANA MILITIA COMPANIES—ESTABLISHING FORTS—EXPEDITIONS FOR PROSPECTING AND DISCOVERY—RESERVATIONS—LONG-CONTINUED HOSTILITIES—DECISIVE MEASURES.

WITH the resident Indian tribes of Montana the government had treaties of amity previous to the period of gold discovery and settlement. The Blackfoot nation, consisting of four divisions—the Gros Ventre,[1] Piegan, Blood, and Blackfoot proper—occupied the country beginning in the British possessions, bounded on the west by the Rocky Mountains, on the south by a line drawn from Hellgate pass in an easterly direction to the sources of the Musselshell River, and down that stream and the Missouri to the mouth of Milk River, where it was bounded on the east by that stream. To this country, although claimed as their home, they by no means restricted themselves, but wandered, as far as their prowess could defend them, into the territory of the neighboring nations, with which, before the treaty made with I. I.

[1] This tribe claim to have come from the far north, and to have travelled over a large body of ice, which broke up and prevented their return. They then journeyed in a south-east course as far as the Arapahoe country, and remained with that people one year, after which they travelled eastward to the Sioux country, met and fought the Sioux, who drove them back until they fell in with the Piegans, and joined them in a war on the Bloods, after which they remained in the country between the Milk and Missouri rivers. *E. A. C. Hatch*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1856, 75; *Dunn's Hist. Or.*, 156, 322-3.

Stevens in 1855, they were always at war. Between themselves they preserved no impassable lines, although the Gros Ventres lived farthest east, and the Piegans along the Missouri River, while the Blackfoot tribe and Bloods domiciled farther north.

Of the four tribes, the Gros Ventres, hitherto the most predatory in their habits, at first appeared the most faithful to their agreement with the United States. Likewise the Piegans, though of the most warlike character, seemed to feel bound by their treaty obligations to refrain from war; while the Blackfoot still occasionally stole the horses of the Flathead; and the Bloods, within ten days after signing the treaty at the mouth of Judith River, set out on a war expedition against the Crows. This nation, which occupied the Gallatin and Yellowstone valleys, with the tributaries of the latter and a portion of the Missouri, was known among other tribes and among fur-hunters and traders as the most mendacious of them all. To outlie a Crow, and thereby gain an advantage over him, was the serious study of the mountain men. He was not so good a fighter as the Blackfoot—if he had been, probably he would have had a straighter tongue—but the nation being large, and able to conquer by force of numbers as well as strategy, made him a foe to be dreaded. Of the Blackfoot nation there were 10,000 in 1858, and of the Crows nearly 4,000. The latter, divided into two bands of river and mountain Crows, had entered into obligations at the treaty of Laramie of 1851, together with other tribes of the plains, to preserve friendly relations with the people of the United States, and were promised annuities from the government in return. These annuities were distributed by Alfred J. Vaughn in the summer of 1854, who made a journey of three hundred miles from Fort Union on the Missouri up the Yellowstone to Fort Sarpy, the trading post of P. Choteau Jr & Co., with the goods stored in a keelboat along with the goods of the trading firm. The

party was attacked by seventy-five Blackfoot warriors, who killed two out of six Crows accompanying the expedition, and from whom the party escaped only by great exertions. At this distribution the Crows professed adherence to the terms of the Laramie treaty. Vaughn was continued in the office of agent to the Crows for several years.

In 1856, the year following the Stevens treaty with the Blackfoot nation, E. A. C. Hatch was appointed agent to these tribes, but was succeeded by Vaughn in 1867, who, in distributing goods to the Crows the previous year, seemed to have disseminated small-pox; for the disease broke out at this time and carried off 2,000 of them, 1,200 of the Assinaboines, and many of the Arickarees, Gros Ventres, and Mandans.[2] A. H. Redfield was appointed agent for the Crows in 1857, but the mountain Crows avoided assembling at Fort William, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, as directed, and their goods were stored at the fort, which they made a cause of complaint, saying their goods should be delivered to them in their own country, on the southern tributaries of the Yellowstone. As they refused the following year to come to Fort William, their agent was compelled to transport two years' annuities to Fort Sarpy in 1858, as the only apparent means of preserving amicable relations. In the same manner the Bloods refused to come to Fort Benton for their annuities in 1857, and their chief was fain to confess that his young men had been at war with the neighboring tribes and with parties of white men.

Although the territory of Montana was divided between the Blackfoot and Crow nations, it was subject to invasion from the west by the Shoshones, now no longer dreaded as an enemy, and from the east by the Sioux, those Arabs of the plains, who roamed from

[2] The Indians, like all the dark-skinned races, have a great susceptibility to contagion. In 1838 small-pox carried off 10,000 of the Crow, Blackfoot, Mandan, and Minataree nations. *De Smet's Western Missions*, 197.

the British possessions to New Mexico, and from Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains. Belonging to the same agency with the Crows were the Assinaboines, of whom there were several bands, in their character resembling the Sioux, yet inferior to them in strength. But of all the tribes, the Sioux were most dreaded and formidable, alike from their numbers, being 13,000 strong, and their warlike character. Their hand was against every man.

No threatening attitude was assumed by the Indians of Montana until the gold discoveries in northern Idaho began to attract immigration by the Missouri River route. Dissatisfaction was first shown by the Sioux, of whom there were seven different tribes,[3] who attacked Fort Union, in 1850, 400 strong, burning the out-buildings, killing and wounding seven men who were cutting hay, destroying thirty head of cattle and horses, and firing the fort, from which they were with difficulty driven. In 1861 they attempted to burn their agency, but were interrupted by the arrival of troops from Fort Randall, and retired.

In 1864 General Sully pursued the Sioux as far as Montana, and fought them on the Yellowstone, but without the force to achieve an important victory, or even to impress the Indians with awe of his government. In 1865 General Connor met them on Powder River, and punished them more severely for killing immigrants on the Bozeman route just opened. The Blackfoot tribes, agitated by the breath of war, were unsettled and sullen, wishing to fight on one side or the other; and to add to the danger of an outbreak, the Indian country was being filled, not only with licensed traders, but unlicensed whiskey-sellers, whose intercourse with the savages brutalized them, and led to quarrels resulting in murders. Such was the condition of the Indian affairs of Montana when it was organized under a territorial government.

[3] The Brulés, Blackfoot Sioux, Sans Arc, Minnecongies, Uncpapas, Two-kettles, and Yanctonais.

It happened that the Stevens treaty expired in 1865, and it was thought a fortunate opportunity to renew it, in a different form, and to purchase that part of their country lying south of the Missouri and Teton rivers. In the mean time, such was the temper of these Indians that Governor Edgerton issued a proclamation calling for five hundred volunteers to chastise them, and protect the immigration after its arrival at Fort Benton by steamer, and while en route to the mines.

On November 17th a treaty was made with the Blackfoot tribes, by which they relinquished to the United States all their lands except those lying north of latitude 48° and the Teton, Maria, and Missouri rivers. But the treaty was hardly concluded before these bands, who were not sincere in their promises, resumed depredations, roaming about the country and killing men, horses, and cattle. On the arrival of Secretary Meagher, and upon assuming the executive office in the autumn of 1865, he applied to Major-general Wheaton, commanding at Fort Laramie, for such cavalry as he could spare; but it was pronounced impracticable to march troops into Montana in the winter, and they were promised for the spring. Considerable alarm existing, the acting governor issued a proclamation February 10th, calling for 500 mounted volunteers; but not being able to arm, equip, or support in the field such a force, nothing was done beyond pursuing the predatory parties with such means and men as were within reach. An engagement took place March 1st between a band of Bloods and a party of road-viewers at Sun River Bridge, in which James Malone was severely wounded, one Indian killed, and three were captured and hanged. About the middle of the summer Colonel Reeves, commandant of the upper Missouri, arrived from Fort Rice with 800 well-equipped soldiers, under Major William Clinton, and established Camp Cook at the mouth of Judith River.

On the 30th of June, 1865, another treaty was arranged. Two thousand Brulés and Ogalallahs were in attendance when the council opened, and after two weeks of sending despatches by couriers, the majority of these two tribes came in and signed a treaty, giving their consent to the opening of roads through the territory claimed by them, and were presented with the usual gifts of food, clothing, and ammunition. Red

BOZEMAN ROUTE.

Cloud, however, with several others, held aloof, and the treaty was nothing more than a parley for the purpose of obtaining these same presents and a knowledge of the intentions of the United States.

Military companies had been stationed on the Powder River division of the Bozeman route in 1865 to keep the Indians away; and in May 1866 Colonel H. B. Carrington, who had been made commander of the district of the Mountains, left Fort Kearny with the 18th United States infantry to erect forts on the line

of the road, beginning with the abandonment of Fort Reno, erected by General Connor the previous year, and the substitution of a new Fort Reno forty miles farther north-west. The force amounted to 700 men, only 220 of whom were trained soldiers.[4]

On the 12th of July Carrington arrived at Crazy Woman's fork of Powder River, where the new Fort Reno was to be located, and where he selected a site, proceeding on his march the next day with two companies, leaving Major Haymond in the rear with the other four. Not far beyond was the proposed site of a fort to be called Philip Kearny, on Piney fork of Clear fork of Powder River, at the eastern base of Bighorn Mountains, where headquarters arrived on the evening of July 13, 1866. On the following day three notable events occurred—the selection of a site for the fort, the desertion of a party of soldiers who had started for the mines, and the arrival of a messenger from the chief Red Cloud declaring war should the commander of the expedition persist in his intention of erecting a fort in the country. Nevertheless, on the 15th the work was begun of constructing the finest military post in the mountains, upon a plan directed by General Crook, which would enable a few men to guard it, leaving the greater part of the garrison to occupy themselves with the protection of the roads, telegraphs, and mails.[5]

On the 16th of July Major Haymond arrived and went into camp near headquarters. It was a continued struggle with the command to keep possession

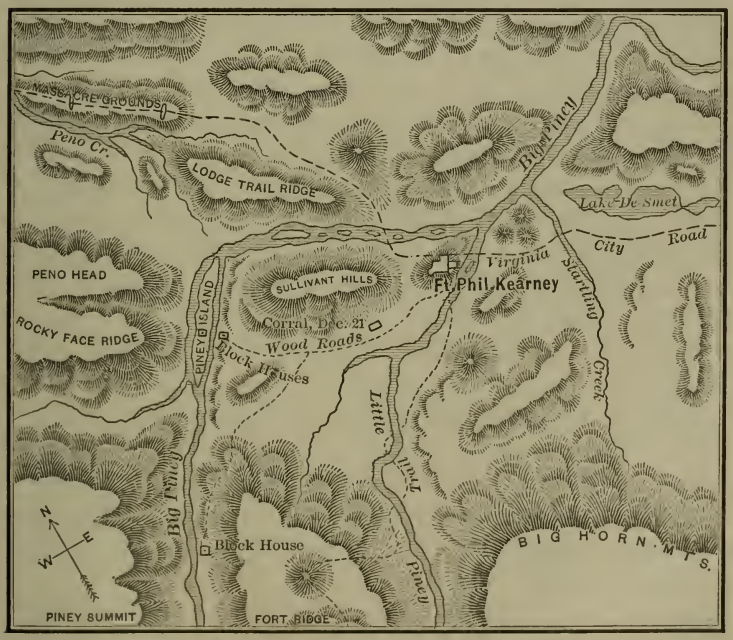
[4] *Absaraka* is the title of a narrative by the wife of one of the officers of the Carrington expedition.

[5] Fort Philip Kearny occupied a natural plateau 600 or 800 feet high, with sloping sides or glacis. The stockade was of pine, hewn to a touching surface, pointed, and loop-holed. At diagonally opposite corners were block-houses of 18-inch pine logs. The parade-ground was 400 feet square, with a street 20 feet wide bordering it. East of the fort, taking in Little Piney, was a corral for stock, hay, wood, etc., with a palisade 10 feet high, and quarters for teamsters and citizen employés—12 double cabins, wagon-shop, blacksmith-shop, and stables. Room was allowed for 4 companies of infantry. *Army and Navy Journal*, Nov. 24, 1866.

of the horses, mules, and cattle, and one in which they were very often beaten. In sorties to recover stock, a number of the men were killed, and nearly all the stock was thus lost.

About the last of August Inspector-general Hazen visited Fort Philip Kearny, and inspired fresh courage by assurances that two companies of regular cavalry had been ordered to reënforce this post.

The Yellowstone post having been given up, Kenney and Burrows with the two companies intended for



FORT PHILIP KEARNY AND VICINITY.

that service were ordered to construct Fort C. F. Smith, a hundred miles from Fort Philip Kearny, on the Bighorn. In November a part of one of the cavalry companies promised arrived, under Lieutenant Bingham, who proceeded to Fort C. F. Smith, and returned about the 1st of December to Fort Philip Kearny.

Communication had now entirely ceased with C. F. Smith post, for it was no longer safe to travel with an escort of less than fifty men, who could not be spared. Snow was on the ground. A few more trains of logs from the woods were needed to complete quarters which were being built for a fifth company at Fort Philip Kearny. The train, when it set out, with its teamsters, choppers, and escort, all armed, numbered about ninety men. When two miles from the fort, it was attacked, and signalled for relief. Simultaneously a small party of Indians appeared in sight at the crossing of Big Piney Creek, but were dispersed by shells from the fort. A detail was made at once of fifty men and two officers from the infantry companies, and twenty-six men under Lieutenant Gummond from the 2d cavalry. Colonel Fetterman, at his own request, was given the command of the party, and with him went Captain Brown, also at his own desire, and three citizens experienced in Indian fighting. The orders given by Colonel Carrington were to relieve the wood train, but on no account to pursue the Indians over Lodge Trail Ridge.

Had Fetterman obeyed instructions, the history of Fort Philip Kearny and the Powder River route to Montana would have been vastly different, in all probability. But with a contempt of the danger which the summer's experience did not justify, he took upon himself a responsibility which cost him his life and the lives of every man and officer who marched with him out of the fort that morning. In less than two hours not a person of the whole eighty-one soldiers and citizens was alive. No report of the engagement was ever made by the living lips of white men, and only the terrible story of the field of death gave any information of what befel the victims.

In January there arrived General H. W. Wessels with two cavalry and four infantry companies, and orders to Carrington to remove headquarters to Fort

Casper on the North Platte, and the 18th infantry regiment took its leave of Fort Philip Kearny on the 23d, its connection with the Bozeman route ceasing from that time.

Meanwhile Fort C. F. Smith was invested by hostile Indians to nearly the same extent that its sister fort had been, and even with less opportunities of relief. The only troops in Montana, except the beleaguered ones at that post, being the regiment under Major Clinton at Camp Cook, Governor Meagher addressed that officer, requesting troops to be sent to the Gallatin Valley, to which Clinton replied that he had not the power to assign troops to any station beyond his immediate control. The citizens of Virginia City, however, had not waited for this decision. Mass-meetings were held, and the governor visited Gallatin Valley to procure information.[6]

On the 24th of April he issued a proclamation calling for 600 mounted men for three months' service, during which time it was hoped the government would come to the relief of the territory. Thomas Thoroughman, William Deascey, John S. Slater, John A. Nelson, L. W. Jackson, George W. Hynson, Isaac Evans, and Cornelius Campbell were commissioned to organize companies to serve as Montana militia. Martin Beem[7] was appointed adjutant and inspector-general, with the rank of colonel, Hamilton Cummings[8] quartermaster and commissary-general, with the same rank, and Walter W. De Lacy engineer-in-chief, with the same rank. On the comple-

[6] The call for the first mass-meeting was signed by John P. Bruce, W. L. McMath, E. T. Yager, Charles Ohle, P. A. Largy, Marx & Heidenheimer, F. R. Merk, William Deascey, H. L. Hirschfield, John M. Clarkson, J. Feldberg, D. C. Farwell, George Cohn, Henry N. Blake, A. Leech, F. C. Dimling, T. C. Everts, Hez. L. Hosmer, James Gibson, A. M. S. Carpenter, J. J. Hull, William Y. Lovell, E. S. Calhoun, John S. Rockfellow, William H. Chiles, S. E. Vawter, Alphonso Lambrecht, P. S. Pfouts, G. Crow, L. Daems, H. W. Stafford, Martin Beem, N. J. Davis.

[7] Beem was from Alton, Illinois. He entered the army as a private, and was promoted to captain.

[8] John A. Creighton succeeded him, but resigned, and J. J. Hull was appointed, who was succeeded by Henry N. Blake. John Kingley was major of the regiment.

tion of each company, it was required to march immediately to Bozeman, which had been selected as the rendezvous. The people of Gallatin Valley pledged the subsistence of the troops in the field, and the arming and equipping of the companies was also dependent upon private contribution.

On the organization of companies, Meagher appointed Thomas Thoroughman brigadier-general, with the command of all the troops in the field. Neil Howie[9] was directed to take, with the rank of colonel, the general direction of the troops raised in Lewis and Clarke county. F. X. Beidler,[10] John Fetherstun, James L. Fisk, and Charles Curtis were appointed recruiting officers in the same county, with the rank of captain; and Granville Stuart, Walter B. Dance, and William L. Irwin, recruiting officers, with the rank of captain, in Deer Lodge county. Isaac Evans was appointed captain and assistant quartermaster, Francis C. Deimling was appointed chief of staff, and John D. Hearn 1st aide-de-camp.[11]

It was not easy to put 600 troops in the field without a treasury to draw on, but the merchants of Bannack, Helena, and Virginia contributed generously. Wild Indian horses were broken with much labor, and too slowly for the demands of the service, the Helena companies, though first organized, failing to be first in the field for lack of mounts. Captain Hynson's company left Camp Cummings, at Virginia City, for the Gallatin Valley,[12] about the 1st of May, followed by Captain Lewis and Captain Reuben Foster's company of scouts, and on the 4th by General Thoroughman. They found the town of Bozeman, which was situated near the entrance of Bridger's and Jacobs' passes, at the eastern end of the valley, being enclosed with a stockade. These passes, and one leading out of the valley toward the Blackfoot coun-

[9] Howie was advanced to the rank of brigadier-general.
[10] Beidler was commissioned lieutenant-colonel.
[11] Frank Davis was afterward appointed aide-de-camp.
[12] Hynson was promoted to be colonel of the 1st regiment.

try, called the Flathead pass, it became the duty of scouts to guard.

On the 7th of May Thoroughman assumed command of the militia, and with Colonel De Lacy set about selecting a suitable site for a fort, with the command of the pass over the Belt or Yellowstone range into the Crow country. The spot selected was eight miles from Bozeman, at the mouth of Rock Cañon, where was begun a fortification named Fort Elizabeth Meagher.[13] A picket fort was also established at the Bridger pass. But with the exception of two or three companies, none others appeared upon the ground, the Helena troops disbanding about the last of May because horses could not be procured to mount them.

Just when failure seemed imminent, the energy and acquaintance of Governor Meagher with military affairs prevailed. General Sherman, to whom frequent communications had been sent, at length ordered Colonel William H. Lewis, late commander of Camp Douglas at Salt Lake, to Montana to inquire into the Indian situation, and to ascertain the measure of defence required. The result of the inquiry was that Sherman provided the means of equipping the militia by sending forward the territory's quota of 2,500 stand of arms, and a twelve-pound battery, with ammunition, and also by telegraphing authority to raise and equip 800 troops to drive out the Indians, until regular soldiers could be sent to take their places.

Shortly afterward there arrived at Bozeman, by unfrequented paths, five refugees, members of an exploring expedition which had wintered at Fort C. F. Smith, who brought intelligence of the deplorable condition of the garrison, which news was confirmed by three deserters who followed. J. M. Bozeman and Thomas Cover started out to learn the true state of affairs, but were attacked, and the former killed.[14]

[13] This appears to have been only a temporary stockade, though dignified by the name of fort.

[14] Bozeman is described as 'a tall, good-natured, good-looking Georgian, with easy habits and a benign countenance.'

A second attempt was made by forty men under De Lacy, which met with better success. In order to keep watch upon the movements of the Crows and Sioux, the militia was moved forward to the fortified camp, Ida Thoroughman,[15] on Shields River, thirty-five miles beyond Fort Meagher, whence reconnoitring parties were kept pretty constantly in motion.[16] The new post was made large enough to hold a regiment of cavalry with their horses, and strong enough to resist a siege, with a well, citadel, and every convenience for withstanding one. Thus passed the summer, with no more serious encounters than occasional skirmishes, in which two of the Blackfoot tribe were killed and one Crow hanged.

In the midst of these preparations for defence against a powerful foe, the arrow of death struck down the governing mind, which in shaping and carrying forward military enterprises under great difficulties had won the respect even of his political enemies. On the night of the 1st of July, while en route to Camp Cook on the business of the regiment, General Meagher fell overboard from the steamer *G. A. Thompson*, then lying at Fort Benton, and was drowned.[17]

[15] Named after a daughter of General Thoroughman.

[16] The command consisted at this time of the following companies of Montana cavalry: A, Capt. and brevet col George W. Hynson; B, Capt. Robert Hughes; C, Capt. I. H. Evans; D, Capt. Charles F. D. Curtis; E, Capt. Cornelius Campbell; and F, Capt. John A. Nelson. *Virginia Montana Post*, June 29, 1869. A company was organized at Salmon River, in Idaho, and joined the Montana militia about the last of June, under A. F. Weston capt., Thomas Burns 1st lieut, and Charles H. Husted 2d lieut. *Id.*, June 22, 1867. James Dunleavy was surgeon. I regret not having a complete report of the adjutant-generals, from which to give a more perfect list of officers. I have been compelled to rely wholly on newspaper files.

[17] Thomas Francis Meagher was a native of Ireland, and was a natural as well as trained orator. He became a patriot under O'Connell, and was arrested and transported for life. He renounced his parole and escaped from Van Dieman's Land, arriving in New York in 1852, where he started the *Irish News*. He afterward went to Central America, and from there wrote articles for *Harper's Magazine*. Returning to the U. S., he enlisted in support of the union, and in command of his Irish brigade won laurels, and the title of general. In Montana he provoked much criticism by certain reckless habits, and by an imperious and often wrong-headed political course; but when it came to military matters he was in his element, and won the gratitude of all. Every respect was paid to his memory, though the body was not recovered.

Governor Green Clay Smith, having returned to Montana about the time of Meagher's demise and the expiration of the term of enlistment, was ready to assume the command, which he did by making a call for 800 men, and reorganizing the troops under the regulations of the army, with the title of First Regiment of Montana Volunteers.[18] He directed that Thoroughman should retain his headquarters in the Gallatin Valley, whence he would send out from time to time such forces as were necessary to chastise marauding bands, to expedite which Major Howie was ordered to take Captain Hereford's company, with one section of artillery, and move down the Musselshell River about one hundred miles, where he would establish a camp for the protection of miners and settlers.

After some fighting, with losses on both sides, and further manipulation of troops, regular and volunteer, came the intelligence that the Indian question, except so far as guarding the roads was concerned, was to be left in the hands of the interior department, where it had been placed by congress, and that this department had appointed a peace commission similar to that of the foregoing summer.[19] Two points were named for assembling the Indians, the first at Fort Laramie, September 15th, and the second at Fort Larned, Kansas, October 15th. Runners were sent out to invite all the tribes of the military departments in which these posts were situated, and all military

[18] Thomas Thoroughman retained the command, with the rank of col; George W. Hynson lieut-col; Neil Howie 1st maj.; J. H. Kingley 2d maj. Company commanders: A, Capt. L. M. Lyda; B, Capt. Robert Hughes; C, Capt. Charles J. D. Curtis; D, Capt. I. H. Evans; E, Capt. Cornelius Campbell; F, Capt. John A. Nelson; G, Capt. A. F. Weston; I, Capt. Robert Hereford; K, Capt. William Deascey. Commissions issued by Meagher other than those confirmed by him were made complimentary. Smith's staff consisted of Martin Beem adj. and insp.-gen., Hamilton Cummings quart.-gen., J. J. Hull com.-gen, each with the rank of colonel.

[19] N. G. Taylor, commissioner of Indian affairs, John B. Henderson, chairman of the committee on Indian affairs in the senate, John B. Sanborn, and S. F. Tappan, constituted the committee; $300,000 was appropriated to subsist friendly Indians, and $150,000 for other expenses. If the commission should fail, the U. S. would accept 4,000 volunteers into the regular service.

operations were suspended while the negotiations were in progress. In accordance with these regulations, General Terry ordered the mustering-out of the volunteers, and they were disbanded about the last of the month, when two companies of regulars were stationed at Bozeman for the protection of the Gallatin Valley, whose commander, Captain R. S. La Motte, founded Fort Ellis, a three-company post, beautifully situated, about two miles and a half from Bozeman. The cost of the volunteer organization was no less than $1,100,000, which charges were referred to congress for payment; and the 'necessary expenses' were ordered paid in 1870; but on investigation of charges, the amount was cut down $513,000 in 1873, and that amount paid.

When the legislature met in November, Governor Smith urged the enactment of an efficient militia law, which that body failing to do, the governor, in January, issued a general order for the organization of two military districts within the territory, numbered I. and II., with Brigadier-general Neil Howie in command of the first, and Brigadier-general Andrew J. Snyder in command of the second.[20] The governor's action was precautionary merely, at this time, yet he had business for the militia before the winter was over, the citizens of Prickly Pear Valley, among

[20] Howie's district comprised the counties of Lewis and Clarke, Choteau, Deer Lodge, Missoula, and Meagher, with headquarters at Helena; and Snyder's district the counties of Madison, Beaverhead, Gallatin, Bighorn, and Jefferson, with headquarters at Virginia City. The generals were ordered to organize their districts into not more than four regiments of eight companies each; the companies to consist of forty enrolled men, who should elect their captain and two lieutenants. The regimental officers were ordered to consist of a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major, the colonel to be appointed by the district commander, and the lieutenant-colonel and major elected by the line-officers; the colonel to appoint an adjutant from the line with the rank of 1st lieutenant; staff-officers to be appointed, the adjutant with the rank of major, the quartermaster and commissary-general with the rank of captain, 2 aides-de-camp with the rank of captain, and 1 surgeon with the rank of major. The staff of the commander-in-chief consisted of Moses Veale, adjutant-general, with the rank of brigadier; Hamilton Cummings, quartermaster-general, with the rank of colonel; George W. Hill, commissary-general, with the rank of colonel; L. Daems, M. D., medical director, with the rank of colonel; James H. Mills, J. W. Brown, and W. F. Scribner, aides-de-camp, with the rank of colonel.

others, appealing for arms in February 1868 to protect themselves against the Blackfoot and Blood tribes, who, as territorial critics pithily remarked, had been supplied with murderous weapons by the officers of the government at Benton to make attacks upon white people, whom the peace commissioners recommended should be prohibited from defending themselves. Arms and ammunition were sent to Prickly Pear Valley by order of the executive, and in defiance of the peace commissioners.[21]

A treaty was concluded with the mountain Crows May 7th at Fort Laramie, and ratified July 9th,[22] by which they relinquished all claim to any territory except that included between longitude 107° on the east, the Missouri River on the west, latitude 45° on the south, and the Yellowstone River on the north. The Missouri River Crows, Gros Ventres, and Blackfoot tribes were also treated with in July, and the latter ceded, as in 1865, all that portion of their territory lying south of the Missouri and Teton rivers, reserving all of Montana north of those rivers. Immediate steps were taken by their special agent to establish agencies and carry out the provisions of the treaties. But congress failed, as it so often did, to ratify at the proper time the contracts it had empowered commissioners to make, and to which the Indians had consented, which delay furnished a sufficient provocation, in their minds, to a renewal of hostilities.

All through the spring and summer of 1869 these outrages continued, culminating August 18th in the

[21] I represent here the sentiment of the people of the territories. It was said, no doubt with much truth, that the persons interested in peace commissions made fortunes out of these negotiations; that traders flocked to the council-grounds, who sold ammunition and arms to the Indians. Two tons of lead and powder were sold at the council of 1866 at Laramie. The Indians expended a year's collection of furs and robes in war supplies, took all the government offered them in presents, and departed to renew their outrages. These occasions were fairs or markets at which the savages laid in supplies.

[22] A treaty was made with the Crows in 1866, at Fort Union, by Gov. Edmunds, Gen. Curtis, and others, by which they yielded to the government the right of a public road through the Yellowstone Valley, and ceded a tract 10 miles square at each station necessary on the route, but the treaty was never ratified. *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1868, 223.

killing of one of Montana's oldest and most esteemed citizens, Malcolm Clark. His residence was in the Prickly Pear Valley, and from his long association with the Indian tribes no harm to him was apprehended. Still, a young Piegan, whom he had brought up in his own house, under a pretence of delivering horses stolen by his people, enticed Clark's son Horace from their dwelling, and shot and wounded him; and on the father going out to speak to a chief, he was shot and killed. Twenty other Piegans were in company with the treacherous Blackfoot, and the lives of Clark's wife and daughter were saved only by the intervention of an Indian woman.

It was impossible that a mere handful of troops should protect so extensive a frontier as Montana possessed. On the Idaho side the Sheepeaters, under the hostile chief Tendoy, disturbed the peace of the inhabitants. In the Flathead country signs of war were accumulating, through the reservation troubles.[23]

[23] In June 1855 I. I. Stevens made a treaty with the Flathead, Kootenai, and Pend d'Oreille tribes, whereby they were allowed a general reservation of 5,000 square miles on the Jocko River. To this they all agreed in council; but before signing the treaty the Flatheads demanded an additional reservation in the Bitterroot Valley, embracing 500 or 600 square miles. To this demand Stevens yielded in the 11th article of the treaty, which was ratified in 1859, so far as to say if in the judgment of the president it should be better adapted to the wants of the tribe than the general reservation, then such portions as might be necessary should be set apart to them. White settlers were encouraged by the Indians to settle on this tract, embracing all of the valley above Lolo fork, a beautiful and productive region. The discovery of gold accelerated settlement, to which the Indians made no objection until 1867, at which time the disturbances east of the mountains and in Idaho and eastern Oregon undoubtedly excited their wild natures. That year the citizens of Missoula county petitioned the governor for arms and ammunition, representing that the Flatheads were making threats of driving out all the white people, and had already murdered 4 prospectors between Flathead Lake and Thompson River, had stolen stock, broken into houses, and burned off the grass, the fires consuming the farmers' hay-stacks. *Virginia Montana Post*, Oct. 5, 1867. War, however, did not follow. The majority of the tribe were on the Jocko reservation, and of those in the Bitterroot Valley some had farms and were on good terms with their white neighbors. More, however, were roving in their habits. These latter, more than the former, were dissatisfied with the occupancy of the white farmers, and talked about claiming a reservation in the valley, to which the neglect of the government to survey and examine the country gave color. In 1869 Gen. Alfred Sully was appointed to the superintendency of Montana, and alarmed the settlers by proposing a new treaty, which would deprive over 200 settlers of their farms. But of this he thought better, when the citizens memorialized the senate of the United States not to confirm the treaty, and gave their reasons. *Ind. Aff.*

The Blackfoot nation was openly at war; the Crows, while professedly friendly, took horses and scalps when convenient; and Red Cloud with several thousand Sioux was encamped on the Bighorn; while the United States troops under General Sheridan were driving the hostile tribes of Kansas and Nebraska northward to swell the forces that at any time could be precipitated upon the territory.

At length a change seemed about to occur. General De Trobriand, in command of the district of Montana, made such representations at Washington as procured more troops in Montana. General Sherman authorized General Sheridan to punish the Piegans, and Sheridan sent his inspector—General James A. Hardie—to Montana to satisfy himself of their guilt.

About the middle of December an expedition was organized, consisting of detachments from the cavalry

Rept, 1869, 26. The citizens did not ask that those Indians who cultivated, and were permanent, should be removed, but suggested that they be allowed to retain a certain amount which the government should patent to them, and General Sully made such a recommendation, coupled with a suggestion to pay the Indians something for removal; and in 1871 the president ordered them to go upon the Jocko reservation, congress having appropriated $50,000 to compensate them for any loss. At length a special commissioner, James A. Garfield, was appointed in 1872 to visit and accomplish the adjustment of the claims of the Flatheads. Investigation showed them to be firm in their impression that the treaty of 1855 gave them the Bitterroot Valley. The catholic fathers were called on to aid in persuading them to remove, except such as were willing to abandon tribal relations, and to become owners in severalty of their farms. An agreement was finally entered into between the commissioner and the chiefs of the Flathead tribe, that the government should erect 60 houses 12 by 16 feet, 3 of them, for the chiefs, being double the size, and placed wherever on the Jocko reservation they should select, provided the same was not already occupied; they were to be supplied with flour, potatoes, and vegetables the first year; land was to be enclosed and broken up for their use; $55,000 was to be paid to them in instalments. Any who chose could take land in Bitterroot Valley under the land laws. On the part of the Flatheads, they agreed to remove all who did not take land in this manner to the Jocko reservation. The following year, however, they refused to remove, basing their refusal on the non-fulfilment of the government's part of treaty stipulations. A few were prevailed upon to go to the reservation in 1874, more followed, and by degrees the condition of these Indians on their reservation has improved. A boarding-school for girls and day-school for boys was established by the catholics of St Ignatius mission, in 1863, discontinued after 13 months because results did not warrant the expense. It was resumed by the government, which paid $1,800 for teachers until 1872, and $2,100 until 1874, when the schools were again closed, and again reopened. *Helena Independent*, May 15, 1874; Meagher, in *Harper's Magazine*, Oct. 1867, 581–3; *Winser's N. Pac. R. R. Guide*, 196–7; *Smalley's Hist. N. Pac. R. R.*, 343.

and a company of mounted infantry, in all between 300 and 400 troops, to invade the Blackfoot country. On the 23d of January, 1870, they surprised the Piegan camp on Maria River, killing 173 men, women, and children, and capturing 100. Three hundred horses were captured, and all the winter supplies of forty-four lodges, driving the Blackfoot tribe into the British possessions.[24]

On the 1st of March, 1872, congress set apart a tract of land in Montana and Wyoming, fifty-five by sixty-five miles square, about the head of the Yellowstone River, to be called the Yellowstone National Park, and the survey begun in 1871 by Hayden was continued this year in the Gallatin and upper Yellowstone valleys—from the east fork of the Yellowstone to the mining district on Clarke fork; in the Geyser basins, and on Madison River.[25] This survey was not in the route of the raiding Sioux, and escaped any conflict with the common enemy. But a railroad surveying expedition of 300 men under Colonel E. Baker was attacked near the mouth of Pryor fork by a larger number of Sioux and Cheyennes, losing one man killed, and having five wounded. The fighting lasted for several hours, and the Indians, though armed with repeating rifles, lost heavily in men and horses.[26] More fortunate was a pleasure excursion projected by Durfee and Peck of the Northwestern Transportation Company, which thus early invited travel over the route pursued by them from Chicago westward. The excursionists took boats,

[24] This expedition was officered by Col E. M. Baker, commander; Maj. Lewis Thompson, Capt. S. H. Norton, 1st lieuts J. G. McAdams, G. C. Doane, S. T. Hamilton, and S. M. Swigert, and 2d lieut J. E. Batchelder, 2d cavalry. The infantry was commanded by Lieut-col George H. Higbee, with Capt. R. A. Surry and 1st lieut W. M. Waterbury. *New Northwest*, Feb. 4, 1870.

[25] Hayden's report for 1872 is interesting reading. It makes, with the scientific and technical descriptions, a volume of over 800 pages, and is a survey not only of Montana, but of Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah. In 1877 Hayden made an exhaustive survey of Idaho and Wyoming.

[26] It is said that the camp was saved by the promptness and gallantry of Lieut W. J. Reed of the 7th infantry, who was a Californian before he entered the army. *S. F. Alta*, Oct. 5, 1872.

built for the occasion, at Sioux City, and proceeded up the Missouri and the Yellowstone as far as Powder River, where a wagon-train was fitted up, and escorted by a strong military guard and reliable guides to Yellowstone park. General Sheridan detailed General Gibbon to accompany this notable excursion—the first purely pleasure-seeking company to visit the nation's reserve.[27]

In the spring of 1873 the Blackfoot tribe, having partially recovered from the humiliation inflicted by Baker's command, became once more troublesome, when the irrepressible conflict was resumed, being carried over the boundary into the British possessions, and returning to the territory of the United States. These raids and skirmishes seldom gave occasion for the employment of the few troops stationed in the territory, but were met and fought by citizens.[28]

[27] On the 27th of September Gen. Gibbon lectured at Helena upon the wonders and attractions of this region. *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1872.

[28] The advance of the Northern Pacific railroad survey diverted for a time the hostilities of the Sioux from the people of the territory to the exploring expedition. Red Cloud had said that the railroad should not be laid across his country, and he meant to maintain his word. Accordingly, when the surveying party, with a force of 1,500 men and an abundance of ammunition and supplies, appeared on the Yellowstone about the middle of July, he was there to resist their progress. The expedition was commanded at this time by Gen. D. S. Stanley, the 7th cavalry companies being under General Custer. They were met at the mouth of Glendive Creek by steamers loaded with subsistence and the material of war. A strong stockade was erected fifteen miles above this point, and garrisoned by one company of the 17th infantry and two of cavalry under the command of Captain E. P. Pearson. The remainder of the force proceeded up the river, Custer generally in advance with a portion of the cavalry, looking out a practicable road for the supply trains and artillery. The expedition had proceeded as far as Tongue River without encountering the Sioux, and had begun to feel that relaxation from apprehension which the Indian knows so well how to inspire. 'Where there ain't no Injuns you'll find 'em thickest,' was the caution of Bridger the mountaineer to the military in 1866. *Absaraka*, 183.

On the 4th of Aug. Custer, with two companies of the cavalry, numbering ninety-five men, guided by a young Arickaree warrior, left camp at five o'clock in the morning. At noon, while taking a siesta, they were attacked, and an attempt made to draw them into an ambush, which failed, Custer being rescued from a perilous position by the main body. After that the Indians moved on up the Yellowstone, Custer following with 450 cavalry to punish them. On the 9th he found where they had crossed the river on rafts, but the stream being too wide and too swift for swimming the horses, the pursuit was abandoned on the 10th. That night his camp was discovered, and the next morning attacked by 800 Indians, who fired across the river. After several hours of exchanging shots, 300 warriors effected a crossing, and en-

deavored to gain the bluffs in the rear of Custer's command. The cavalry were dismounted and received them bravely. After they had been engaged for some time a charge was ordered, the troops driving them for eight miles. In the mean time the main column came up, and the artillery opening on the Indians across the river dispersed them. This battle took place within two miles of the Bighorn River. General Custer and Adjutant Ketchard had their horses shot under them. Lieutenant Brogen was severely wounded, and private Tuttle, Custer's orderly, killed. The loss on the part of the Sioux was about forty killed and wounded. After this second fruitless attempt to intercept the movements of the expedition, the Indians did no more than to hang upon the trail of the troops to annoy them. After reaching Pompey's Pillar, on the 15th of September, the expedition turned northward to Fort Peck, whence it returned home.

Other expeditions traversed the Yellowstone country in 1873, one of which was composed of 149 mountaineers, seventeen wagons, and a thorough outfit, under Colonel Brown, the object of which seems to have been to prospect for minerals and fight the Sioux. The history of this expedition was never published, and the few facts I have are gathered from a letter printed in the *Bozeman Avant-Courier*, Oct. 18, 1877. It is called in that communication the 'best managed Indian expedition of the west.' It descended the Yellowstone as far as the Bighorn River, having a skirmish with the Sioux a short distance below, and crossing the country to the Rosebud River, 'had several days' and nights' terrific fighting with many hundred Sioux and Cheyennes, and thoroughly defeated them.' A gun accompanied the expedition which had been used on a march from the North Platte to Bozeman in 1870. It was loaded with horse-shoes cut in fragments for the purpose, and performed deadly work among the Indians, who followed and fought the expedition from the Littlehorn, later called Custer, River, back by Fort Smith and the Bozeman road to the Yellowstone, losing but one man. This piece of ordnance, known as the Bighorn gun, 'all the mountaineers nearly idolize,' says the letter referred to. It was the only gun in Fort Pease, below the mouth of the Bighorn, and was burned in it by the Indians, after a year of guerrilla fighting, in 1876. It was afterward mounted on a rough carriage of cottonwood, and placed at Black's landing, below the Bighorn.

The Union Pacific railroad had also an expedition in the field under Captain W. A. Jones of the engineer corps, to look out a route to the Yellowstone park and lake, in order to secure the travel of tourists to this wonderland, besides making a more direct road to the already developed mines of Montana, and competing with the Northern Pacific railroad. The survey began at Fort Bridger, on a branch of Green River, in Wyoming, and travelled north-east to Camp Stambaugh, a two-company post on one of the sources of the Sweetwater; thence north to Fort Brown on Little Wind River, the agency for the Shoshones; thence to the main Wind River, in a course a little west of north, crossing which, and passing mountains and streams in the same course, to the south fork of the Stinkingwater; thence up the north fork and over the divide to Mud Lake and Gardiner River; thence to Fort Ellis for supplies, returning by the Firehole basin and Yellowstone Lake, whence it crossed the Snake River divide, the Yellowstone and Wind River divide, and passed down Wind River to Fort Brown and home. This expedition reported that nothing worthy of notice in the way of minerals was found on the whole route, and advised miners not to waste their time prospecting in these regions, but the route for a road was declared to be practicable. *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Oct. 12 and Nov. 30, 1873. The first public conveyance of any kind to enter the Yellowstone park was the stage-coach of G. W. Marshall's line of Virginia City, on the 1st of October, 1880. *Strahorn's Montana and Yellowstone Park*, 158.

It was found in the course of explorations that the Crow reservation occupied some of the most desirable agricultural and mineral lands in Montana, and that lying in the track of great thoroughfares it was an obstacle to the

development of the country, besides surrounding the Indians with temptation. Accordingly, when the commission appointed to examine into the condition of the Indians, consisting of Felix Brunot, James Wright, General E. Whittlesey, and Thomas K. Cree, visited the country, an agreement was entered into with the Crows to remove to a reservation in the Judith River basin, one third the size of that on the Yellowstone, which contained over three square miles to every individual in the tribe. For the exchange, a fair compensation was promised. Their removal was not effected; but in 1882 the government purchased a tract on the western end, forty miles in extent along the Yellowstone, and sixty in breadth, embracing the mineral region of Clarke fork.

The success of an effort made to ascend the Yellowstone with steamboats in 1873 determined the citizens of Bozeman, early in 1874, to send an expedition down the river for the purpose of opening a wagon-road to the head of navigation, and making connection with the advancing line of the Northern Pacific by means of this road and a line of steamers on the Yellowstone, and also to prospect for the precious metals. The expedition failed of its purpose, being harassed by Indians after getting into the Bighorn country, and was short of supplies, though its reports were of some use to the country. It had four engagements with the Sioux, lost one man and seventeen horses killed, and had twenty horses wounded. They found the Indians to be armed with breech-loading rifles, as well as every other fire-arm, bows and arrows; they were well supplied with ammunition, and mounted. But in a battle they aimed too high, and the white men, being better marksmen and courageous fighters, killed fifty for their one. B. F. Grounds was captain; William Wright, lieutenant; E. B. Way, adjutant; Hugh O'Donovan, signal-officer; B. P. Wickersham, secretary; councilmen, F. B. Wilson, T. C. Burns, William Langston, Addison N. Quivey, D. A. Yates (killed in battle), George Miller, A. B. Ford, James Hancock, Joseph Brown, and 133 others. There were 22 wagons, 28 yoke of oxen, over 200 horses and mules, 2 pieces of artillery, arms of the best description, and provisions for months. A large portion of these provisions were furnished by the citizens of the Gallatin Valley, who much desired to open the proposed road, and were greatly vexed by the return of the expedition without having accomplished its purpose. Delegate Maginnis had asked congress for an appropriation for the removal of obstructions to navigation in the Yellowstone.

Year after year the troubles continued. In 1875 a government expedition was set on foot to further explore the Yellowstone River with reference to its navigability, and also the selection of sites for forts in eastern Montana. It was commanded by Gen. Forsyth, and left Bismarck, Dakota, with one company of infantry, May 23d, in the steamer *Josephine*, arriving at the Yellowstone River two days later, and taking on two additional companies at Fort Buford. The mouth of the Bighorn was reached June 2d. Above this point, navigation to within twenty miles of Clarke fork was accomplished with more difficulty, though proving the feasibility of steamboat navigation for a distance of 400 miles up the Yellowstone. No Indians were encountered on the expedition except a large party of Crows, going on their summer hunt, who had a three days' fight with the Sioux in the Bighorn country in July. Sites for military posts were selected at the mouths of Tongue and Bighorn rivers.

Another expedition, a government geological survey, consisting only of Colonel William Ludlow of the engineer corps of the army, four other persons, including Grinnell and Dana of Yale college, and half a dozen raw recruits, without arms, from Camp Lewis, on Judith River, garrisoned by two companies of the 7th infantry, under Captain Browning, left Carroll on the Missouri, which at that time was a town of twenty-five log houses, and made the journey to Fort Ellis, just avoiding a meeting with the Sioux after their three days' battle with the Crows, the former having gone north through the Judith gap two days before the geologists reached it going south. They found at Camp Baker, on Deep Creek, later Fort Logan, two companies of the 7th infantry, Major Freeman commanding; and at Fort Ellis, Gen. Sweitzer in command, only two of its five companies unemployed, one being

at that moment escorting Secretary of War Belknap through the Yellowstone park, to which the expedition was bound. *Ludlow's Recon. to Yellowstone Park*, 1–17. This book contains a zoölogical report by G. B. Grinnell, a geological report by E. S. Dana and G. B. Grinnell, and the itinerary of the route by Ludlow, with maps and illustrations.

The accounts brought back of the resources of the Bighorn country, by the citizens' exploring expedition of the previous year, determined a company, led by F. D. Pease, late agent of the mountain Crows, to establish themselves in that country, and to lend their aid to all persons following their example. Four mackinaw boats were built, and loaded with artillery, arms, tools, and supplies for the founding and maintaining of a settlement in a new country. Misfortunes attended the expedition. Two boats were swamped by overloading, in the rapid stream, and a large portion of the supplies, tools, and ammunition lost. The new settlement was located in a piece of fine bottom-land on the east side of the Bighorn, near its junction with the Yellowstone, where another party in 1863 had laid out Bighorn City. Here a rude but strong fort was erected, the famous Bighorn gun mounted, and for a short time affairs progressed favorably. But this deceitful calm was not of long duration. On the night of the 10th of July the place was attacked, and the savages were with difficulty kept at bay until relief came from Bozeman.

The time had now arrived when the government, having exhausted its resources of treaty, determined to take active measures to obtain by force what could not be purchased with friendship and money. The order had gone forth that all Indians should be at their agencies by the 31st of January, 1876, or take the alternative of war. From the forts all over the Rocky Mountain country troops were marched into the field. Montana furnished 5 companies 2d cav., 1 of 7th inf., and 1 citizen co. from Fort Ellis under Maj. Brisbin; 5 cos of 7th inf. from Fort Shaw, commanded by Capt. Rawn; and 1 co. of the same reg. from Camp Baker; the whole to be commanded by Gen. John Gibbon, in command of the district of Montana. Wyoming furnished 10 cos of the 2d and 3d cav., under Gen. Reynolds, col of the 3d. From forts Laramie and Fetterman 5 cos of the 4th inf. were drawn; and Gen. Crook commanded the whole. Dakota furnished the 7th cav. under Gen. George A. Custer. *Helena Herald*, March 16 and 23, 1876.

The campaign opened by Gen. Crook leaving Fort Fetterman March 1st with a force of 750 officers, soldiers, and guides. Crook's experience in Oregon had confirmed him in his estimation of the importance of winter fighting in Indian wars. North of Fetterman 150 miles the wagon transportation was dispensed with, and the infantry sent back with it to Fort Reno. With the cavalry only, and fifteen days' rations, he proceeded to Tongue River, the weather being intensely cold. Scouting commenced under Col Stratton, who discovered the village of Crazy Horse, one of the bravest of the Sioux chiefs, consisting of over 100 lodges, on the Powder River, ten miles above the confluence of the Little Powder; and also that Sitting Bull, the most noted of all the Sioux since Red Cloud, was encamped on the Rosebud River.

Sitting Bull first became famous in white circles, in the Sully and Sibley expeditions of 1863 and 1864. He fought Sully north of the Black Hills, driving him through the Bad Lands beyond Powder River. He then returned to the Bighorn and drove out the Crows. In 1865 he warred on steamboats, and captured and killed the crews of mackinaws. He attacked one steamer with troops on board and was repulsed. At the peace council opposite Fort Union he wheedled the commissioners out of 20 kegs of powder and ball, and then went for their scalps. They escaped to the steamer, and under a shower of their own bullets, took refuge in Fort Union. He kept Fort Buford in a state of siege that winter. He refused to attend the treaty in 1868, but was present to witness the dismantling of the forts Kearny and Smith. He marched 300 miles to strike the settlement on the Musselshell; but the settlers lay in wait and killed 36 of his warriors. In 1869 he fought peaceable

tribes because they were peaceable, and besieged Fort Buford again that winter. The next winter congress appropriated $750,000 to purchase peace with him; and still he was in the field. *Epitome of a Speech of Delegate Maginnass on Defences for Montana.*

Crook divided his command, retaining but two companies, and sent Reynolds with the main force to attack Crazyhorse, while he pursued the trail to Sitting Bull's camp. Reynolds surrounded and surprised the village of Crazyhorse. Captain Eagan of the 2d cavalry obeyed his orders and charged the Sioux. But Captain Webb of the 3d cavalry, who was to have charged simultaneously from the other side, failed to meet him half-way, and instead of a victory there was a defeat. Crook, on learning the manner in which his orders had been disobeyed, ordered a retreat, and returned to Fort Fetterman, and thence to Omaha, preferring not to encounter the now exasperated Sioux with a command which could not be depended upon.

There seems to have been an effort made to cover up the conduct of the guilty officers, and there were directly opposite reports published in the news journals concerning the affair; but the evidence is against them. The Indians lost their lodges and the contents, among which was a large amount of ammunition, but otherwise their losses were trifling. Reynolds' loss was ten killed and wounded.

Toward the last of May Crook once more marched against the Sioux with about 1,000 men. At the same time Gibbon, who had been since the 1st of March in the field watching the enemy, and making roads and bridges, was encamped opposite the mouth of Rosebud River, and General Terry with Custer's cavalry was marching from Fort Lincoln, in Dakota, to coöperate with the other divisions. On the 13th and 17th of June Crook came upon the enemy in large numbers on the upper Rosebud, and in a hard battle lasting for several hours put them to rout, losing nine men killed and twenty wounded.

General Terry, who had arrived at the mouth of Powder River on the 7th, discovered the location of Gibbon's command, and held a conference with him on the 9th, when it was decided to establish a supply camp at Powder River, where the supply steamer *Far West* was lying, and to operate from this initial point. Six troops of cavalry under Major Reno were sent to scout up Powder River, which reached the forks and crossed to the Rosebud, following it down to its mouth without encountering Indians. On the 21st General Terry held with Gibbon and Custer a final conference, when a plan of campaign was adopted. Gibbon was to cross his command near the mouth of the Bighorn, proceeding up the stream to the junction of the Littlehorn, and thence up the latter; but to be at the junction on the 26th. Custer was to proceed up the Rosebud to ascertain the direction of an Indian trail discovered by Major Reno, and if it led toward the Little Bighorn, it was not to be followed, but Custer was to keep south for some distance before turning toward the stream, in order to intercept the Indians should they be coming that way, as well as to give Gibbon time to come up. Crook was supposed to be advancing from the south, and with so large an army, commanded by experienced generals, nothing but the complete humiliation of the Sioux was anticipated.

Custer left the mouth of the Rosebud on the 22d, with twelve companies of the 7th cavalry, striking the trail reported by Reno. On the 24th his scouts discovered fresh trails twenty miles up the Little Bighorn. The following morning a deserted village was discovered, and the scouts reported a large village two miles or more down the stream, and that the Indians were fleeing. This last information determined Custer to risk an attack without waiting for Gibbon. At this time Reno was on the west side of the river with a battalion of seven companies of the cavalry, and Custer's adjutant was sent to bring him over to the east side when the attack was planned. Reno was ordered, at half-past twelve o'clock, to recross to the west side and attack from the upper end of the camp, while Custer would strike the lower end and meet him half-way.

The village was located in a valley, on a narrow strip of bottom-land, backed by woods which extended up the bluff. It was arranged in four rows of lodges, and extended with one narrow street in the middle for three or

four miles. Reno, at the time appointed, leaving a reserve of four companies under Capt. Benton as directed by Custer, entered the valley and rode rapidly after the Indians, who made no resistance until the troops had almost gained the village, thus decoying them into a trap set for them there. As they came near the lodges, warriors seemed to start up out of the earth in swarms on every side, and Reno saw that instead of attacking he must defend himself. His men were dismounted and fought their way on foot to and through the woods to the summit of a high bluff, whence he sent Captain Weir with his company to open communication with General Custer. But finding it impossible to reach Custer, being surrounded immediately, Weir retreated, and Reno, dismounting his whole force, hurried the pack animals and cavalry horses into a hollow between heights and prepared to be assaulted in position.

It was not too soon. A furious attack took place, in which he lost eighteen men killed and forty-six wounded. The battle lasted until 9 P. M., when the Indians retired to hold a war-dance, and Reno devoted the night to digging rifle-pits, having abandoned the hope that Custer would be able to get through the Indians to his assistance. No suspicion seems to have occurred to any one that the general had met with any disaster worse than their own, and knowing that Gibbon would soon arrive, the troops kept up good courage, though much suffering was experienced for want of water, a want which was not relieved for thirty-six hours, or until evening of the 26th. A few canteens full were obtained, which cost one man killed and seven wounded. The thirst of the fighting men was terrible, their swollen tongues protruding from their mouths.

At half-past two on the morning of that day the attack on Reno's position was renewed with great fury. The noise of the firing was compared by a Crow scout to the snapping of threads when a blanket is being torn, so rapid and continuous was it. At least 2,500 warriors surrounded Reno's 700, who fought from rifle-pits barricaded with dead horses and mules, and boxes of hard bread, and being picked off by skilled marksmen, whom that officer believed to be white outlaws.

At 2 P. M. the grass was fired in the bottom, causing a dense smoke to obscure the movements of the Indians, and it was not discovered until sunset that they were removing from their village. At that hour they filed away in the direction of the Bighorn Mountains, moving in almost military order, and taking as long to pass as the cavalry corps of a great army. The meaning of this movement was explained when news was brought that evening that Gibbon's command was only six miles away, and would come up in the morning.

Reno was still looking for Custer to make his appearance, when a lieutenant of Gibbon's scouts dashed into camp with the astounding information that Custer and every officer and man who went with him into the valley on the 25th was lying naked and lifeless upon the field where they had fought. Custer's body escaped mutilation or even scalping, probably through the hurry of the Indians, the absence of the Sioux women who were busy with Reno's dead, and the circumstance that Custer's rank was concealed by a hunting-suit of buckskin. About half of Custer's dead were scalped. Report of Lieut Bradley, in *Helena Herald*, July 27, 1876. Bradley discovered the battle-field, and his account, although it does not agree with newspaper stories of mutilation, I take to be correct. Reno's dead, says the same authority, were frightfully cut in pieces. Custer was accompanied by his brother Captain Custer, a citizen brother Boston Custer, a brother-in-law Lieut Calhoun, two nephews Capt. Yates and Mr Reed, besides Capt. Keough and lieutenants Cook, Smith, Harrison, Porter, Sturgis, and Riley of the 7th cavalry, and Crittenden of the 20th inf., Dr Lord, Mark Kellogg, a correspondent of the *N. Y. Herald*, and 207 men, all of whom were killed. Reno lost lieuts Hodgson and McIntosh, and surgeon De Wolf; Capt. Benton and Lieut McIntosh were wounded. Charles Reynolds, a citizen, was killed. About 50 enlisted men were killed, and as many more wounded, some of whom died. In July 1877 the bodies of Custer and his brothers were removed east by Col Sheridan of the 7th cavalry and buried at Fort Leavenworth. The graves had been disturbed, most of the bodies being unearthed.

The remains of Reynolds were 'brought away in a handkerchief.' *Bozeman Avant-Courier*, July 19, 1877.

When Custer separated from Reno he proceeded with his five companies around the base of a high hill overlooking the valley through a ravine only wide enough to admit a column of fours. No Indians were in sight among the bluffs on that side of the river, and nothing impeded the progress of the troops until they had passed around the hill and come in sight of the village. The bugles sounded a charge, and Custer waved his hat to his men to encourage them. As they came to the ford leading across to the village, a sharp fire was opened on them by the enemy concealed in a thicket on the opposite side of the stream, which checked the advance. A portion of the command were dismounted and thrown forward to return the fire of the Indians, but as they now began to pour out of the village in hordes, and to deploy across his front and to his right as if with the intention of surrounding him, Custer withdrew toward the hills on his right, the Indians following, and his men fighting dismounted and leading their horses. By marching in a circle, taking advantage of the ground, and keeping the horses in the rear, a little time was gained, but it was impossible to avert the end. The Indians also dismounted, and completely surrounded Custer's command, which fought bravely but hopelessly as long as their ammunition held out. The scene which followed had no witnesses on the side of the troops, for within two hours every one of the command had met a bloody death. Reno's officers surveying the country from high points toward the close of the afternoon encountered only illimitable silence.

The little that is known of Custer's fatal fight was related to Gen. Terry after his first report was made up, by a half-breed Crow scout, called Curley, who accompanied Custer, and who escaped by drawing a blanket around him after the manner of a Sioux. But being hidden in a ravine, he could not have witnessed the closing scene. As he did not see Custer fall, it is probable he was not killed until near the end. *Helena Herald*, July 20, 1876.

Thereupon the troops retreated to the Yellowstone, where a fort was being erected at the mouth of Tongue River, which was named after Capt. Miles W. Keough, one of the slain officers of the 7th cavalry. A fort erected in the Bighorn country in 1877 was called Fort Custer, and the Montana legislature changed the name of Bighorn county, calling it after the lamented general who had given his life in the service of the territory; and the Little Bighorn River also was called thenceforth Custer River.

Terry's division, under Gen. Gibbon, remained at the mouth of the Bighorn, to which several steamers ascended during the summer, fighting their way with the Indians on the banks. Toward the last of July, Crook's force, encamped on Goose Creek, near Fort Philip Kearny, was reënforced by cavalry, and increased to 1,174 men, and Terry's to 1,873; but although Sheridan had 'stripped every post from Manitoba to Texas,' there were still not troops enough to give battle to the Sioux in a body in their chosen position. But a fair fight was not what Sitting Bull desired, and the delay in concentrating troops furnished him the opportunity of dividing his force into several war parties, going in different directions, and making war in detail.

Early in August, Gen. Terry, having been joined by the 5th infantry regiment under Gen. Miles, and six companies of the 21st infantry under Col. Otis, moved up the Rosebud River to form a junction with Crook, but only to march down again, Sitting Bull evading a meeting, and going north of the Yellowstone, whither he was followed by Terry. All through the remainder of the summer the United States forces marched up and down, from the Missouri to the Black Hills, having numerous skirmishes, and occasionally doing material harm to the enemy, as when Miles with 150 men surprised a village of forty lodges, on the road to the Black Hills, and captured their winter stores and a large number of horses.

Persistent warfare, in their own fashion, began to tire the Sioux in September, who sent begging parties to the agencies, where they received nothing, and soon a few made propositions of surrender. Sitting Bull, however, still held out, and after the troops, excepting the garrison on the Yellow-

INDIAN BATTLES OF EAST MONTANA

stone, under Gen. Miles, had returned to their posts for the winter, kept up a show of being master of the situation. On the 10th of Oct. he intercepted a supply train of ninety-four wagons on the way from Glendive Creek to the cantonment at the mouth of Tongue River, and forced it to turn back for assistance. On returning, five days later, with an escort of nearly 200 men and eleven officers, the train was again attacked, and advanced with difficulty, fighting the Indians, who had set fire to the grass around it. On the day following, Sitting Bull sent a despatch to Col. Otis, demanding that he should leave the train in his hands, and retreat to Glendive. But as no notice was taken of this command, the chief pretended to repent of his arrogance, and sent a flag of truce, with a request for a council. This also was declined, unless he would come within the lines, which he refused to do, sending three subordinates instead. To these ambassadors Otis said that they must come to Tongue River, to Gen. Miles, if they wished to open peace negotiations; and giving them some food, dismissed them.

In the mean time Miles had become alarmed at the unaccountable delay in the arrival of the train, and had come out with his whole regiment to do whatever fighting might be needful. Pursuing Sitting Bull, he came up with him on Cedar Creek and opened a parley; but as the Sioux autocrat would only have peace on his own terms, and showed a disposition to renew the fight, Miles engaged him, driving him more than forty miles, and capturing a large amount of provisions and other property, besides killing a few warriors. This blow crushed the war spirit in two thousand Sioux, men, women, and children, who surrendered to Miles on the 27th. Sitting Bull himself escaped with a small following to the north side of the Missouri. But hostilities were by no means ended. Prospecting parties continued to be cut off, and travel to be unsafe. In December a portion of Miles' command, under Lieutenant Baldwin, found Sitting Bull, and pursued him across the Missouri. A fortnight later the same detachment again discovered him on the Redwater, a small creek on the south side of the Missouri, and destroyed his camp, the Indians fleeing south. Miles, meantime, was fighting the Sioux and Cheyennes under Crazyhorse, who had escaped from Crook, in the Tongue River Valley, having a number of engagements with them between the 1st and the 8th of January, 1877, in which he overcame them and sent them to their agencies. Finding that he could expect no succor from Crazyhorse, Sitting Bull returned northward, crossing the boundary into the British possessions.

About the 1st of March Gen. Brisbin was ordered to take the cavalry from Fort Shaw and Fort Ellis and join Miles. The combined command left the cantonment on the 1st of May, marched up Tongue River, and struck a village of fifty-seven lodges on the Rosebud, capturing it, with the herd of horses and all the Indian supplies. The Indians fled to the hills, were pursued, and after a hard fight, in which they lost heavily, surrendered. Toward the last of the month Crazyhorse made a formal surrender at the Red Cloud agency, Camp Robinson, Nebraska, and the Sioux war seemed about to be ended. But this mischievous chief, continuing to make trouble by drawing the Indians away from their reservations, was arrested for this offence and his followers disarmed. He escaped, was rearrested, and refusing to give up his arms, was wounded so severely in the struggle that he died September 6th.

While the Sioux war was in progress, the Montana tribes, awed by the display of the military power of the United States, and, so far as the Crows were concerned, afraid of being captured by their hereditary enemies, remained at peace, except the Flathead and other Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, who had for some time been uneasy to such an extent that a military post had at length been ordered to be established in the Bitterroot Valley, called Fort Missoula, which was garrisoned by a single company under Captain Rawn. And, as if Montana had not enough of hostile Indians within its borders, an irruption of warring Nez Percés was forced upon it from the neighboring territory of Idaho, in the month of July, at which time the regular troops were in the field endeavoring to overtake the Sioux still at large and committing depredations.

Becoming much alarmed by the advance of the Nez Percés along the Lolo trail toward the Bitterroot Valley, the inhabitants of that region petitioned Governor Potts for more troops; and not knowing what else to do in the absence of an organized militia, the governor telegraphed the president for authority to raise 500 volunteers. The secretary of war, on being consulted, referred the matter to General Sheridan. General Sherman, however, who happened opportunely to be upon a visit to Montana, encouraged the governor to furnish volunteers, and it was determined to place 300 men in the field, and 240 were really raised. Missoula raised 64 men, Stevensville 38, West Side 32, Corvallis 35, Skalkaho 37, Frenchtown 24, in all 240; 160 guns were issued. *Bozeman Avant-Courier*, Aug. 9, 1877. The narrative of the Nez Percé war in Idaho and Montana has been given, and need not be repeated here. A large number of persons were murdered, a great amount of property destroyed, and several severe battles fought during this raid. In the battles with the Nez Percés, generals Gibbon and Miles won the commendations of Montanians and of their brother officers. The people of Idaho named, or renamed, the town of Dahlonega, on the north fork of Salmon River, Gibbonville. Miles' popularity was already attested by the founders of a town at the mouth of Tongue River, to which and to the organization of Custer county he had given encouragement, the new metropolis of an excellent grazing region being named Miles City in his honor.

The pressure brought to bear upon the government by the advocates of peace led to the appointment of another commission, whose duty it was to visit Sitting Bull in the British dominions, and prevail upon him to accept life annuities and the friendship of the United States, with a home at one of the agencies. The commissioners were Terry, Lawrence, Smith, and Corbin, who, late in September, left Fort Shaw on this errand. They were met with much ceremony at the boundary line, and escorted by McLeod, of the dominion police, to Fort Welch. On the day following their arrival an interview was had with Sitting Bull and his suite, in which the utmost unconcern was displayed for the commissioners and their proposals. Nothing was left for them but to return and report their defeat.

Not long afterward depredations were resumed on the Bighorn and Yellowstone and in the region of the Black Hills, causing Terry to order another winter campaign. But Sitting Bull cautiously remained in the British possessions, and about the 1st of May, 1878, sent a courier to General Miles to learn on what terms the United States would make peace, intimating that he did not expect to be required to give up his horse and gun. These overtures were simply toying with a power he both dreaded and despised. In July Montana again became the prey of hostile bands, adventurers from the Sioux, Nez Percés, Blackfoot, and Gros Ventres, who, making sudden descents upon wood-cutters, cattle-herders, teamsters, or other isolated camps, murdered the men and drove off the stock. At the same time the Bannack war was in progress in Idaho, and not a few outrages were due to this outbreak, and to the return of White Bird's band of Nez Percés through the Missoula Valley to Idaho. These Indians were pursued by a detachment from Fort Missoula under Lieutenant Wallace, 3d infantry, who killed six and wounded three, capturing and killing a large number of horses; but the principal portion of the band escaped and joined the Snakes.

Scouting was continued all summer by Miles' command, which did not, however, prevent the setting on foot of the geological surveying party in the national park, and other enterprises. Much difficulty had been experienced ever since the discovery of the mineral region of Clarke fork, in pursuing mining in that locality, on account of Indian attacks on the workmen, and the Nez Percés had quite driven them away in 1877, causing a large loss of property. In 1878 the reduction-works were once more put in operation, when it became necessary to give them military protection from the Bannacks, thirteen of whom were killed and thirty-seven captured by a detachment under Miles, in which engagement Capt. Bennett was killed.

In September a party of six Sioux arrived at Fort Keough from Sitting Bull, who represented that the Indians who had taken refuge in the British

dominions were desirous of returning to the United States, and asking upon what terms they would be received. General Sheridan, being telegraphed to on the subject, replied that he was not anxious to have the Sioux come back from Canada, but if they should, it would only be upon terms of unconditional surrender. The visit was looked upon as a spying expedition.

The winter of 1878–9 was noted for trouble with the Sioux and Cheyennes at their agencies, from which, time and again, they had escaped after surrendering, to return to war. Bad management by the interior department complicated these difficulties, which, however, affected Montana less at this time than the territories adjacent on the east and south. In the spring of 1879 a new post was established in the Milk River country, seventy miles from Benton, called Fort Assinaboine, to which point the 18th infantry were ordered, with six companies of the 2d cavalry, this post being for the protection of the frontier against Sitting Bull. Congress also appropriated $35,000 for a military telegraph between the several posts now in Montana. All these evidences of his power flattered the vanity of the great Sioux leader, who, while he remained safely outside of United States territory, plotted and directed as before. The Canadian government, however, on being informed that the chief would be regarded, after submitting himself to British authority, as a Canadian Indian, and held responsible for his acts, notified him that he would be arrested should he commit hostilities over the border. At the same time British Indians crossed the boundary to hunt buffalo in the territory of the Gros Ventres, who fought them on that account; and seeing that the seven or eight thousand United States Indians at the Poplar Creek agency, for whom an insufficient appropriation had been made by congress, needed the buffalo on their ranges, General Miles attacked the intruders, who were driving the agency Indians, and sent them back in haste to their own country.

The winter of 1879 was notable for a serious outbreak among the Utes, which called away a portion of the troops in Montana; but enough were left for the prevention of general wars, although attacks on life and property continued to be made in isolated localities, and were punished in detail. After six years of voluntary exile, during which his adherents grew poor and few, Sitting Bull returned to the United States and was domiciled at the Standing Rock agency in Dakota, since which time Indian wars in Montana have ceased. As a reward to the soldiers serving in the arduous and dangerous campaigns of the north-west, the secretary of war declared them entitled to wear distinctive stripes. He selected the campaigns of 1865–8 in Oregon, Idaho, California, and Nevada; of 1868–9 in Kansas, Colorado, and Indian Territory; of 1872–3 in the Modoc country; of 1873 in Arizona; of 1874–5 in Kansas, Colorado, Texas, Indian Territory, and New Mexico; of 1876–7 in Montana and Wyoming; of 1877 and 1878 in Idaho and Montana; and of 1878–9 against the northern Cheyennes. *Helena Independent*, June 19, 1879. Gen. Gibbon recommended that the volunteers who fought with him in the battle of Bighole should be compensated, and pensions granted to the families of the slain. *Helena Herald*, Dec. 6, 1879.

The legislature of Montana asked congress to make Montana a separate military department, with General Miles in command; but it was made a separate district instead. Of the forts within this district, Fort Keough, established by General Miles in 1877, is the principal. It has barracks for a large garrison, sixteen houses for the families of officers, a chapel, school, hospital, and other buildings, with a handsome parade-ground, in the centre of which a fountain throws up water from the Yellowstone River. Fort Custer, established by Col Brackett, 2d cav., in the same year, is on the Crow Indian reservation, where it preserves order. Fort Assinaboine, on the Blackfoot reservation, protects and keeps in subjection the tribes on that large reserve; while forts Shaw and Ellis stand at the passes whereby hostile bands could most readily enter the settlements. The peace and security afforded by government protection has imparted new life, and inaugurated a thousand enterprises before impossible. The Indians became more settled, and began to advance, though somewhat slowly, in the industrial habits leading to their ultimate good.

CHAPTER VI.

MINING AND CATTLE-RAISING.

1864–1885.

INFLUX OF PROSPECTORS—CONTINUED MINERAL DISCOVERIES—ALDER AND LAST CHANCE GULCHES—MINING ADVENTURES—SOME NOTABLE DISCOVERIES—HYDRAULIC MACHINERY — QUARTZ-MINING—TRANSPORTATION—ROUTES AND FREIGHTS—THE BUSINESS OF CATTLE-GROWING—RANGES—BRANDS—ROUND-UP—PRODUCT AND PROFIT—FURTHER MINING DEVELOPMENTS—CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE.

THE two primary elements of Montana's grand development were gold and grasses. In a rough country of apparently few resources, the discovery of Alder gulch, resulting in $60,000,000 of precious metal, which that ten miles of auriferous ground produced in twenty years,[1] was like the rubbing of an Aladdin lamp. It drew eager prospectors from Colorado, Utah, and Idaho, who overran the country on both sides of the upper Missouri, and east and west of the Rocky Mountains, many of whom realized, to a greater or less extent, their dreams of wealth.[2] The most im-

[1] *Strahorn's Montana*, 8; *Barrows' Twelve Nights*, 239.

[2] Among the discoveries of 1864 was the Silver Bow, or Summit Mountain district, on the head waters of Deer Lodge River. It was found in July by Bud. Barker, Frank Ruff, Joseph Ester, and James Ester. The name of Silver Bow was given by these discoverers, from the shining and beautiful appearance of the creek, which here sweeps in a crescent among the hills. The district was 12 miles in length, and besides the discovery claim or gulch, there were 21 discovered and worked in the following 5 years, and about as many more that were worked after the introduction of water ditches in 1869. The men who uncovered the riches of Silver Bow district were, after the original discoverers, W. R. Coggeswell, Peter Slater, Vernon & Co., C. Solomon, M. Johnson, Dennis Driscoll, J. Baker, Robert McMinn, Thomas Flood, W. R. Crawford, Sherman & Co., Henry Rust, M. Prettyman, Lester Popple, W. E. Harris, J. La Clair, L. Thayer, George Popple, A. M. Smith, C. S. Warren, James Beattie, George McCausland, Wolf & Cowan. From the gulches opened by these men was taken, between 1864 and 1869, $1,894,300.

portant discovery after Alder gulch was made by John Cowan, a tall, dark-eyed, gray-haired man from Ackworth, Georgia, who had explored for a long time in vain, and staked his remaining hopes and efforts on a prospect about half-way between Mullan's pass of the Rocky Mountains and the Missouri River, in the valley of the Little Prickly Pear River, and called his stake the Last Chance gulch.[3] From near the ground where Helena was located, in the autumn of 1864, John Cowan took the first few thousands of the $16,000,000 which it has yielded, and returned to his native state, where he built himself a saw-mill and was wisely content.[4] Hundreds of miners swarmed to Last Chance, and by the first of October the town of Helena was founded and named, and a committee appointed by citizens to lay it off in lots and draw up a set of municipal regulations suited to the conditions of a mining community.[5] From its favorable

Of the gulches, which lay too high to be worked before the completion of the Pioneer and Rocker ditch in 1870, the discoverers were: W. E. Vernon, John W. Baker, Nelson Everest, Charles S. Warren, Michael Moran, John Hanifin, Benjamin Vener, Eugene Boiteaux, William Barry, Thomas Smith, H. H. Alstreadt, Earl Gower, John Barrick, Levi Russell, John Sheppard, L. W. Burnett, John M. Killop, 'Arkansaw,' H. H. Porter, L. Griswold, Charles Rures, Sidney Dinnon, Vernon & Co., Thomas Burden, H. J. Mattison, Charles Noyes, Gower & Co., Crane & Lynch. Total number of claims in the district in 1869 was 1,007. There were at this time 7 ditches in the district from 1 to 20 miles in length, aggregating 53 miles, with a total capacity of 3,100 inches of water, constructed at a cost of $106,000. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Nov. 12, 1869.

[3] R. Stanley of Attleborough, Nuneaton, England, was one of the discovery party. John Crab and D. J. Miller were also of the party. They had come from Alder gulch, where no claims were left for them. They encamped in a gulch where Helena was later placed, but not finding the prospect rich, set out to go to Kootenai. On Hellgate River they met a party returning thence, who warned them not to waste their time. So they turned back, and prospected on Blackfoot River, and east of the mountains on the Dearborn and Maria rivers, until they found themselves once more in the gulch on the Prickly Pear, which they said was 'their last chance.' It proved on further trial to be all the chance they desired. Stanley, in *Helena City Directory*, 1883–4, 47–8.

[4] John Sloss, killed by Indians in 1866, on the Dry fork of Cheyenne River, is also called one of the discoverers of Last Chance gulch.

[5] George P. Wood, says the *Helena Republican*, Sept. 20, 1866, was the only one of the committee who ever attempted to discharge the duties of his office—an unpaid and thankless service. If Helena shows defects of grade and narrowness of streets in the original plan, it could not be otherwise in a town hastily settled, without surveys, and necessarily conforming to the character of the ground. And, as has frequently been the case, a spring of

situation with regard to routes of travel, and other advantages, Helena became a rival of the metropolis of Alder gulch—Virginia City.

Following rapidly upon the discovery of Last Chance gulch were others of great richness, as the Ophir and McClellan,[6] thirty miles from Helena,[7] on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, the Confederate, east of the Missouri River and south-east of Helena, and others.[8]

water determined the question of the first settlement. After the Helena Water Company had constructed a system of water-pipes leading to the more level ground, which it did in 1865-6, the town rapidly followed in that direction. A ditch leading from Ten Mile Creek to the mines below town caused a spreading-out in that direction. Hence the irregularities in the plan of Montana's capital.

[6] Named after John L. McClellan, the discoverer. Blackfoot City was located on Ophir gulch, discovered by Bratton, Pemberton, and others, in May 1865. In 1872 it had been abandoned to the Chinese.

[7] Helena was located on Dry gulch, which could not be worked until ditches were constructed. Oro Fino and Grizzly gulches were joined half a mile above the town, forming the celebrated Last Chance. Nelson's gulch headed in the mountains, and ran into Ten Mile Creek. South from these were a number of rich gulches running into Prickly Pear River. *Helena Republican*, Sept. 15, 1866.

[8] For 150 miles north and south of Helena, and 100 east and west of the same point, mines of exceeding richness were discovered in 1865 and 1866. First Chance gulch, a tributary of Bear gulch, in Deer Lodge county, yielded nearly $1,000 a day with one sluice and one set of hands. New York gulch and Montana bar, in Meagher county, were fabulously productive. Old Helena residents still love to relate that on the morning of the 18th of August, 1866, two wagons loaded with a half-ton each of gold, and guarded by an escort of fifteen men, deposited their freight at Hershfeld & Co.'s bank, on Bridge street, this treasure having been taken from Montana bar and Confederate gulch in less than four months, by two men and their assistants. And Helena bankers are still pleased to mention that in the autumn of 1866 a four-mule team drew two and a half tons of gold from Helena to Benton, for transportation down the Missouri River, most of which came from these celebrated mines in one season, and the value of which freight was $1,500,000. The train was escorted by F. X. Beidler and aids. The treasure belonged to John Shineman, A. Campbell, C. J. Friedrichs, and T. Judson. *Helena Republican*, Sept. 1, 1866; W. A. Clarke, in *Strahorn's Montana*, 9.

As a memento of early days in Montana, I will cite here some of the nuggets which rewarded the miner's toil in the placer-mining period. In Brown gulch, 5 miles from Virginia City, the gold was coarse, and nuggets of 10 oz. or more were common. *Virginia and Helena Post*, Oct. 9, 1866. In 1867 a miner named Yager found in Fairweather gulch, on J. McEvily's claim, a piece of gold, oblong in shape, with a shoulder at one end, and worn smooth, weighing 15 lbs 2 oz. *Virginia Montana Post*, May 18, 1867. From McClellan's gulch, on the Blackfoot River, $30,000 was taken from one claim in 11 days, by 5 men. From a claim, No. 8, below Discovery claim, on the same gulch, $12,584 was taken out in 5 days. The dirt back of Blackfoot City paid from 20 c. to $140 to the pan. *Helena Republican*, Aug. 26, 1866. From Nelson's gulch, at Helena, were taken a nugget worth $2,093, found on Maxwell, Rollins, & Co.'s claim, and one worth $1,650 from J. H. Rogers' claim. From Deitrick & Brother's claim, on Rocker gulch, one worth

It will be seen that with so large a stream of gold pouring out of the country, with a diminishing popu-

$1,800; and on Tandy's claim three worth $375, $475, and $550, respectively. Almost every claim had its famous nugget. Mining ground was claimed as soon as discovered, and prospectors pushed out in every direction. New placers were found from the Bitterroot to the Bighorn River, but none to excel or to equal those of 1863 and 1864.

The discovery of quartz-ledges was contemporaneous with the discovery of Bannack placers in 1862. A California miner remarked, in 1861, that he counted 7 quartz lodes in one mountain. *S. F. Bulletin*, Aug. 28, 1861. The first lode worked was the Dakota, which was a large, irregularly shaped vein carrying free gold, varying from three to eight feet in thickness, trending north-west and south-east, dipping to the north-east, and situated in a bald hill near Bannack. Its owners were Arnold & Allen, who proceeded to erect a mill out of such means as were at hand, the iron and much of the wood being furnished by the great number of wagons abandoned at this point by the Salmon River immigrants before spoken of. Out of wagon-tires, in a common blacksmith's forge, were fashioned six stamps, weighing 400 pounds each. The power used was water, and with this simple and economical contrivance more gold was extracted than with some of ten times the cost introduced later.

The first steam quartz-mill was put up in Bannack in 1863, by Hunkins. Walter C. Hopkins placed a steam-mill on No. 6 Dakota, in August 1866. The Bullion Mining Company of Montana owned a mill in 1866, with 3 Bullock crushers, and placed it on the New York ledge, Keyser manager. The East Bannack Gold and Silver Mining Company owned a mill in 1866, placed on the Shober ledge; managed by David Worden. The Butterfield mill, and Kirby & Clark mill, were also in operation near Bannack in 1866; and N. E. Wood had placed a Bullock patent crusher on Dakota No. 12, for the New Jersey Company.

Under the first quartz-mining law of Montana, 100 feet in length constituted a claim. The second legislature changed this to 200 feet along the lode, with all the dips, spurs, and angles, and 50 feet on each side of the lode for working purposes; but 1,000 feet of ground might be taken in each direction along the lode for the same uses. *Montana Scraps*, 39. The person discovering a lode was entitled to one claim for the discovery and one by preëmption.

In September 1864 James W. Whitlatch, born in Pa, not much cultured in book-knowledge, but with great shrewdness and an indomitable will, who had become acquainted with mining and milling ores in Nevada and Colorado, was looking for a quartz location, having prospected in several districts before he came to Prickly Pear, where he tried working some silver-bearing galena ores which proved intractable from the presence of copper and antimony. The expenditure, in a country of high prices, reduced his exchequer to naught, and he sought Last Chance gulch, there to encamp for the winter with eight companions. The placers were paying enormously, and believing that quartz is the mother of placer gold, he began searching for the veins. In this search he was assisted by his eight messmates, who, having less faith, and desiring to test their fortunes in the placer diggings, bound him to an agreement to give up the pursuit if at the close of a certain day of the month he had not found his bonanza. The day was drawing to a close, and his companions had returned to camp, when Whitlatch caught sight of a fragment of quartz, which on being broken open by his pick showed free gold. It was with a quickened pulse that he struck it into the earth and uncovered the long-sought lode.

This was the famous Whitlatch mine. In order to work it, a company was formed of succeeding claimants, called the Whitlatch Union Mining Com-

lation, with no exports except the precious metals and a few hides and furs, and with a recklessly extrava-

pany. In 1864–5 there was taken out a good quantity of ore worth on an average forty dollars per ton, and in Sept. 1866 the mill of the National Mining and Exploring Company commenced crushing it, followed by several others which were erected in this and the following year. These were the Turnley, Hendie, Sensenderfer & Whitlatch, and Ricker & Price mills, the first 2 erected in 1866. *Virginia Montana Post*, Dec. 25, 1867. Over 32,000 tons were worked before the close of 1867, yielding $1,001,500. The cost of mining and milling ores in Montana at this period was enormous, being $7 per ton to get out the ore, and from $15 to $18 for crushing it, in gold, when gold was worth a premium of 100 per cent. The profit was therefore small, but such as it was, Whitlatch, with the true enterprise of a pioneer, devoted to the further development of his own and neighboring mines. I X L, owned by J. C. Ricker and M. A. Price, was claim No. 1 west of Whitlatch discovery claim. Whitlatch and Sensenderfer was claim No. 3 east and claim No. 3 west on the lode, from discovery, a half-interest in which was sold to Sensenderfer in June 1869, and a 30-stamp mill erected thereon. The property was resold to a Philadelphia company under the name of The Columbia Mining Company of Montana, managed by B. H. Tatem. Claim No. 4 east was owned equally by this company and by E. Mansfield & Co. Claim No. 2 east was owned by Mansfield and E. Hodson. The westward extension on the Union lode was called the Parkinson, and was owned by J. W. Whitlatch, J. Parkinson, W. Parkinson, and C. McClure. On the extension, the Essex Mining Company, composed of Thomas Parkinson, W. Parkinson, Thomas Argyle, and C. McClure, owned 1,800 feet. They received a patent for the ground from the U. S., the first granted in Montana under a law of congress concerning quartz claims. The mill site included 10 acres on Grizzly gulch, ¼ mile from the mine. More fortunate than many other men of his class, he secured a fortune for his own uses.

The discovery of the Whitlatch lode led to a quartz excitement, not only about Helena, but in every other part of Montana. The Cliff was a promising lode at Helena, discovered by Worden and Hall, on which 18 claims were located, 9 of which were consolidated in one company known as the Crœsus Mining Company. The crevice of the Cliff was from 20 to 200 feet wide, and it rose in many places 30 feet above the surface. It formed a dividing line between the slate and granite formations. It crossed the gulches in the vicinity of Helena, all of which paid well below it, and none paid above it, from which it would appear that it must have been the source of their riches. The Owyhee Park mines also were famous in 1866. Professor Hodge was agent of the National Mining and Exploring Company of New York, which owned them. Turnley's mill commenced running on the ores in the latter part of August 1866. *Helena Republican*, Sept. 1, 1866. Hodge and his son Russell were indicted in January 1867 for killing George Moore because he took timber from the company's land. *Virginia Montana Post*, Feb. 2 and March 9, 1867. The Bullion Mining Company, of Nilson's gulch, commenced crushing their ores in November 1866. The Sultana, at the head of Grizzly gulch, had a ten-stamp mill erected by J. Gormley & Co. at work in November also. It was erected by Richard Fisher. His partner, Clifford, was superintendent for a New York company which owned 5 mills in Georgia before the rebellion. The property being confiscated, Clifford migrated to Colorado, and mined there for 5 years before coming to Montana. Among other mines partially opened in 1865 near Helena was the Uncle Sam, owned by a miner from Scotland named Brown, who had formerly worked on the Gould and Curry lode of Nevada. This mine was said at the period of its discovery to be the richest in the known world, being a well-defined ledge five feet wide, three fourths of which was pure gold, and the remainder principally bismuth. The quartz casing containing the vein, it was stated, would

gant system of government, Montana must be brought to comparative poverty, or at all events, was no better

assay from $500 to $2,000. Making every allowance for over-enthusiasm, the Uncle Sam was undoubtedly a mine of very unusual richness, with one of those bonanzas at the top which have not been altogether unknown in other mines.

While quartz-mining was being followed with so much earnestness in the regions of Bannack and Helena, it was being prosecuted also in the neighborhood of Virginia City. In Summit district, five miles south of the then capital of Montana, four mills were running on ores from the mines in that vicinity. In Hot Springs district, 30 miles north of Virginia City, were three others. Idaho mill was the first in Madison county, and began pounding ore with 12 stamps in Dec. 1865. It was not successful, being replaced by another little more than a year later. *Virginia Montana Post*, Dec. 30, 1865. The following year Seneca Falls mill, in a large frame structure with excellent machinery, Scranton mill with a Dodge crusher, in a stone building, and Excelsior mill with 20 stamps, in a fine, large building, were added. In a gulch just below Summit was the Foster mill with 24 stamps, crushing ore from the Mesler lode. A 50-stamp mill was on its way from the east, in May, intended for Mill Creek mines in the same county. The owners were James A. Dowdall, Manlius Branham, and C. C. Branham. The first run was made on the Lady Suffolk lode. Two mills arrived in Summit in Oct., for Frank Chistnot, from Nebraska City, overland. The best known lodes of Summit district were the Yankee Blade, Lucas, assaying $2,000,000 per ton, Caverone from 15 to 40 feet in width, Oro Cache, and Keystone.

There was one belonging to Raglan, Cope, and Napton, a custom mill, and one to the Clark and Upson Mining Company, and of which Professor Eaton was the agent. *Helena Republican*, Sept. 13, 1866. The mines in the Hot Springs district which were worked at this period were the Cotopaxi, Gold Hill, Esop, Oro Fino, Sebastopol, Buena Vista, Poco Tiempo, Alpha, Cleopatra, Mark Antony, May Reid, Megatherium, Brooklyn, and Pony. The latter was the leading mine. *Virginia Montana Post*, Feb. 24, 1866. Several other mills and mines appear in 1867, owned by H. A. Ward, McAndrews, Warre & Co., Isaacs, and L. W. Borton. At Pipestone, a few miles north of Hot Springs, a mill was erected in 1866. At Fish Creek, a short distance south of Pipestone, the Red Mountain district was opened too late in the season for the introduction of mills.

North-east of and within about fifteen miles of Helena, on the east side of the Missouri, was the Trout Creek district, in which both mills and arastras were busily at work grinding and pounding out gold from rock of great richness, at a place called New York, on a creek flowing into the Missouri, with a Brooklyn on the opposite side, the two towns having a population of about 400. John A. Gaston, one of the first comers, and an Englishman, was associated with Simpson in a 30-stamp quartz-mill. Each stamp weighed 600 pounds, and dropped 35 times a minute, pounding 22 tons in 24 hours. It started up Aug. 28, 1866. A water-power mill, with an 11-foot overshot wheel, was located west of the steam-mill, and carried six 500-pound stamps, crushing a ton a day each. This was the pioneer mill of Trout Creek district, and belonged to Wessel & Wilkes, and started Aug. 25th. It had an arastra attached. Another water-mill was erected by Cullen, and a 20-stamp steam-mill by Hendrie & Cass, during the summer. An arastra belonging to Rumlay & Watrous consisted of a circular basin 12 feet in diameter, with 5 mullers, weighing in the aggregate 3,000 pounds. It reduced 1,000 pounds of ore in 6 hours, with one hand, and was run by water-power from an overshot wheel, 8 feet in diameter.

The Star of the West was the first ledge developed in this district. Seven tons yielded $387.50 in Wessell & Wilkes' arastra, at a total expense of $97.50. The Nonpareil, Grizzly, Alta, Excelsior No. 2, Little Giant, Zebra,

off than other new countries which were without gold mines. This, indeed, was her condition for a number

Chief of Montana, Hidbard, Trout, Keystone, Humboldt, Sampson, and Old Dad were more or less worked in 1866.

The mines, both placer and quartz, were discovered in January, by four hunters returning from an exploring expedition to Sun River. These men were Moore, Price, Ritter, and Spivy. The valley of Trout Creek was 2½ by 1¼ miles in extent. The stream furnished the famous New York and other gulches, and numerous bars. A rumor of rich discoveries at the mouth of Sun River, in the winter of 1865–6, drew a rush of prospectors in that direction in the months of January and February. Many were frozen to death, or had their hands and feet frozen. Five bodies were found in the spring. Most of the explorers returned disappointed. *Idaho World*, Feb. 24 and March 17, 1866. A large number of immigrants by the northern route (Fisk's train) stopped there in the summer, but abandoned that region in October. *Virginia and Helena Post*, Oct. 11, 1866. They also explored the Bear Paw Mountains. *Helena Republican*, Aug. 21, 1866.

In June 1866 both quartz and placer mines were discovered on Crow Creek, on the west side of the Missouri, nearly due west of the south end of the Belt Range of mountains, which has furnished so great a number of good mines on the east side. At this place the town of Radersburg was laid off in October, one mile from the road leading from Helena to Gallatin. The first lode found was the Blipp, by J. A. Cooper and George Beard. The Johnny Keating, by Keating and Blacher, Ironclad, Leviathan, Twilight, Nighthawk, Ohio, Ultramarine, Robert E. Lee, and 20 others were located during the summer. *Virginia Montana Post*, May 2, 1868. The district, a rich one, and Radersburg had, in 1868, 600 inhabitants. In the Silver Bow and Blackfoot regions quartz was being daily discovered. In December 1865 there had been discovered the Lioness, Rocker, Shamrock, Original, Alhambra, Wild Pat, Mountaineer, Polar Star, Lepley, Dewey, Arctic, Fairmount, and a host of others. Quartz was discovered near McClellan gulch by Henry Prosser and Charles Melvin, 1,000 feet of which sold for $10,000. This was the Glencoe mine. *Helena Republican*, Aug. 18, 1866. But there appear to have been no mills introduced west of the Rocky Mountains until later.

The first arrival of hydraulic machinery in Montana was in November 1865, when the Nelson Hydraulic Mining Company imported four engines of ten-horse power, throwing water eighty feet high, with iron piping and india-rubber hose extensions. Another powerful hydraulic machine was imported by N. G. McComb in September 1866, and put up on Zoller's bar, near Bannack. The construction of bed-rock flumes and extensive ditches was only just begun. There were 500 or more gulches in Montana which produced well, and about twenty that were remarkably rich. Some were soon exhausted, but a good number paid well for the introduction of improved means of mining. As early as 1867 there were over thirty-two miles of ditching at French bar, near Cañon ferry, east of Helena, and ninety-six flumes, the cost of which was $75,000, and was at that period the largest improvement of the kind in Montana. The Bowlder ditch, owned by McGregor, Metcalf, & Speigle of California, which supplied the mines around Diamond City, was five miles long, and cost $60,000. The excessive cost of the work was occasioned by having to use 1,716 feet of pipe in crossing Confederate gulch. *S. F. Alta*, March 23, 1868. The El Dorado bar ditch, north of French bar, was 4½ miles long, and cost $50,000; and many smaller ditches had been constructed east of the Missouri, whose aggregate cost was about a quarter of a million. The Ten-Mile ditch at Helena was completed in June 1867. It was built by Henry B. Truett, who came to Montana in 1866. Truett, born in Maryland in 1814, removed to Illinois, and worked a lead mine; thence to Cal. in 1849, where he made and spent a fortune. He operated in mining in Nevada, and from there went to Montana. A good citizen and courteous

of years, from about 1869 to 1873. But this period was not lost upon its permanent population. Those

gentleman. Died April 23, 1869, aged 58 years, leaving a family. *Virginia Montana Post*, April 30th. Deer Lodge county had, in 1869, nearly 300 miles of ditches, costing $498,000, and carrying an aggregate of 20,350 inches of water. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Aug. 27, 1869. A nine-mile ditch, carrying 2,500 inches of water, was completed to Norwegian gulch, in Madison county, in 1876, and similar expenditures will yet be made in some of the richer placer districts. A flume was completed to Confederate gulch in 1879. There had been one built in 1876, which a flood destroyed. It was rebuilt by the owner, James King. It was but one mile in length, but it was estimated that it would require 25 years of constant work to exhaust the ground controlled by it. *Helena Herald*, Nov. 18, 1879.

In mining countries the usual succession is, first placer gold, then quartz gold, and lastly silver mining. In Montana the discovery of gold and silver quartz was contemporaneous. The first experiments with silver quartz were made in the Blue Wing and Rattlesnake districts, a few miles east and northeast of Bannack. The first lodes of the Blue Wing district were the Huron, Wide West, Blue Wing, Arizona, and Silver Rose; of the Rattlesnake district, Legal Tender, White Cloud, New World, Watson, and Dictator. *Virginia Montana Post*, March 31, 1866. The ores carried enough galena to make them reducible by the smelting process, furnaces being set up in 1866 by several companies. The first smelter was erected at Marysville by the New York and Montana Mining, Prospecting, and Discovery Company. Their scientist was A. K. Eaton, and their general manager E. Loring Pratt of Cleveland, Ohio. In 1868 the St Louis Smelting Co. erected furnaces at Argenta. The Rocky Mountain Gold and Silver Mining Company put up a cupelling furnace at Marysville, just east of Bannack, Charles D. Everett superintendent. The ore smelted was from the Wide West in Blue Wing district. A blasting-furnace was erected by Professor Eaton; a furnace and a 24-stamp mill by Duran & Co.; a cupel furnace in Rattlesnake district by Professor Augustus Steitz, on Legal Tender lode. The ore yielded 80 per cent lead. The mine was owned by Esler and others. The Stapleton and Henry Clay ores were also worked in this furnace. *Virginia and Helena Post*, Oct. 11 and Nov. 8 and 15, 1866. The Huron Silver Mining Company erected furnaces, Thomas W. Wood superintendent. A small town in this district, hitherto called Montana, suffered a change of appellation by the command of Augustus Steitz, and was henceforth known as Argenta, which name it seemed really to deserve from the quantity of *argent* which it turned out.

This was the beginning, and when the miners had begun to look for silver leads the epidemic had to run its course. They also began to talk about the placers being exhausted, and to dilate upon the importance of developing quartz, and doubtless the world is richer for their vagaries. When they came to look the country over, there really was no end of silver. Silver Bow, which in the first instance referred to a shining crescent of water, now meant that the crescent was backed by a wall of silver leads. In 1869 the judges at the industrial exhibition held at Helena gave the first premium to silver specimens from the S. C. Day mine, on Moose Creek, in the south end of Silver Bow county, then Deer Lodge. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Oct. 8, 1869. *Mining in Colorado and Montana*, by George Aux, is a manuscript of 14 pp., containing good references to early mining in the latter. In the most fertile and beautiful valleys, which should have been sacred to bucolic pursuits, cropped up legions of silver lodes, notably in the country about the three forks of the Missouri River, and on both sides of that river for a hundred miles. Silver lodes were found in Jefferson county, in 1866, near where the most famous mines of the present are being worked. The Gregory, owned by Axers and Mimmaw, was located near Jefferson City. *Virginia and Helena Post*, Nov. 10, 1866.

who owned quartz mines and mills, and who had not found them remunerative by reason of defects in ma-

But it now began to be observed that Montana was not advancing in wealth as it should have been with these grand resources. In January 1868 there were forty quartz-mills in the country already in operation, and half a dozen not yet set up, yet there had been a steady falling-off in the treasure production since 1865, which was continued during a period of ten years. I borrow from Strahorn's *Montana* the following table, which by comparison with the most reliable statements I find to represent, as nearly as possible, the gold and silver production of the territory:

1862	$600,000	1872	$7,000,000
1863	8,000,000	1873	5,200,000
1864	16,000,000	1874	4,000,000
1865	18,000,000	1875	4,100,000
1866	17,000,000	1876	4,500,000
1867	16,000,000	1877	3,750,000
1868	15,000,000	1878	4,867,000
1869	11,000,000	1879	5,000,000
1870	9,000,000	1880	6,500,000
1871	8,000,000		
Total			$164,517,000

Which amount is distributed by counties as follows:

Madison	$79,500,000	Beaverhead	$19,500,000
Lewis and Clarke	29,000,000	Jefferson	5,500,000
Deer Lodge	26,367,000	Missoula	1,000,000
Meagher	13,000,000	Gallatin	650,000
Total			$164,517,000

W. A. Clark, Centennial Historian for Montana, in Avant Courier, Feb. 23, 1877. Strahorn gives these figures. J. Ross Browne makes a lower estimate for the first 6 years; but Brown did not get his statistics at first hand. See *Mineral Resources of Pacific States*, 511. The Helena and Deer Lodge newspapers, which should be well informed, place the figures much higher. For instance, the secretary of the treasury makes the product of 1866 $18,000,000, while territorial authorities place it at $30,000,000 for that year.

To account for this reverse of progress is not difficult. The same happens in all mining countries in the first twenty years. The majority of the 30,000 or 40,000 people who flocked to Montana in the earlier years gathered up the most easily obtainable wealth and hurried away with it, often the same season. When a few years of this depletion had gone on, and it was becoming more difficult to pick up a fortune in a creek-bed or ravine, the discovery of new mining districts in Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming drew away a large proportion of the mining population, who never returned or were replaced by others. Of those who were left, some settled upon land claims, investing their gold in farm-stock, mills, agricultural implements, and buildings. Two classes were left, merchants who lived upon the profits of trade, and mining men who had a real interest in the country; and they had a heavy burden to carry in the cost of transportation. To get a quartz-mill from the Missouri River to its destination in Montana required from thirty to fifty wagons, which were often loaded at some point in Kansas or Nebraska. Or if they came by steamboat from St Louis to Fort Benton, it was the same thing—wagons had to be used to carry them to the point selected, several hundred miles from the landing. Often low water prevented steamers coming above Fort Union, or Cow Island. Freights during the first decade were enormous, costing the country between a million and a half and two millions annually, even after the population had shrunk to eighteen thousand. Many plans were resorted to to lessen the cost of transportation, but without materially affecting it.

chinery or ignorance of methods, took time to right themselves, or found others willing to take the prop-

The subject of transportation in Montana is one full of interest and even of romance. Taking up the recital at 1864, there was at this time no settled plan of travel or fixed channel of trade. There had been placed upon the Missouri a line of steamers intended to facilitate immigration to Idaho, which was called the Idaho Steam Packet Company. The water being unusually low, or rather, not unusually high, only 2 of the boats reached Fort Benton—the *Benton* and *Cutter*. The *Yellowstone* landed at Cow Island, and the *Effie Deans* at the mouth of Milk River. The *Benton*, which was adapted to upper-river navigation, brought a part of the freight left at other places down the river, by other boats, to Fort Benton; but the passengers had already been set afoot in the wilderness to make the best of their way to the mines. *Overland Monthly*, ii. 379; and a large portion of the freight had to be forwarded in small boats. At the same time there was an arrival at Virginia City of 200 or 300 immigrants daily by the overland wagon-route, as well as large trains of freight from Omaha. *Boisé City Statesman*, Jan. 21, 1865; *Portland Oregonian*, Sept. 14, 1864. In 1865 there were 8 arrivals of steamboats, 4 of which reached Benton, the other 4 stopping at the mouth of Maria River. In this year the merchants of Portland, desirous of controlling the trade of Montana, issued a circular to the Montana merchants proposing to make it for their interest to purchase goods in Portland and ship by way of the Columbia River and the Mullan road, with improvements in that route of steamboat navigation on Lake Pend d'Oreille, and S. G. Reed of the O. S. N. Company went east to confer with the Northern Pacific R. R. Company. In 1866 some progress was made in opening this route, which in the autumn of that year stood as follows: From Portland to White Bluffs on the Columbia by the O. S. N. Company's boats; from White Bluffs by stage-road to a point on Clarke fork, where Moody & Co. were building a steamboat 110 feet long by 26 feet beam, called the *Mary Moody*, to carry passengers and freight across the lake and up Clarke fork to Cabinet landing, where was a short portage and transfer to another steamboat which would carry to the mouth of the Jocko River, after which land travel would again be resorted to. The time to Jocko would be 7 or 8 days, and thence to the rich Blackfoot mines was a matter of 50 or 60 miles. It was proposed to carry freight to Jocko in 17 days from Portland at a cost of 13 cents per pound. From Jocko to Helena was about 120 miles, and from Helena to Virginia about 90. By this route freight could arrive during half the year, while by the Missouri River it could only come to Benton during a period of from 4 to 6 weeks, dependent upon the stage of water. The lowest charges by Missouri steamer, in 1866, were 15 cents to Benton for a large contract, ranging upward to 18 and 21 cents per pound, or $360 and $420 per ton to the landing only, after which there was the additional charge of wagoning, at the rate of from 5 to 8 cents, according to whether it reached Benton or not, or whether it was destined to Helena or more distant points. *Sacramento Record-Union*, May 7, 1866. San Francisco merchants offered for the trade of Montana, averring that freight could be laid down there at from 15 to 20 cents per pound overland. *S. F. Alta*, May 7 and Aug. 11, 1866. Chicago merchants competed as well, taking the overland route from the Missouri. Meanwhile Montana could not pause in its course, and took whatever came. In 1866 there was a large influx of population, and a correspondingly large amount of freight coming in, and a considerable flood of travel pouring out in the autumn. The season was favorable to navigation, and there were 31 arrivals of steamboats, 7 boats being at Fort Benton at one time in June. One, the *Marion*, was wrecked on the return trip. These boats were built expressly for the trade of St Louis. They brought up 2,000 passengers or more, and 6,000 tons of freight valued at $6,000,000. The freight charges by boat alone amounted to $2,000,000. Some merchants paid $100,000 freight bills; 2,500 men, 3,000

erty off their hands at a discount, and make improvements. Those who owned placer claims were driven

teams, 20,000 oxen and mules were employed conveying the goods to different mining centres. *Helena Republican*, Sept. 15, 1866; *Virginia and Helena Post*, Sept. 29 and Oct. 11, 1866; *Goddard's Where to Emigrate*, 125. Large trains were arriving overland from the east, both of immigrants and freight, from Minnesota, and conducted by James Fisk, the man who conducted the Minnesota trains of 1862 and 1863, by order of the government, for the protection of immigrants. The plan of the organization seems to have been to make the immigrants travel like a military force, obeying orders like soldiers and standing guard regularly. From Fort Ripley, Fisk took a 12-pound howitzer with ammunition. Scouts, flankers, and train-guards were kept on duty. These precautions were made necessary by the recent Sioux outbreak in Minnesota. The officers under Fisk were George Dart, 1st assist; S. H. Johnston, 2d assist and journalist; William D. Dibb, physician; George Northrup, wagon-master; Antoine Frenier, Sioux interpreter; R. D. Campbell, Chippewa interpreter. The guard numbered 50, and the wagons were marked 'U. S.' Colonels Jones and Majors, majors Hesse and Hanney, of the Oregon boundary survey, joined the expedition. The wagon-master, Northrup, and 2 half-breeds deserted on the road, taking with them horses, arms, and accoutrements belonging to the government. The route was along the north side of the Missouri to Fort Benton, where the expedition disbanded, having had no trouble of any kind on the road, except the loss of Majors, who was, however, found, on the second day, nearly dead from exhaustion, and the death of an invalid, William H. Holyoke, after reaching Prickly Pear River. In 1864 about 1,000 wagons arrived at Virginia by the central or Platte route. In 1865 the immigration by this route was large. The roundabout way of reaching the mines from the east had incited J. M. Bozeman to survey a more direct road to the North Platte, by which travel could avoid the journey through the South pass and back through either of the passes used in going from Bannack to Salt Lake. The road was opened and considerably travelled in 1866, but was closed by the Indian war in the following year, and kept closed by order of the war department for a number of years. In July 1866 a train of 45 wagons and 200 persons passed over the Bozeman route, commanded by Orville Royce, and piloted by Zeigler, who had been to the states to bring out his family. Peter Shroke also travelled the Bozeman route. Several deaths occurred by drowning at the crossing of rivers, among them Storer, Whitson, and Van Shimel. One train was composed of Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin people. In the rear of the immigration were freight-wagons, and detached parties to the number of 300. *Virginia Montana Post*, July 12, 1866.

A party of young Kentuckians who left home with Gov. Smith's party became detached and wandered about for 100 days, 35 of which they were forced to depend on the game they could kill. They arrived at Virginia City destitute of clothing, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of December. Their names were Henry Cummings and Benjamin Cochran of Covington; Austin S. Stuart, Frank R. Davis, A. Lewis, N. T. Turner, Lexington; Henry Yerkes, Danville; P. Sidney Jones, Louisville; Thomas McGrath, Versailles; J. W. Throckmorton and William Kelly of Paris. *Virginia and Helena Post*, Dec. 20, 1866.

The Indians on the Bozeman route endeavored to cut off the immigration. Hugh Kikendall's freight train of 40 six-mule teams was almost captured by them, 'passing through showers of arrows.' It came from Leavenworth, arriving in September. Joseph Richards conducted 52 wagons loaded with quartz machinery from Nebraska City to Summit district, for Frank Chistnut, and had but 1 mule stolen. J. H. Gildersleeve, bringing out 3 wagon-loads of goods for himself, lost 9 horses by the Indians near Fort Reno. J. Dilmorth brought out 8 loaded wagons from Leavenworth; J. H. Marden

to construct ditches and flumes whereby the dry gulches and the creek-beds could be mined. The set-

5, from Atchinson, for Brendlinger, Dowdy, and Kiskadden of Montana. J. P. Wheeler brought out 6 wagons loaded at the same place for the same firm. F. R. Merk brought 13 wagons from Lawrence, Kansas. Alfred Myres 7 wagons, for Gurney & Co. D. and J. McCain brought 11 wagons from Nebraska City, loaded with flour, via Salt Lake. E. R. Horner brought out 8 wagons loaded at Nebraska City for himself. The Indians killed 2 men, and captured 5 mules belonging to the train. William Ellinger of Omaha brought out 4 wagons. A. F. Weston of St Joseph, Missouri, brought out 8 wagons, loaded with boots and shoes, for D. H. Weston, of Gurney & Co. Thomas Dillion left Plattsmouth, Nebraska, for Virginia City, May 26th, with 23 wagons for Tootle, Leach, & Co.; Dillon was killed by the Indians on Cedar fork, near Fort Reno. A train of 19 wagons belonging to C. Beers and Vail & Robinson had 90 mules captured on the Bighorn River. The wagons remained there until teams could be sent to bring them in. Phillips & Freeland of Leavenworth arrived with 14 loaded wagons in September; and 5 wagons for Bernard & Eastman. R. W. Trimble brought out 17 wagons for Hanauer, Solomon, & Co. Nathan Floyd of Leavenworth, bringing 5 wagons loaded with goods for himself, was killed by the Indians near Fort Reno, and his head severed from his body. A train of 26 wagons, which left Nebraska City in May with goods for G. B. Morse, had 2 men killed near Fort Reno, on Dry fork of Cheyenne River. Pfouts & Russell of Virginia City received 40 tons of goods in 17 wagon-loads, this season. At the same time pack-trains from Walla Walla came into Helena over the Mullan road, which had been so closed by fallen timber, decayed or lost bridges, and general unworthiness as to be unfit for wagon travel, bringing clothing manufactured in San Francisco, and articles of domestic production. Heavy wagon-trains from Salt Lake, with flour, salt, bacon, etc., arrived frequently. So much life, energy, effort, and stir could but be stimulating as the mountain air in which all this movement went on. The freighter in those days was regarded with far more respect than railroad men of a later day. It required capital and nerve to conduct the business. Sometimes, but rarely, they lost a whole train by Indians, or by accident, as when Matthews, in the spring of 1866, lost a train by the giving way of an ice jam in the Missouri, which flooded the bottom where he was encamped, and carried off all his stock. *Montana Scraps*, 4

I have attempted to give some idea of the getting to Montana. But many of those who came in the spring, or who had been a year or more in the country, returned in the autumn. The latter class availed themselves of the steamers, which took back large numbers, at the reasonable charge of $60 and $75. The boats did not tarry at Benton, but dropped down the river to deeper water, and waited as long as it would be safe, for passengers. A small boat, called the *Miner*, belonging to the Northwest Fur Company, was employed to carry them from Benton to the lower landings. The *Luella* was the boat selected to carry the 2½ millions of treasure from Confederate gulch, of which I have before spoken. She left Benton on the 16th of August, and was 7 days getting down to Dophan rapids, 250 miles below, where it was found necessary to take out the bulk-head, take off the cabin doors, and land the passengers and stores, to lighten her sufficiently to pass her over the rapids. *Helena Republican*, Aug. 30, 1866. What an opportunity for Indians or road-agents! She escaped any further serious detention, passing Leavenworth Oct. 8th, and St Joseph Oct. 10th, as announced in the telegraphic despatches in *Virginia and Helena Post*, Oct. 16th. The expedient was resorted to of building fleets of mackinaw boats, such as were used by the fur companies, and either selling them outright to parties, or sending them down the river with passengers. Riker and Bevins of Helena advertised such boats to leave September 10th, in the *Republican* of the 1st. J. J. Kennedy & Co.

tlers on land claims began to realize that agriculture could be made to pay, whenever a railroad came near enough to carry away the surplus of their fields.

advertised 'large-roofed mackinaws' to Omaha, 'with comfortable accommodations and reasonable charges;' also boats for sale, carrying 10 to 30 men. Jones, Sprague, & Nottingham were another mackinaw company; and W. H. Parkeson advertised 'bullet-proof' mackinaws. That was a recommendation, as bullets were sometimes showered upon these defenceless craft from the banks above. Three men, crew of the first mackinaw that set out, were killed by the Indians. Another party of 22 were fired upon one morning as they were about to embark, and 2 mortally wounded—Kendall of Wisconsin and Tupsey of New York—who were left at Fort Sully to die. In this and subsequent years many home-returning voyagers were intercepted, and heard of no more. The business in the autumn of 1866 was lively. Huntley of Helena established a stage line to a point on the Missouri 15 miles from that place, whence a line of mackinaw boats, owned by Kennedy, carried passengers to the falls in 25 hours. Here a portage was made in light wagons. On the 3d day they reached Benton, where a final embarkment took place. At least 1½ millions in gold-dust left Benton on mackinaws in one week. One boat carried 22 passengers and $50,000 in treasure. A party of 45, which went down on the steamer *Montana*, carried $100,000. A party of Maine men carried away $50,000, and Munger of St Louis $25,000. Professor Patch of Helena, with a fleet of 7 large boats and several hundred passengers, carried away $1,000,000. They were attacked above Fort Rice by 300 Indians, whom they drove away. These home-returning miners averaged $3,000 each, which I take to be the savings of a single short season.

A new route was opened to the Missouri in 1866, by mackinaws down the Yellowstone. A fleet of 16 boats, belonging to C. A. Head, carried 250 miners from Virginia City. It left the Yellowstone cañon Sept. 27th, and travelled to St Joseph, 2,700 miles, in 28 days. *St Joseph Herald*, Nov. 8, 1866. The pilot-boat of this fleet was sunk at Clarke fork of the Yellowstone, with a loss of $2,500. The expedition had in all $500,000 in gold-dust.

It was projected to open a new wagon-route from Helena to the mouth of the Musselshell River, 300 miles below Benton. The distance by land, in a direct line, was 190 miles. The Missouri and Rocky Mountain Wagon-Road and Telegraph Company employed 20 men under Miles Courtwright to lay it out, in the autumn, to Kerchival City, a place which is not now to be found on the maps. The object was to save the most difficult navigation, and open up the country. *S. F. Call*, Jan. 12, 1866; *Virginia and Helena Post*, Nov. 8, 1866. The Indians interrupted and prevented the survey of this road. An appropriation was made by congress in 1865 for the opening of a road from the mouth of the Niobrara River, Nebraska, to Virginia City, and Col J. A. Sawyer was appointed superintendent. *Helena Republican*, Aug. 18, 1866. This would have connected with the Bozeman route. Its construction through the Indian country was opposed by Gen. Cook.

Such were the conditions of trade and travel in Montana in 1866. There were local stage lines in all directions, and better mail facilities than the countries west of the Rocky Mountains had enjoyed in their early days. The stage line east of Salt Lake had more or less trouble with the Indians for 10 or 15 years. In 1867 travel was cut off and the telegraph destroyed. The Missouri, treacherous and difficult as it was, proved the only means of getting goods from the east as early as May or June. The *Waverley* arrived May 25th, with 150 tons of freight and as many passengers. *Silver City Avalanche*, June 15, 1867. She was followed by 38 other steamboats, with freight and passengers; and in the autumn there was the same rush of returning miners that I have described, carrying millions with them out of the treasure deposits of the Rocky Mountains. The *Imperial*, one of the St Louis fleet, had the following experience: She started from Cow Island, where 400 passen-

But the men who were not injured or in any way put back by this period of silent development were

gers, who had come down from Benton on mackinaws, took passage Sept. 18th with 15 days' provisions. She reached Milk River Oct. 4th, out of supplies in the commissary department. The river was falling rapidly, and this, with the necessity for hunting, caused the boat to make but 20 miles in one entire week. The Sioux killed John Arnold, a miner from Blackfoot, and a Georgian, while out hunting. The passengers were compelled to pull at ropes and spars to help the boat along. Every atom of food was consumed, and for a week the 400 subsisted on wild meat; then for three days they had nothing. At Fort Union they obtained some grain. Still making little progress, they arrived at Fort Sully Nov. 14th, the weather being cold and ice running. At this place 14 of the passengers took possession of an abandoned mackinaw boat, which they rigged with a sail, and started with it to finish their voyage. They reached Yankton, Dakota, Nov. 22d, where they took wagons to Sioux City, and a railroad thence. The *Imperial* was at last frozen in the river and her passengers forced to take any and all means to get away from her to civilization. *Virginia Montana Post*, Jan. 18, 1868. A train of immigrants came over the northern route this year, Capt. P. A. Davy, commanding; Major William Cahill, adjutant; Capt. J. D. Rogers, ordnance and inspecting officer; Capt. Charles Wagner, A. D. C.; and capts George Swartz, Rosseau, and Nibler. The train was composed of 60 wagons, 130 men, and the same number of women and children. Captain Davy had loaded his wagons so heavily that the men, who had paid their passage, were forced to walk. They had a guard of 100 soldiers from Fort Abercrombie. *St Cloud Journal*, Aug. 10, 1867. This train arrived safely. The fleet down the Yellowstone this year met with opposition from the Indians just below Bighorn River, and had one man, Emerson Randall, killed. There were 67 men and 2 women in the party, who reached Omaha without further loss.

A movement was made in 1873 to open a road from Bozeman to the head of navigation on the Yellowstone, and to build a steamer to run thence to the Missouri; also to get aid from the government in improving the river. The first steamboat to ascend the river any distance was the *Key West*, which went to Wolf rapids in 1873, the *Josephine* reaching to within 7 miles of Clarke fork in 1874. Lamne built the *Yellowstone*, at Jeffersonville, Indiana, in 1876. She was sunk below Fort Keogh in 1879. In 1877, 14 different boats ascended above the Bighorn, and goods were wagoned to Bozeman. It was expected to get within 150 miles of Bozeman the following year.

In 1868, 35 steamers arrived at Benton with 5,000 tons of freight. One steamer, the *Amelia Poe*, was sunk 30 miles below Milk River, and her cargo lost. The passengers were brought to Benton by the *Bertha*. This year the Indians were very hostile, killing wood-cutters employed by the steamboat company, and murdering hunters and others. There was also a sudden dropping in prices, caused by the Northwest Transportation Company of Chicago, which despatched its boats from Sioux City, competing for the Montana trade, and putting freight down to 8 cents a pound to Benton, in gold, or 12 cents in currency. This caused the St Louis merchants to put freights down to 6 cents. *Montana Democrat*. The president of the Chicago company was Joab Lawrence, an experienced steamboat man, with Samuel De Bow agent. This reduction effectually cut off competition on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, and rendered the *Mary Moody* and the Mullan road of little value to the trade of Montana. This accounts, in fact, for the apathy concerning that route. For a short period there was a prospect of the Pend d'Oreille Lake route being a popular one, but it perished in 1868. *Overland Monthly*, ii. 383–4. In 1874 delegate Maginnis introduced a bill in congress for the improvement of the Mullan road, which failed, as all the memorials and representations of the Washington legislature had failed. There was a

the stock-raisers. Their only enemy was the Indian, and him they warned off with rifles. Stock-raising in Montana was carried on, as I have shown in a previous chapter, by the Indian traders, before mines were discovered. It cropped up, accidentally, through the trading system, and the practice of buying two worn-out animals of immigrants to Oregon for one fresh one, the two being fit the next year to exchange for four. It was found that the grasses of the country, from the mountain tops to the river margins, were of the most nutritious character; that although the winters were cold, cattle seldom died. The natural adaptability of the county to stock-growing was indicated by the native animals, the mountain sheep, the buffalo, and the wild horse.[9] The sight of the large

new era begun in 1869, when the Central and Union Pacific railroads were joined. There were still 28 steamers loaded for Montana, 4 of which were burned with their cargoes before leaving the levee at St Louis. This fleet was loaded before the completion of the road. Had the Bozeman route been kept open there would have been communication with the railroad much earlier; but since the government had chosen to close it, and to keep a large body of hostile Indians between the Montana settlements and the advancing railroad, it was of no use before it reached Ogden and Corinne. The advent of the railroad, even as near as Corinne, caused another reduction from former rates to 8 cents per pound currency from St Louis and Chicago by rail, to which 4 cents from Corinne to Helena was added. The boats underbid, and 24 steamers brought cargoes to Fort Benton, 8 of which belonged to the Northwest Company; but in 1870 only 8 were thus employed; in 1871, only 6; in 1872, 12; and in 1873 and 1874, 7 and 6. Conspicuous among the freighting companies which made connections with railroad points was the Diamond railroad, George B. Parker manager, which in 1880 absorbed the Rocky Mountain Despatch Company, shippers from Ogden, and made its initial point Corinne. *Corinne Reporter*, May 21, 1870. When the Northern Pacific railroad reached the Missouri at Bismarck, the Diamond railroad made connection with it by wagon-train, thus compelling the U. P. R. R. to make special rates to Ogden for Montana, the charge being $1.25 per cwt. without regard to classification, when Utah merchants were being charged $2.50 for the same service. Montanians chose to sustain the northern route. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Aug. 22, 1874. In 1879 there were 1,000 teams on the road between Bismarck and the Black Hills, and Montana merchants were unable to get their goods brought through in consequence of this diversion of transportation. *Helena Herald*, Oct. 18, 1879. Many efforts were made from time to open a wagon-road to the east by way of the Yellowstone, which failed for reasons that appear in the history of Indian affairs. These difficulties only disappeared as the N. P. R. R. advanced. Steamboat trade had a revival after the falling-off mentioned above. In 1877, 25 steamers arrived at Benton with 5,283 tons of freight. Small companies engaged in steamboating later. The completion of the Northern Pacific placed transportation on a basis of certainty, and greatly modified its character.

[9] I find frequent references to the black horse of Montana, which is described as a beautiful and fleet creature, the last of which has disappeared

herds, accumulated by trade, and enlarged annually by natural increase, pointed out an easy and speedy means of acquiring wealth—easier than agriculture and surer than mining.[10] Cattle-raising became a great and distinctive business, requiring legislation, and giving some peculiar features to the settlement of the country.[11]

from the plains. In the *Missoula Pioneer*, June 29, 1872, is an animated account of the manner of pursuing and taking them by the Indians—the Indian sentinels, the flying blackbird, the clouds of dust which helped to betray the creatures to their capture or their death, for they often died in the struggle, strangled by the lasso, and exhausted with running and with dread—and of the killing of the last of the race, a mare, by the writer. She was killed for stealing, or enticing away other horses. 'She stood 14 hands high, glossy black, not one white hair, but two, one on the edge of each sphere of her brain; her mane twisted in hard heavy locks, of which I keep two, each 3½ feet long; her neck and limbs clean, hard, wiry; her hoofs concave, thin, hard, and steep; her sharp, oblique shoulder and wither, straight, delicate face, and right-angled upper lids—soon told why she was so fast and spirited.'

[10] John Grant owned, in 1866, 4,000 head of cattle and between 2,000 and 3,000 Indian horses, and was worth $400,000. *H. Ex. Doc.*, 45, 26, 38th cong. 1st sess.

[11] I will give here an account of the methods of cattle-growers in Montana and the adjoining country. The land belonging to the government, which made no charge for pasturage, and the cattle requiring little if any care during the winter, the cost of keeping them was trifling, and consisted mainly in the wages paid to a few herders. Formerly all cattle were permitted to mix promiscuously, being distinguished only by their brands. They separated into bands, and sought favorite localities, as men do, being governed in their choice by the quality of their feed, water, shade, and the prevailing winds. If they preferred a certain grazing-ground several miles from water, they travelled that distance daily to drink. As the number of herds increased, some necessary regulations were introduced, as to the extent of ranges, in organized counties. In 1874 the legislature of Montana enacted a law providing that the county commissioners should divide their respective counties into not less than three nor more than ten stock-districts, with a place designated in each for the 'round-up,' which occurred annually or semi-annually —the 'round-up' being the gathering together of the cattle for the purpose of separating the herds, and branding the young cattle with their owners' marks, which were described, and recorded with the county register. See *Annual Rept* of auditor and treasurer of Montana 1880, for brands and marks of owners, to the number of 281, delineated in the printed pages. If any strange cattle or estrays were found in the herds they were given in charge of a person appointed by the commissioner, who was allowed a suitable compensation for taking care of them. Notice of a round-up was to be given 30 days in advance, and no two districts should hold these meetings on the same day. On the 1st Monday in June 1874 the county commissioners should hold a public meeting of the bona fide residents of each stock-district, in their respective counties, for the purpose of organizing a stock-board in each district, which should consist of three stock-inspectors, elected by the actual stock-owners of the district, to hold office for one year. The board should elect a superintendent and a clerk, and the duty of the former should be to attend all round-ups, and have the care and custody of unclaimed stock; while the latter should keep a correct description of all unclaimed or estray stock, in a book of record, and should send a copy of such descriptions to the clerks of the other districts. The stock-boards should have a separate brand for each

W. H. Raymond is said to have been the first to drive a herd to the Union Pacific railroad for shipment to the east, and this he did in 1874 without loss.

district, which brand should be recorded in the county clerk's office, and remain in the keeping of the superintendent, to be used only by the direction of a majority of the board. Estrays should be branded with the district mark, which on their being claimed should be 'vented,' i. e., obliterated. Heavy fines were imposed for branding the property of another with a false mark; and all animals suffering from contagious diseases should be taken 6 miles away from any herd, and confined in a secure enclosure, failing in which the owner should be punished by a fine of from $50 to $500. *The Missoulian*, Feb. 26, 1874. Herders were appointed for each district. Missoula county was divided into 9 districts, with the following herders, which in this instance are presumed to be the owners: Jasper Deschamps, J. K. Clark, D. C. O'Keefe, Sidney Mitchell, Samuel Miller, James H. Cowan, Joseph Pardee, Thomas Simpson, and Thomas Fruin. This law may have received some modifications.

Certainly the cattlemen have come to occupy a large extent of country. Eight men, in the territory surrounding the Yellowstone National Park, control an area large enough to herd, and let increase, 190,000 head of cattle. I get this statement from manuscript *Notes Recueillies sur les Elevages d'Animaux dans les Etats de l'Ouest de l'Amérique du Nord*, by G. Weis, 1884, page 4. This is an exhaustive account of the business of cattle-raising, from which I take some further information. Weis says that the number of herders, 'cowboys' they were called, was almost in inverse ratio to the number of cattle to be herded. There was usually a foreman where the herd was large, and two cowboys will herd 1,200 or 1,400 head of cattle. The wages of a foreman depended on his value—from $100 to $200 per month, or sometimes more, and the cowboys got from $30 to $90, with food, lodging, horses to ride, and ammunition. During winter, when there was little to do, the proprietor might dismiss a part of the herders, keeping those who, having spent their money in debauchery, were willing to work for their keeping. They were faithful to their employers generally, and performed their duties willingly. Mexicans were preferred on account of their horsemanship.

The round-up is the great event of the year. At the close of winter the proprietors meet at the rendezvous and decide where the round-up shall be held and when; what road they will take, and how many men and horses each will furnish, with provisions for the same. Five horses to the man is the number usually allotted, on account of the labor required of them. A chief or superintendent is chosen, and a number of deputies, to secure the proper execution of details. A large number of persons being brought together, much merriment is indulged in, the scene of the encampment being usually well-chosen and picturesque. For several days the work of driving in continues. As the calves are with their mothers at this season, it is admitted that a calf belongs to the cow which it follows and suckles. The proprietors, having separated their stock from the general herd, proceed to brand the young, renew obliterated marks, castrate the young males not desired for breeding, and sort out those that are to be sold. If another proprietor chooses to purchase, his mark is branded on the opposite side from the first. But it is to dealers from eastern stock-yards, or their agents, that sales are usually made. These purchasers have a copy of all the brands, to avoid buying stolen stock. Whether the cattle are sold on the ground, or taken to market—usually Chicago—they are driven to the railroad at some point where conveniences for shipping stock have been provided, as at Bozeman or Billings. Here the eastern agents are again met with, who keep an eye upon the shipment and telegraph information to the markets, or receive it from them. The Northern Pacific railroad in 1885 charged $100 a car-load of from 16 to 20 animals, and disembarked the cattle at certain places where the pasturage

The only danger to the welfare of the country, from the prominence taken by this business, is that

was good, allowing them to feed several hours each day, assuming the risk of accidents to the cattle, charging $40 or $50 per day for the whole train. Free passage was granted to the proprietors, who took the usual passenger trains, and to a certain number of cowboys, who had a special car attached to the cattle train, which took from 6 to 7 days to reach Chicago. The cattle sold are generally beeves, 3 or 4 years old, and weigh 900 to 1,100 pounds when embarked, but lose 120 or 160 on the journey. They bring from 3½ to 5 cents per pound; or sell for an average of $35. If kept another year or two, they may bring $45. Improvements are being made in the methods of transporting stock, to save it from loss of weight, or total loss, which does not often happen. The plan of production and sale is to part with one fourth of the herd annually. Bulls raised in the herds are not considered desirable, but those used for breeding purposes are taken from foreign localities, and the best possible, the English short-horns being preferred, after them Durhams, then Spanish. A cow will usually cost from $24 to $27, and will produce a calf annually for ten years. The increase can be counted on to be half male and half female. The female half in 2 years doubled itself, and so on in arithmetical progression, and at little cost to the owner. The following table illustrates the cattle-raiser's increase in 10 years, beginning with a herd of 890:

Years.	Steers.	Yearlings.	Cows.	Born.	Total.
1st	190	190	300	290	970
2d	90	290	400	300	1,080
3d	80	300	970	400	1,750
4th	100	400	720	600	1,820
5th	190	500	1,070	800	2,660
6th	200	800	1,470	1,000	3,470
7th	300	1,000	2,070	1,600	4,790
8th	500	1,600	2,870	2,500	7,470
9th	790	2,500	4,100	4,000	11,390
10th	1,000	4,000	6,000	9,900	21,000

The table above allows for accidents, and loss by cold, drought, etc., and supposes the steers only to have been sold. The yearlings comprise all the animals born of either sex one year after birth.

The expense of caring for cattle or horses in herds of 1,000 or more is about 75 cents per head. Adding taxes and all the costs of producing a steer worth $30, and we have a total of $3.50. Previous to 1879–80 the average loss from storms was about two per cent per annum. In that year the loss was 7 or 8 per cent, and the following winter it was also unusually large; but many were cattle driven in from Oregon late, and in poor condition. The banks loaned money to be invested in stock, and there was no more sure investment in Montana. A firm which borrowed $13,500 at two per cent per month for six years showed a profit of $51,073 over total investment and expenses. *Strahorn's Montana*, 103. *The West*, compiled from the *Census of 1880* by Robert P. Porter, and presenting a significant array of facts concerning the Pacific states, says that there were in Montana, in 1877, 220,000 head of cattle, 40,000 horses, and 120,000 sheep, and that the census of 1880 shows 489,500 cattle, 512,600 sheep, and 29,000 swine. It should be borne in mind, also, that the figures in a census report are always below the facts. In E. J. Farmer's *Resources of the Rocky Mountains*, published in 1883, containing brief descriptions of Colorado, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Wyoming, Dakota, and Montana, it is stated that there were at that date 400,000 cattle and nearly 500,000 sheep in Montana; the cattle being worth at $25 per head $10,000,000, and the sheep $1,750,000, the wool clip being not less than 3,000,000 pounds.

A large stock-owner in Montana was Baron de Bonnemain, born in 1851, at Means, Seine-et-Marie, France. He served in the French army under

the cattle-owners will continue more and more to oppose themselves to settlement. This they cannot do as successfully in Montana as they have done in Texas, where they have taken possession of the springs and watercourses by the simple preëmption of a quarter-section of land where the spring occurs. As settlers must have access to water and timber, to control the supply is to drive them away from the region. But in Montana there is a greater abundance of water, and timber also, and consequently not the same means of excluding farmers. Doubtless efforts will be made to obtain the actual ownership of large bodies of land, which the government wisely endeavors to prevent.

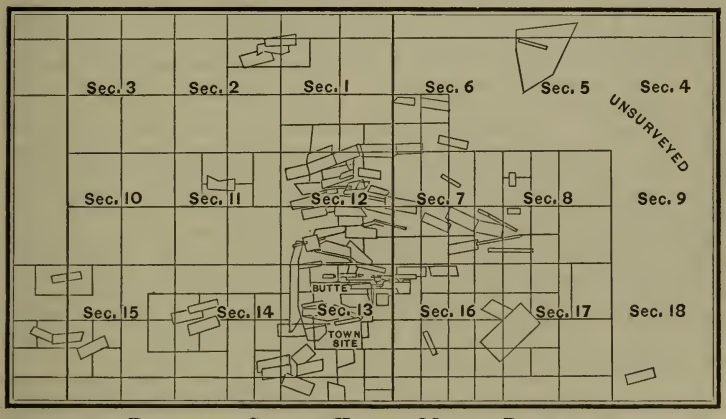
The falling-off in the yield of the mines forced development in other directions, so that by the time Montana had railroad connection with eastern markets it was prepared to furnish exports as well as to pay for importing. In 1879, three years before the railroad reached Helena, the farmers of Montana produced not less than $3,000,000 worth of agricultural products,[12] and were supplied with the best labor-saving machinery. They lived well, and were often men of education, with well-stored book-shelves,

Marshal McMahon in the Franco-Prussian war, after which he immigrated to New York, and visiting Montana on a hunting expedition, perceived the advantages of stock-growing on the natural ranges, and engaged in the business. He had 3,200 head in 1883, and a range of 32 miles. The baron has furnished my library with a manuscript on the subject, *Stock-Raising in Montana*, which agrees with that of Weis and other accounts.

The first blooded horses introduced into Montana in 1873 were owned by Mr Campbell of Gallatin City. The first large sales of cattle to eastern shippers was in 1874; by 1876 a regular trade was established, bringing in $120,000. Charles Anceny was one of the most enterprising cattle-raisers in Gallatin county, in the beginning of the business. The Montana Wool-Grower's Association was organized in September 1877. In 1878 John Healy of San Francisco, agent for a California company, established a depot at Helena for grading wool. The wool clip of that year was 1,000,000 pounds. An effort has been made to domesticate the Rocky Mountain sheep, but without success. *Helena Gazette*, Oct. 3, 1873; *Helena Independent*, Sept. 30, 1875; *Winser's Guide to N. P. Railroad*, 172–3; *Deer Lodge Independent*, Oct. 18, 1869.

[12] Wheat 400,000 bushels, oats 600,000, barley 50,000, corn 12,000, vegetables 500,000, hay 65,000 tons. *Strahorn's Montana*, 90. In 1880 Montana produced 470,000 bushels of wheat, 900,000 of oats, 40,000 of barley. *Farmers' Resources of the Rocky Mountains*, 110.

even while still occupying the original farm-house built of logs. By the laws of Montana a homestead of the value of $2,500 was exempt from execution and sale. Experience has shown that the grasshopper is the worst, and almost the only, enemy that the agriculturist dreads. This pest appears to return annually for a period of three or four years, when it



Butte and Summit Valley Mining District.

absents itself for an equal length of time. No complete destruction of crops has ever occurred, their visitations being intermittent as to place—now here, now there; and grain-farmers agree that while the yield and the prices remain as good as they have been, they can support the loss of every third crop. But it is probable that in time the more general cultivation of the earth will be a check, if not destruction, to the grasshopper.

But whatever the advantages of Montana to the agriculturalist, stock-raiser, or manufacturer of the present or the future—and they are many—it is and must remain preëminently a mining country. A reaction toward an increased production of the precious metals began in 1878, the silver yield being in excess of the gold.[13]

[13] The most famous silver districts were those of Butte in Silver Bow, Philipsburg in Deer Lodge, Glendale in Beaverhead, and Jefferson in Jefferson

Many phenomena are brought forward to account for the climate of Montana, such as the isothermal

county. In May 1864 Charles Murphy and William Graham discovered the Black Chief lode, which they called the Deer Lodge, in the Silver Bow district. Soon after, G. O. Humphreys and William Allison discovered the Virginia, Moscow, and Missoula leads. The Black Chief was an enormous ledge, extending for miles. Copper also was found in the foothills, and soon a camp of seventy-five or a hundred men had laid the foundations of Butte at the head of Silver Bow Creek. But they had neither mills nor smelters, and but for the finding of good placer diggings by Felix Burgoyne, would have abandoned the place. In 1866 a furnace for smelting copper was erected by Joseph Ramsdall, William Parks, and Porter Brothers. In 1875, the time having expired when the discoverers could hold their claims without performing upon them an amount of labor fixed by a law of congress, and no one appearing to make these improvements, W. L. Farlin relocated thirteen quartz claims south-west from Butte, erected a quartz-mill, and infused a new life into the town. Five years afterward a substantial city, with five thousand inhabitants, occupied the place of the former shabby array of miners' cabins. From twenty quartz-mills, arastras, roasters, and smelters, $1,500,000 was being annually turned out, and the thousands of unworked mines in the vicinity could have employed five times that number. The Alice mine, which begun with a twenty-stamp mill, in 1881 used one of sixty stamps in addition, crushing eighty tons of ore daily. The vein was of great size, depth, and richness. While the Alice may be taken as the representative silver mine of Butte, the Moulton, Lexington, Anaconda, and many others produced well. Eastern capital has been used to a great extent to develop these mines. The silver ores of this district carried a heavy percentage of copper, and some lodes were really copper veins carrying silver.

Cable district, twenty-five miles north-west of Butte, took it name from the Atlantic Cable gold mine, which yielded $20,000 from 100 tons of quartz, picked specimens from which weighing 200 pounds contained $7,000 in gold.

North-west of the Cable district was the Silver district of Algonquin, on Flint Creek, where the town of Philipsburg was placed. Here were the famous Algonquin and Speckled Trout mines, with reduction-works erected by the Northwest Co. In 1881 a body of ore was found in the Algonquin which averaged 500 ounces to the ton of silver, with enough in sight to yield $2,000,000. The Hope, Comanche, and other mines in this district were worked by a St Louis company, and produced bullion to the amount of from $300,000 to $500,000 annually since 1877. The Granite furnished rock worth seventy-five dollars per ton.

Philipsburg was laid out in 1867, its future being predicated upon the silver-bearing veins in its vicinity. The first mill, erected at a great expense by the St Louis and Montana Mining Company, failed to extract the silver, which for years patient mine-owners had been reducing by rude arastras and hand machinery to prove the value of their mines, and the prospects of Philipsburg were clouded. A home association, called the Imperial Silver Mining Company, was formed in 1871, which erected a five-stamp mill and roaster, and after many costly experiments, found the right method of extracting silver from the ores of the district. The stamps of their mill being of wood were soon worn out, and the company made contracts with the St Louis company's mill to crush the ore from the Speckled Trout mine, the machinery having to be changed from wet to dry crushing, and two new roasting-furnaces erected, the expense being borne by the Imperial Company.

The process which was adopted in this district is known as the Reese River chloridizing process. The ore, after being pulverized, dry, is mixed with 6 per cent of common salt, placed in roasting-furnaces—1,200 pounds to each furnace—and agitated with long-handled iron hoes for 4½ hours, while subjected to a gradually increasing heat. After being drawn and cooled, the pulp is amalgamated in Wheeler pans. The wet pulp, agitated in hot water and quicksilver, after four hours is drawn into large wooden vats called set-

lines, the chinook wind, and the geysers of Yellowstone park, all of which influences are doubtless felt;

tlers, with revolving arms, from which it passes through a small pan, where the last of the amalgam which may have escaped is saved. It is then retorted and turned into bullion. The cost of milling and roasting the ore was $40 per ton, and the yield $125. Eight tons per day of 24 hours was the capacity of the works. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, June 22, 1872. The salt used in reducing ores in Montana is chiefly brought from the Oneida salt-works of Idaho.

In 1876 the St Louis company took $20,000 worth of silver bullion from 157 tons of the Hope ore, and the average yield of medium ore was rated at $65 per ton. As a result of the profitable working of the mines of this district, the population, which in 1872 was little over 200, by 1886 had doubled. In every direction from Flint Creek, the valley of which is a rich agricultural region, the hills are full of minerals. At Philipsburg there is about four per cent of gold in the bullion. North from there the gold increases, until near Beartown it is almost pure. Between Philipsburg and the mouth of Flint Creek veins carrying silver, gold, copper, and iron abound.

In Lewis and Clarke county the quartz gold mines held their own. The Whitlatch-Union after producing $3,500,000 suspended, that its owners might settle some points of difference between them, and not from any want of productiveness. About twenty-five miles north-west of Helena was the Silver Creek or Stemple district, the most famous of whose mines of gold is the Penobscot, discovered by Nathan Vestal, who took out $100,000, and then sold the mine for $400,000. The mines in this district produce by milling about ten dollars per ton on an average. The Belmont produced with a twenty-stamp mill $200,000 annually, at a profit of nearly half that amount. The Bluebird, Hickory, Gloster, and Drum Lemond were averaging from ten to twelve dollars to the ton.

Silver mines were worked at Clancy, eighteen miles south of Helena. At Wickes, twenty-five miles south, were the most extensive smelting-works in Montana, erected by the Alta-Montana Company, which had a capital stock of $5,000,000, and calculated to treat all classes of ores in which silver and lead combined. Silver was discovered on Clarke fork of the Yellowstone in 1874, and F. D. Pease went to Pa in the spring of 1875 to arrange for erecting smelting-works; but Indian troubles prevented mining in that region until 1877, when the Eastern Montana Mining and Smelting Company erected furnaces. In 1873 the famous Trapper silver lode was discovered, followed immediately by others in the vicinity.

As a rule, the ores of Montana are easily worked. The rock in which auriferous and argentiferous veins occur is limestone or granite, often granite capped with slate. The presence of lead and copper simplifies the process of the reduction of silver, and in general the character of Montana galena ores does not differ greatly from those of Utah, Colorado, eastern Nevada, and Idaho. No lead mines have been worked, though they exist in these territories, but the lead obtained from their silver ores furnished, in 1875, half of that used in the United States, which was 61,473 tons. Copper lodes are abundant and large, and are found near Butte, at White Sulphur Springs, and in the Musselshell country, as well as in several other parts of the country. Iron is found in a great number of places. Deer Lodge county has an iron mountain four times larger than the iron mountain of Missouri. Fine marble, excellent building stone, fire-clay, zinc, coal, and all the materials of which and with which men build the substantial monuments of civilization, are grouped together in Montana in a remarkable manner, when it is considered that the almost universal estimate of a mineral country is that it is unfit for the attainment of the greatest degree of refinement and luxury, and that when the precious metals are exhausted, nothing worth remaining for in the country will be left.

In 1879 the United States assay office was opened at Helena, congress having enacted that the secretary of the treasury might constitute any super-

but to the lower altitude of the country, as compared with the territories lying south, much of its

intendent of a mint, or assayer of an assay office, an assistant treasurer to receive gold coin and bullion on deposit. The assay office was a relief to miners, who had been forced to send their bullion east at exorbitant charges.

The silver export aggregated in 1879 $6,635,022. The non-mineral exports, after ten years of territorial existence, were as follows:

Buffalo robes, 6,500 @ $5	$327,500
Antelope, deer, elk, bear, wolf, and other skins @ 50 cents ₱ lb	50,000
Beaver, otter, mink, etc	20,000
Flint hides, 400,000 lbs @ 12 cents	50,000
Sheep peltries	5,000
Wool, 100,000 lbs @ 35 cents	35,000
Cattle, fat, @ $27.50, 3,500 head	101,250
Stock-cattle @ $20, 1,000 head	20,000
Total	$608,750

Deer Lodge New Northwest, April 30, 1875.

There was received at Omaha, in 1876, over $60,000,000; $27,000,000 in silver bullion, handled by express, besides a large amount sent as freight. The gold handled was $25,000,000. The Omaha smelting-works furnished $5,000,000. Of the silver, $10,000,000 was in coin, about half of which was returned. Of the whole, the Black Hills furnished $2,000,000; Colorado, Montana, and Idaho the rest. *Omaha Republican*, in *Bozeman Avant-Courier*, Feb. 8, 1877.

An agricultural, mechanical, and mineral association was incorporated in Dec. 1867, which held its first fair from the 6th to the 12th of Sept., 1868, at Helena. Governor Smith was the first president; Sol Merideth, vice-president; W. E. Cullen, secretary; J. T. Forbes, treasurer; J. F. Farber, W. L. Irvine, W. S. Travis, C. P. Higgins, W. L. Vantilburg, J. B. Campbell, and Philip Thorn, directors. *Helena Montana Post*, March 17, 1868. A territorial grange was organized soon after. Missoula county held its first fair in 1876. It will be seen that, under the conditions set forth as existing previous to the opening of railroad communication, no matter what its facilities for agriculture, Montana would not establish a reputation as a farming country. Nevertheless it was gradually coming to be better understood in this respect with each succeeding year. It has been demonstrated that new soils are the most highly productive, the yield of grain, and particularly of vegetables, being often astonishingly great in the territories. Therefore I pass over the numerous instances of enormous garden productions, to the statement that as a wheat country virgin Montana was not surpassed, and all the cereals except corn yielded largely. In the higher valleys grain was likely to fail on account of frost, but in not too elevated parts the yield was from thirty to fifty bushels per acre. Wheat averaged thirty bushels and oats seventy-five. The following table in Strahorn's *Montana*, 82, is valuable, as recording the names of pioneer agriculturists, with their locations:

Name.	Location.	Acres.	Crop and Yield.	Average bush. per acre.	Value.
A. G. England	Missoula Valley	160	Wheat 7,000	43¾	$8,400
A. G. England	Missoula Valley	40	Oats 2,000	50	1,200
Robert. Vaughn	Sun River Valley	4	Oats 410	102½	246
M. Stone	Ruby Valley	100	Wheat 6,000	60	7,200
Brockway	Yellowstone Valley	8	Oats 600	75	360
Brigham Reed	Gallatin Valley	6	Oats 620	103⅓	362
Marion Leverich	Gallatin Valley	23	Wheat 1,150	50	1,380
William Reed	Prickly Pear Valley	50	Oats 3,500	70	2,100
Charles Rowe	Missouri Valley	23⅔	Wheat and oats 1,200	45	1,250
Con. Korhs	Deer Lodge Valley	11	Oats 1,200	100	720
John Rowe	Gallatin Valley	85	Oats 4,982	57	2,989
Robert Barnett	Reese Creek Valley	48	Wheat 2,200	45	2,640
S. Hall	Ruby Valley	500	Wheat 10,000	50	11,000

mildness of climate must be ascribed. Latitude west of the Rocky Mountains does not affect climate as it does to the east of that line; nor does it account for temperature to any marked extent on the eastern slope of the great divide, for we may journey four hundred miles north into the British possessions, finding flourishing farms the whole distance; and it is a curious fact that the Missouri River is open above the falls, in Montana, four weeks before the ice breaks up on the Iowa frontier. In all countries seasons vary, with now and then severe winters or hot summers. A great snowfall in the Montana mountains every

The soldiers at Fort Ellis in the Gallatin Valley raised all the vegetables to feed the five companies stationed there, thereby saving the government between $7,000 and $8,000. General Brisbin, who was for a long time in command of that post, was one of the most enthusiastic writers on the resources of the country, contributing articles to the *American Agriculturist*, and other journals, which were copied in the Montana newspapers. See *Helena Herald*, Jan. 2, 1879. Rye raised by B. F. Hooper of Bowlder Valley produced grains ½ larger than the ordinary size, plump, gold-tinted, and transparent as wheat—65 pounds to the bushel. Three quarts of seed yielded 10 bushels of grain, sown in the spring. This seed is said to have come from some grains taken from the craw of a migratory bird killed in Oregon in 1863. *Virginia Montana Post*, Jan. 29, 1868.

As in every country, the valleys were first settled. What the uplands, now devoted to grazing, will produce remains to be demonstrated in the future. Although it is generally thought that comparative altitude is an important factor in the making of crops, it is now pretty well understood that where bunch-grass grows wheat will grow as well.

The average altitude of Montana is less by 2,260 feet than the average altitude of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico. Official reports make the mean elevation of Montana 3,900 feet; of Wyoming 6,400; of Colorado 7,000; and of New Mexico 5,660. Of Montana's 145,786 square miles, an area of 51,600 is less than 4,000 feet above the sea; 40,700 less than 3,000. The towns are either in mining districts, which are high, or in agricultural districts, which are lower; therefore the following list of elevations is indicative of the occupations of the inhabitants:

Argenta.....6,337	Brewer's Springs...4,957	Hamilton.....4,342
Beaverhead.....4,464	Camp Baker.....4,538	Jefferson... .4,776
Bighorn City.....2,831	Carroll.....2,247	Lovell.....5,465
Boetler's Rancho..4,873	Deer Lodge.....4,546	Montana City.4,191
Bozeman..... .4,900	Fort Benton.....2,780	Missoula.....3,900
Butte.....5,800	Fort Shaw.... ...6,000	Nevada City..5,548
Bannack.....5,896	Fish Creek Station.4,134	Sheridan.....5,221
Beaverstown.....4,942	Fort Ellis.....4,935	Salisbury.....4,838
Blackfoot Agency.3,169	Gallatin City.....4,838	Virginia City..2,824
Bowlder.....5,000	Helena.....4,266	Whitehall....4,639

It will be observed by a comparison with the preceding table that an altitude of nearly 5,000 feet, as at Bozeman, Fort Ellis, and Gallatin City, does not affect the production of cereals unfavorably. Sun River Valley near Fort Shaw, at a considerably greater altitude, produces 100 bushels of oats to the acre.

winter is expected and hoped for. Its depth throughout the country is graded by the altitude, the valleys getting only enough to cover the grass a few inches, and for a few days, when a sudden thaw, caused by the warm chinook, carries it off. Occasionally a wind from the interior plains, accompanied by severe cold and blinding particles of ice rather than snow, which fill and darken the air, brings discomfort to all, and death to a few. Such storms extend from the Rocky Mountains to east of the Missouri River; from Helena to Omaha.

The mean temperature of Helena is 44°, four degrees higher than that of Deer Lodge or Virginia City, these points being of considerable elevation about the valleys, where the mean temperature is about 48°. With the exception of cold storms of short duration, the coldest weather of winter may be set down at 19° below zero, and the warmest weather of summer at 94°. June is rainy, the sky almost the whole of the rest of the year being clear, and irrigation necessary to crops. The bright and bracing atmosphere promotes health, and epidemics are unknown. Violent storms and atmospheric disturbances are rare.[14]

The first settlers of Montana had doubts about the profits of fruit-culture, which have been dispelled by experiments. Apples, pears, plums, grapes, cherries, currants, gooseberries, raspberries, blackberries, and strawberries bear abundantly, and produce choice fruit at an early age.[15] In the Missoula Valley cultivated

[14] An earthquake was felt at Helena in the spring of 1869, which did no damage; a tornado visited the country in April 1870—both rare occurrences. In 1868, which was a dry year, Deer Lodge Lake, at the base of the Gold Creek Mountains, was full to the brim, covering 50 or 60 acres. In 1870, with a rainy spring, it had shrunk to an area of 100 by 150 feet. The lake has no visible outlet, but has a granite bottom. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, May 27, 1870. Thirty miles from Helena is the Bear Tooth Mountain, standing at the entrance to the Gate of the Mountains cañon. Previous to 1878 it had two tusks fully 500 feet high, being great masses of rock 300 feet wide at the base and 150 feet on top. In February 1878 one of these tusks fell, sweeping through a forest, and leveling the trees for a quarter of a mile. *Helena Independent*, Feb. 14, 1878.

[15] One of the largest fruit-growers in the country was D. W. Curtiss, near Helena. He came from Ohio about 1870 a poor man. In 1884 he owned his farm, and marketed from $4,000 to $7,000 worth of berries and vegetables annually.

strawberries still ripen in November. At the county fair in 1880 over a dozen varieties of standard apples were exhibited, with several of excellent plums and pears. Most of the orchards had been planted subsequently to 1870, and few were more than six years old. Trees of four years of age will begin to bear. At the greater altitude of Deer Lodge and Helena fruit was at this period beginning to be successfully cultivated; but fruit-growing being generally undertaken with reluctance in a new country, it is probable, judging by the success achieved in Colorado, that the capacity of Montana for fruit-culture is still much underrated. All garden roots attain a great size, and all vegetables are of excellent quality. Irrigation, which is necessary in most localities, is easily accomplished, the country in general being traversed by many streams. For this reason irrigation has not yet been undertaken on the grand scale with which it has been applied to the arid lands a few degrees farther south. The desert land act, designed to benefit actual settlers, has been taken advantage of to enrich powerful companies, which by bringing water in canals long distances were able to advance the price of land $10 or $15 per acre. The timber culture act was made use of in the same way to increase the value of waste land.[16] Doubtless the lands thus benefited were actu-

[16] Some of the early farmers of Montana might be mentioned here.

E. S. Banta, born in Mo. Sept. 2, 1832; brought up a farmer; immigrated to Cal. in 1862, with his own team; remained there one year, and came to Montana, first to the Bitterroot Valley, then to Gallatin City, and finally to Willow Creek in Madison co., where he obtained 196 acres of land, and raised stock. He married, in 1861, Mary Foster.

William McKimens, a native of Pa, was born Oct. 20, 1835, and raised a farmer. Removed to Ill. at the age of 19, and soon after to Kansas. In 1858 he went the Pike's Peak country, and was one of the 100 locators of Denver. Returning east, he came to Montana in 1864, and established himself.

Ellis Elmer, born in England May 18, 1828, immigrated to the U. S. in 1850, settling in Ill., where he remained 9 years, when he removed to Mo., whence he came to Montana in 1871. Painter by trade; secured 160 acres of land at Fish Creek. In 1857 married R. T. Lambert.

F. T. Black, born Oct. 23, 1856, in Ill., removed at ten years of age to Mo., and at the age of 26 to Montana, where he leased improved land at Pony, on Willow Creek.

Robert Riddle, born in Ohio Aug. 18, 1840, was brought up a farmer. At the age of 18 he learned harness-making, after which he resided 2 or 3

ally worth the increased price to those who could purchase them, but the poorer man whom the government

years in Ill., coming to Montana with an ox-team in 1864, via Bridger's pass, and mining in Emigrant and Alder gulches and the Cœur de Alêne country until 1871, when he settled at Bozeman, where he became owner of 200 acres and some stock. In 1882 he married Cynthia Stevens.

Thomas Garlick, born in Eng. Aug. 16, 1836, was 1½ years of age when his parents immigrated to the U. S., landing at N. O., whence they proceeded to St Louis, and soon to a farm in Ill., where he remained till 1860. Served as a volunteer in the union army, and afterward drove a herd of cows to Denver, soon following the exodus from Colorado to Montana. In the spring of 1865 he left Bannack for Helena gold-diggings, where he remained two years, when he went to Hamilton, in the Gallatin Valley, working for wages. In 1874 settled upon 160 acres near Bozeman, where he grew grain and stock. Married Nancy Jane Krattcar in 1865.

James Kent, a native of Tenn., born July 28, 1841, removed with his parents, at 4 years of age, to Mo. When 10 years old his father joined the army of immigrants to Cal., where he died. Then the mother died, leaving 5 children to the mercy of the world. At 21 years of age James began to go west, and reached Montana in 1864, spending a season in Alder gulch and another in Gallatin county, alternately, until 1876, when he settled upon 400 acres of land near Bozeman, farming and raising horses and cattle. In 1873 he married Martha Simes.

G. W. Krattcar, born in Ohio April 4, 1826, removed to Mo. with his parents at the age of 17, where he lived upon a farm for 18 years, immigrating to Colorado in 1860 with an ox-team. Remained there three years, and came to Montana, settling first at Hamilton, but removing to the neighborhood of Bozeman in 1871, where he secured 160 acres, farm machinery, and stock. Was married in 1859 to Frances Morper. Mrs Krattcar came up the Missouri on the steamer *Helena* in 1866, and was 90 days on the way.

William Sheppard, born in Eng. March 25, 1846, immigrated to America in 1862, after being 2 years in the East Indies and Africa. He resided a few months in Council Bluffs, Iowa, before coming to Montana with an ox-team. He crossed the plains a number of times, and settled in the Gallatin Valley on 160 acres of land in 1870.

J. Burrell, a native of Canada, born in 1839, removed to Ohio in 1862, and to Montana in 1864 with an ox-team, in company with a train of 350 immigrants. On the Bozeman route, at Powder River, the train was attacked by 250 Sioux, whom they fought for 24 hours, 3 of the company being killed. Reached Alder gulch Aug. 2d, and the same season settled on 320 acres of land near Gallatin City, raising grain and stock. Was married in 1864 to Miss Campbell.

George W. Marshall, born in Ill. Jan. 10, 1834, resided in Mo. from 1849 to 1863 on a farm. In the latter year began freighting for the government to New Mexico, and was in Colorado when the flood of 1864 swept away so much of Denver, the river spreading to 1½ miles in width. His camp escaped by having moved to higher ground. In 1865 came to Montana, first to Alder gulch, then to Boulder, and lastly to Salesville in 1873, where he secured 160 acres, and some farm stock. While freighting across the plains has lived for days on frozen dough, the snow having wet the buffalo chips so that they would not burn enough to bake bread.

George L. Dukes, born in Ky Oct. 26, 1824, reared a farmer, removed to Mo. in 1845, and engaged in farming, merchandising, and hotel-keeping until 1862, when he removed to Ill., and 2 years later to Montana by steamboat. Resided in Alder gulch one winter and in Helena 4 or 5 years, engaged in taking building contracts. Was police magistrate 2½ years. In 1869 moved to Prickly Pear, and the same year to Willow Creek, in Gallatin county, where he took 320 acres of land and engaged in farming and stock-raising.

designed to protect was despoiled of his opportunity to build up a home by slow degrees by the desire of.

Was for 7 years county commissioner. Was married in 1848 to Catherine Deering.

John Hanson, a native of Sweden, born Sept. 4, 1840, immigrated to the U. S. at the age of 15 years, and settled in Ill., working as a farm hand near Galesburg for 5 years. At the breaking out of the civil war he enlisted in the 42d Ill., serving nearly four years, being wounded 3 times, once in the breast and once in either arm. After the close of the war he came to Montana with an ox-team, arriving in Alder gulch and Jefferson City in 1866. He bought a farm near the latter place, on which he resided 5 years, then went to Bozeman, and was in the Yellowstone expedition of 1874. He then purchased 240 acres of government land and 640 of railroad land near Bozeman, and established himself as a farmer. He married, in 1863, Minnie Hager.

Charles Holmes, born May 11, 1836, in Sweden, came to the U. S. in 1848, residing in Ill. 3 years on a farm, and from there going to Minnesota and Dakota, whence he immigrated to Montana in 1866 with an ox-team, going to Helena and mining for 2 years, then to Gallatin Valley, where he helped build Fort Ellis; and afterward made a business of furnishing fire-wood for several years. In 1872 he settled on 200 acres of land near Bozeman. While a resident of Dakota, Holmes enlisted under Gen. Sully to fight Indians, and was with him when he built Fort Rice. He married Mary Banks in 1876.

E. T. Campbell, born in Wis. Nov. 6, 1842, resided there 13 years, when he removed with his parents to Iowa, and remained there until he enlisted in the 8th Iowa cavalry during the civil war, in which regiment he served 2 years and 6 months. After the close of the war he migrated to Montana, driving an ox-team, arriving in the Gallatin Valley in 1868. Followed driving for several years, settling on 320 acres near Bozeman in 1871.

George W. Flanders, a native of Vt, born Feb. 22, 1842, was reared on a farm. At 16 years of age he began learning the trade of a millwright and carpenter. On the opening of the war of the rebellion, he enlisted in the 6th Vt regiment, and was wounded in both shoulders at the battle of Spottsylvania Court House. Remained in the army 4 years. In 1869 came to Montana via the river route, and worked at his trade in Helena for three years, after which he resided on Bear Creek, Gallatin county, for 6 years, when he erected a saw-mill for himself on Middle Creek, which in 1883 cut 1,000,000 feet of lumber.

Amos Williams, born in Ill. Dec. 21, 1840, and bred a farmer; went to the Colorado mines in 1850 with a horse-team, returning to Kansas, and from there to Mo., where he resided until 1876, making a journey to Texas in the mean time. In the year mentioned he settled on 160 acres near Bozeman. Married Anna Foxall in 1868.

M. Witten, a native of Cal., born Jan. 14, 1856, lived a farmer's life in Cal. and Or., and came to Montana in 1880, locating near Gallatin City, on 160 acres of government and 80 acres of railroad land, raising stock and farming.

Rufus Smith, born in Mo. Feb. 16, 1855, came to Cal. when an infant, by the ocean route. Was bred a farmer, and educated at Christian college. Removed to Montana in 1880, and located near Gallatin City on a farm.

T. T. Callahan, born in Ill. Feb. 16, 1854, removed when a child to Ark. with his parents, and was reared on a farm. Went to Kansas and farmed for two years; then came to Montana in 1880, and taking 320 acres of land at the Three Forks, engaged in stock-raising.

W. C. Jones, born in New York Sept. 25, 1830, bred on a farm, migrated to Iowa at the age of 24 years, where he resided 4 years and went to St Louis, where he was for 5 years, and then into the union army for 1½ years, after which he took a beef contract from the government at Springfield, Ill. In 1866 he came to Montana with an ox-team, mining in Alder gulch until 1870,

richer men to increase their fortunes indefinitely. An effort is now being made to induce the govern-

when he removed to Boulder valley and became an owner with S. B. Rice in the silver quartz mines Mono, Boulder Belle, Montana, Union, and Plymouth Rock. The Mono yielded 66 ounces to the ton, and was bonded for $50,000. Married Kate Hayward in 1852.

John Colburn, born in Sweden Feb. 4, 1855, immigrated to America in 1872, and went directly to Colorado, where he remained in the mines 6 years. He came to Montana in 1878, and worked at Wickes, where he purchased the Little Giant mine in 1882, in company with Roberts and Thurston.

Charles Charlton, native of Ohio, born March 23, 1817, bred on a farm, and taught the trade of a butcher. Emigrated to Kansas in 1855, and 4 years after by horse-team to Colorado, where he mined until 1864, when he came to Montana. After a season at Alder gulch resorted to his trade of butcher, which he followed at Virginia City and Bivens gulch. In 1866 removed to Beaverhead Valley, and secured 160 acres of land, raising horses and cattle. Married Susannah Pritchard in 1844.

William Stodden, born in England Nov. 27, 1838, came to the U. S. in 1860, remaining 3 years in N. Y., and going to the copper mines on Lake Superior; and from there to Colorado, where he was 8 months in the mines; and then to Nevada, from which state he returned to Montana in 1865, when he settled near Dillon, with his brother Thomas Stodden, on 640 acres, raising stock.

Ross Degan, born in Albany, N. Y., March 24, 1830, enlisted for the Mexican war in 1848, but peace being declared, was not sent out. Next engaged to go whaling for Howland & Co., which service carried him to many Pacific and other ports for 4 years. After roaming about the world for several years more, he commanded a steamer on Lake Michigan 2 seasons. On the breaking out of the war enlisted in the 3d New York. Served several months in that regiment until commissioned in the 162d New York. Fought at Big Bethel, and in other battles. On returning to Albany went into the produce business, and migrated to Montana in 1866. Tried, first, mining, but settled down in Helena to keeping a livery and feed stable. Has been city marshal. He secured 320 acres of land, and raised horses and cattle. Married Rosamond Street in 1860.

George Brock, born in N. H. Oct. 8, 1852, was educated at Kimball Union and Dartmouth colleges, and migrated to Montana in 1870, engaging in merchandising and stock-raising. He had, in 1884, 320 horses, being compelled to sell 700 acres in Prickly Pear Valley to procure a larger range somewhere else for his stock. Kept fine stallions and brood mares, and raised fast roadsters.

H. Gleason, born in N. Y. in 1824, removed to Michigan at the age of 20, and from there to Minnesota, soon after, where he resided 18 years, in hotel-keeping. Migrated to Wisconsin, and to Montana in 1872, by the river route. Has been a justice of the peace in Wisconsin, a constable, deputy sheriff, and superintendent of the county farm in Lewis and Clarke county. Owned 160 acres, and raised grain and stock. Married Sarah Ogden in 1844; Caroline Park in 1846; and Anna Payne in 1866.

James A. Smith, born in Kirkville, Bear co., Mo., in 1848, resided there until 1864, when he took employment on a steamboat transporting supplies to the federal forces at Memphis and other points above the blockade. In the winter of 1869 he was in the service of the military at Fort Belknap. In 1880 he came to Fort Benton, and from there returned to his early home, where he was persuaded to study law, which profession he practised at Missoula.

Emmerson Hill, born in Tenn., sent to school at Trenton, Tenn., and St Louis, Mo., living alternately on a farm and in the city, came to Montana

ment to undertake water storage for the improvement of desert lands.

in 1881, and located himself at Red Rock, in the dairying business. He married Margaret Bess in 1879.

Joseph Haines, born in Mo. in 1844, was brought up on a farm, and educated at McGee college. At the age of 20 years he came to Montana, mining at Alder gulch and Helena, and working in a bakery at Blackfoot. From that he went to livery-keeping, and to stock-raising, first on Sun River and again on the Yellowstone. He accompanied Gen. Miles on his campaign against Lame Deer, being in the battle. He prospected over a great extent of country, but settled finally near Red Rock, in 1878, at stock-raising. He married Mrs Rose Hoovis in 1884.

Thomas T. Taylor, born in England in 1840, immigrated to Illinois in 1861, and came to Montana in 1866. He was forced to fight the Indians from Powder River to the Yellowstone on the Bozeman route. He settled at Sheridan, mining in the vicinity until 1873, when he began farming, having between 300 and 400 acres, well stocked.

Thomas Donegan was born in 1847, and came with his family to America. He came to Montana in 1865, and mined most of the time until 1878. He was elected assessor for Madison co. for 1871–2.

John Penaluna, born in England in 1843, came to the U. S. and Montana in 1864, where he was engaged in mining at Bannack until 1881, when he preëmpted 160 acres on Horse Prairie and began stock-raising. He was coroner of Beaverhead co. when the Nez Percés raid occurred.

Among the settlers of Yellowstone Valley was William Arthur Davis, who was born in Virginia in 1845, bred a farmer, and attended the common schools. He crossed the plains to California in 1856, and returned as far as Colorado 2 years later, mining in both countries. He owned some shares in the town of Auraria, which he sold for a few hundred dollars in 1862, engaging in business in Nevada, but coming to Montana in 1863, where he mined in all the principal camps. He became owner in the Davis lode in Madison co., which carried 80 oz. of silver to the ton; but resided at Riverside in Custer co., where he had a stock rancho. He married Minnie Price Ferral in 1879. William H. Lee, born in Ohio in 1841, was brought up a farmer, with a common-school education. He immigrated to Montana in 1863, driving an ox-team, mined for 2 or 3 years, and settled on some land near Fort Ellis, where he lived during 1866–7. Being driven from here by the military authorities, he went lower down the Yellowstone, but when the Crow reservation was set off he was again forced to move, the Indians burning his barns and hay crop. Again he went to the Gallatin country, and took a claim 3 miles west of Bozeman, where he remained until 1871, when he returned to Riverside, Yellowstone Valley, and became engaged in the cattle business with Nelson Story. He was married in 1877 to Viola B. Swan. O. Bryan was born in Ohio in 1854, and immigrated with his father, Henry B. Bryan, to Colorado in 1860, where he remained until 1862, coming that year to Bannack. The elder Bryan mined until 1870 in Bannack and Alder gulch, after which he settled on some farming land in Gallatin Valley, and cultivated it until 1875. After that, father and son mined in Emigrant gulch for 5 years, when they removed to Riverside and engaged in merchandising, owning besides 160 acres of coal-land in Custer co.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT.

1870–1888.

CONDITION OF MONTANA FROM 1870 TO 1880—COUNTIES COMPARED—TOTAL PRODUCTION IN 1888—PRICE OF LABOR—RAILROAD ERA—AGRICULTURE—LUMBERING—WAGES—TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES—COAL—LOSSES IN CATTLE—MINING DEVELOPMENT—BUTTE—PHILLIPSBURG—DEER LODGE—HELENA—GREAT FALLS—BENTON—EASTERN MONTANA—MORAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION.

THE progress of Montana in mining, as indicated in the previous chapter, had received a partial check from about 1870 to 1880. The reason of this was that surface mining had declined, the placers being exhausted, and deep mining had not yet been sufficiently developed to give equal returns. There were other causes operating at the same time, such as the great cost of transportation of machinery, and the financial crisis resultant upon the suspension of Jay Cooke & Co., with the consequent embarrassments of the Northern Pacific railroad company, to whose advent in the territory all eyes had been turned in hope.

Neither had agriculture advanced materially; for no other market than the mines could be reached by wagons, the only means of transporting farm products to consumers. Besides, a few years were needed in which to build more comfortable houses, erect saw and grist mills, fence farms, lay out roads, start schools and churches, and set in motion all the wheels within wheels which move the complicated machinery of society. Perhaps from having so long observed the processes of state building, I have come to render more willingly than others the meed of praise to these

men of sturdy frames, intelligent brains, and deft hands who robbed the secret treasury of nature to spread over the mountains and plains thriving cities and happy homes. In how little have they failed! Great is an army with banners, but greater is a host with ploughs and picks. One destroys, while the other creates.

Time enough had elapsed between 1870 and 1880 to establish the comparative capabilities of the several counties [1] when the railroad era dawned, which solved

[1] Beginning with Missoula, the first settled and organized, and the most western, it contained about 30,000 square miles, distributed in forest-crowned mountains and sunny valleys, affording a charming variety of scenery, and a fortunate arrangement of mineral, agricultural, and grazing lands. About 36,000 acres were occupied, and 5,196 cultivated. Its principal valley, the Bitterroot, contained 500 farmers, and would support four times as many. It had 8,000 horses, 19,000 cattle, and 13,000 sheep. It produced in 1884 124,226 bushels of wheat, and 281,312 bushels of oats; made 30,000 pounds of butter, and raised large quantities of all the choicest garden vegetables, and 800 pounds of tobacco, besides making 40,000,000 feet of lumber. Its population in 1880 was 2,537, and its taxable property was valued at $647,189. Its valuation in 1885 was over $1,000,000. Missoula, the county seat, situated on the Northern Pacific railroad, near the junction of the Missoula and Bitterroot rivers, had 2,000 inhabitants. Its public buildings were a substantial court-hourse, a union church for the use of several congregations, a catholic convent, a large flouring and saw mill, a good public school-house, 2 newspaper offices, and a national bank building. The mill belonged to Worden & Co., and was erected in 1866, 40 by 40 feet, 3 stories high, with 2 run of stones, and cost $30,000. It ground the crop of 1866, 10,000 bushels; of 1867, 15,000 bushels; of 1868, 20.000 bushels; of 1869, 20,000 bushels. Its capacity was 400 sacks in 24 hours. The saw-mill cut 2,000 feet of lumber daily. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Oct. 8, 1869. At Frenchtown, 18 miles distant, was another flouring-mill and saw-mill for the convenience of its 200 inhabitants and the farming community of the lower valley. *Strahorn's Montana*, 64.

The lesser settlements were Andrum, Arlie, Ashley, Belknap, Bigcut, Bitterroot Creek, Camas Prairie, Cantonment Stevens, Cedar Junction, Cedar Mouth, Clarke Fork, Como, Corvallis, Dayton Creek, De Smet, Duncan, Eddy, Ellisport, Ewartsville, Flathead, Flathead Agency, Flathead Lake, Forest City, Fort Missoula, Fort Owen, Gird Creek, Grant Creek, Grass Valley, Heron Siding, Hope, Horse Plains, Hudson Bay Post, Indian Agency, Jocko, Kayuse, Kitchens, Kootenai, Koriaka, Lavoy, Louisville, Loulou's Grave, Mayville, Missoula River, Paradise, Pen d'Oreille, Pineland, Quartz, Quartz Creek, Ravallia, Rock Island, Ross Hole, Selish, Skalkaho, St Ignatius, Stephens' Mill, Stevensville, Superior, Superior City, Seventy-Mile Siding, Thompson Falls, Thompson River, Tobacco Plains, Trading Post, Trout Creek, White Pine, and Windfall.

Deer Lodge county, also west of the Rocky Mauntains, and the second settled, was much less in size than Missoula, containing 6,500 square miles, but fully equal in attractions and natural wealth. It had 25,000 acres under improvement, and raised 130,000 bushels of grain in 1878, made 150,000 pounds of butter, produced 50,000 bushels of potatoes, 1,200,000 pounds of garden vegetables, 75,000 of wool, and manufactured 1,000,000 feet of lumber. Its population was 9,000, and taxable wealth $2,341,268. In 1884 its live-stock alone was valued at $1,000,000. Deer Lodge City, the county seat, sit-

the transportation problem for Montana. The Utah Northern branch of the Union Pacific railroad reached

uated on the east side of Deer Lodge River, contained 1,200 inhabitants. It is the commercial and educational centre of a large area of mining and farming country. It had a fire in 1872 which destroyed a large amount of property, and caused the organization of a fire department. Its educational facilities were a collegiate institute, erected in 1878 at a cost of $22,000, a graded public school, and a catholic boarding-school, conducted by the sisters of charity. The *New Northwest* newspaper, not excelled by any in Montana, was published here. The penitentiary was located here. The catholic, episcopal, and presbyterian churches were tasteful and creditable structures, and the general style of architecture was pleasing. Seen at a proper distance for perspective, Deer Lodge presents an inviting picture, with a mountain background contributing to its scenic effect; nor does it disappoint the beholder on a nearer view. Phillipsburg. Pioneer, Silver Bow, Blackfoot, New Chicago, McClellan, and Lincoln all became towns of some consequence. The other settlements in Deer Lodge county are Baker's Mill, Bear gulch, Bear's Mouth, Beartown, Black Tail, Boulder Creek, Boulder House, Brown gulch, Cable, Cariboo gulch, Casmark, Clark Station, Coberly's Station, Cottonwood City, Deep gulch, First Chance, Flint Creek Valley, Frederickson, Georgetown, Gold Creek, Got-'Em-Sure, Greenwood, Gwendale, Harrisburg, Helmville, Henderson, Henderson gulch, Hope Mine, Humbug, Jefferson gulch, Levengood, Lincolnville, McClellan gulch, Morristown, Pike's Peak, Race Track, Reynolds, Rocker, Saw Pit, Scratch Awl, Silver Lake, Snatch 'Em, Stone Station, Stonewall gulch, Stuart, Sunset, Sweetland, Trarona, Tower, Vestal, Warm Springs, Washington gulch, Williams, Willow Creek, Willow Glen, Yamhill, and Yreka.

Silver Bow county, cut off from Deer Lodge in 1881, had a small area, but a population of 14,000, and is richer, in proportion to its size, than any county in Montana, its assessed valuation in 1884 being $7,240,000. It was first settled in June 1864 by placer miners. Ten years of digging and washing exhausted the deposits, or so nearly that only 300 inhabitants remained. Quartz-mining was begun in 1875. The county contained in 1885 19 mills, concentrators, and furnaces, which give employment to 3,000 miners.

Butte, the county seat, was the second town in Montana. It had an altitude of 5,800 feet, and is the center of one of the richest silver and copper districts in the world. Population in 1885 10,000, with 3 banks, the eldest being that of Clarke & Larabie, the others Hoge, Brownlee & Co., and the First National, their deposits aggregating $3,000,000. It had school property valued at $40,000, supporting a corps of 21 teachers; besides 7 churches, 4 hospitals, 2 fire companies, 2 newspapers, a court-house which cost $150,000, an opera-house costing $50,000, water, gas, and electric-light companies, and the usual number of secret societies. The receipts on freights, incoming and outgoing, were over $6,000,000 per annum, consisting chiefly of outgoing ore. Buxton, Divide, Feely, French gulch, Grace, Gunderson, Lavell, Melrose, Mount Horeb, Norwood, Red Mountain, Walkerville, and Silver Bow are the other settlements in the county.

Choteau county, containing 27,380 square miles, the first inhabited on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, having their summits for its boundary on the west, and the vast, unorganized area of Dawson county on the east, the British possessions on the north, and Lewis and Clarke and Meagher counties on the south, was a grazing country, with a few agricultural valleys of considerable extent, the stock-raisers usually cultivating farms also. In 1884 its live-stock was valued at $2,000,000, and 50,000 pounds of wool sent to market. The population of the county was 3,058.

Fort Benton, the county seat, was the head of navigation on the Missouri, and consequently a place of importance. To this point, for twenty years, came freight worth millions of dollars annually, and from it departed the treasure of the mines. It was also the depot of the fur trade after the origi-

Helena, then the principal commercial city of the territory, in 1881, and the Northern Pacific reached it from

nal fort or fortifications were abandoned. Before the opening of the Northern Pacific railroad fifteen steamboats, costing $400,000, were employed carrying freight to and from Benton. These boats were owned by several companies. The Coulson line lost a fine steamer, the *Montana*, in a storm, July 2, 1879. The *Dakota* was also damaged. *Helena Independent*, July 10, 1879. I. G. Baker owned the *Red Cloud* and *Colonel McLeod*. *St Louis Times-Journal*, March 11, 1879. The Power brothers owned the *Helena*, which was snagged. The *Imperial* was wrecked in 1867. The *Peninah*, also, was caught at this spot in 1879. John H. Charles was superintendent of the line to which the *Helena* belonged. *Helena Herald*, Oct. 10, 1879. A company was formed in Jan. 1879, called the Missouri River Navigation Company, the object of which was to complete the navigation of the river to a point near Helena, by building boats to run above and below the falls, and a portage around this obstruction. The directors were A. Kleinschmidt, A. M. Holter, A. Sands, J. M. Ryan, Henry Klein, John T. Murphy, T. C. Power, C. Keuck, H. M. Parchen; J. F. Murphy, president, A. Kleinschmidt, vice-president, E. W. Knight, treasurer. The N. P. R. R., it was understood, would aid the enterprise. Congress was asked for appropriations, and did appropriate $25,000 for the improvement of the river below the falls, $20,000 to improve it above the falls, $15,000 to survey the Yellowstone, and $25,000 for its improvement. *Helena Independent*, March 13, 1879.

In 1878 they brought 9,500 tons of freight, and carried away, among other things, 60,000 buffalo robes and several hundred thousand dollars' worth of furs. The fur export of Montana, in fifteen years ending in 1878, was valued at $6,000,000. The population of Benton was 1,618 in 1880. The *Benton Record* was published at this place, having a continued and prosperous growth. The settlements made in Choteau county were Arrow Creek, Belknap, Belt Creek, Birch Creek, Blackfoot Agency, Camp Cook, Carroll, Cow Island, Fort Assinaboine, Fort Belknap, Fort Browning, Fort Claggett, Fort Hawley, Fort La Barge, Fort Maginnis, Highwood, Judith, Judith Basin, New Agency, Old Agency, Piegan, Ruter, Sullivan, Twenty-eight Mile Spring.

Beaverhead county, where the first town of eastern Montana was laid off in 1862, contains 4,230 square miles. More than any other part of Montana, it reminds the traveller by its nomenclature of the journey of Lewis and Clarke in 1805, containing Horse Prairie, Willard Creek, Beaverhead Rock, and the pass by which these explorers crossed the Rocky Mountains. It is a mountainous district interspersed with a few fertile valleys, and furnishing excellent stock-ranges on the bench-lands between the valleys and the high ridges. Its population was less than 3,000 in 1880. In 1884, its taxable property was valued at $4,500,000. The number of farms in the county was small.

Bannack, which was for a short time the capital and the metropolis of Montana, and the county seat of Beaverhead, was later but a small town containing 250 inhabitants. Glendale, the seat of a large mining interest, had in 1885 a population of 678, and Argenta also was a thriving mining town. The county seat was removed to Dillon, which as a business centre ranked next after Helena and Butte. The other settlements made in Beaverhead county were Allerdice, Apex, Barratts, Beaverhead Rock, Burnt Pine, Darling, Dell, Dewey's Flat, Edgerton, Fairview, Glen, Glendale, Grayling, Hecla, Horse Prairie, Hot Spring, Lyon City, Mervenstoe, Montana, Pine Butte, Poindexter, Red Rock, Rock Creek, Ryan, Soap gulch, Spring Hill, Terminus Creek, Trapper, Vipond, Watson, and Willis.

Madison county, rendered forever famous as the district of country containing the Alder gulch of world-wide renown, 4,900 square miles in extent, had also a population of not more than 4,000 at the last census. It is a county rich in resources, chiefly mineral, although agricultural to a considerable degree. Its chief export was gold, while silver, copper, lead, iron, marble, coal,

east and west in 1883. The completion of this road was celebrated with imposing ceremonies on Septem-

and other valuable minerals abound. The county owned in 1884 cattle, horses, and sheep valued at $1,860,000, and had 10 saw-mills cutting 1,000,000 feet of lumber yearly, 2 grist-mills making 6,000 sacks of flour annually, besides raising 100,000 bushels of grain, 50,000 bushels of root crops and pease, and selling 5,000 beef-cattle.

Virginia City, once the capital of Montana, and the county seat of Madison county, had in 1880 a population of about 1,000, and more business than that would seem to indicate. Virginia had telegraphic communication with Salt Lake and the east in 1866. John Creighton was superintendent of the line. It was extended to Helena in 1867. In 1878 the leading bank bought $400,000 worth of gold bars and dust, received deposits which averaged $100,000 in bank constantly, and sold $1,400,000 in exchange. The public buildings at Virginia are handsome and costly. The public school building cost $12,000, the masonic temple $30,000, the court-house $35,000, and others in proportion. There were three churches, catholic, methodist, and episcopal, a weekly newspaper, the *Madisonian*, and a daily line of coaches connecting it with other business centres. The first masonic organization was at Virginia City in 1863; corner-stone of the temple laid June 24, 1867. Nevada, Montana, and Helena lodges followed, and a grand lodge in January 1866; John J. Hill first grand master, and W. F. Sanders grand secretary. *Virginia Montana Post*, Aug. 11, 1866.

The early towns and settlements of Madison county were Adobetown, Bagdad, Cicero, Crawford, Daly, Darmitzies, Fish Creek, Gaffney, Home Park, Hot Spring Creek, Iron Rod, Jefferson Bridge, Jefferson Island, Junction, Laurin, Lewis, Lower Silver Star, McCarthy Springs, Meadow Creek, Monida, Monmouth, Muriers, Nevada, Norwegian gulch, Parson's Bridge, Pollinger, Red Bluff, Rising Sun, Rochester, Salisbury, Sheridan, Silver Springs, Sterling, Stone's Precinct, Summit, Twin Bridges, Upper Silver Star, Warm Spring Creek, Washington Bar, and Wisconsin Creek.

Jefferson county, lying north of Madison, and divided from it by the Jefferson fork of the Missouri, contained 5,000 square miles and 2,500 inhabitants. It was, after mining, chiefly a dairying county, though there several farming settlements sprang up in the valleys of Prickly Pear, Boulder, Crow, Pipestone, and other streams. In 1878, 50,000 lbs of butter and 20,000 lbs of cheese were produced. The farmers raised 50,000 bushels of grain, and there were about 10,000 acres of improved lands. The saw-mills in the county cut about 1,500,000 feet of lumber. The stock of the county consisted of 25,000 range cattle, 2,000 milch cows, 10,000 horses, and 15,000 sheep. The pioneer woollen-mill of Montana was established in Jefferson county, and was completed in 1878. *Strahorn's Montana*, 67. The first woollen-mill begun was at Virginia City in 1877. *Madisonian*, Oct. 27, 1877. The property valuation of the county in 1884 was about $1,000,000. Radersburg, situated in the valley of Crow Creek, near the line of the Northern Pacific railroad, is the county seat, and had 200 inhabitants at the last census. The towns and settlements made in Jefferson county are Aurora, Basin, Basin gulch, Beaver Creek, Beaver Creek Camp, Beavertown, Bedford, Boulder City, Boulder Valley, Cataract, Cheatem, Claggett, Cold Spring, Comet, Comet Mine, Crow Creek City, Eclipse, Gregory, Gregory Mine, Gregoryville, Harrison, Holter's Saw-mill, Iron Age, Jefferson City, Jefferson Island, Keatingville, Little Boulder, McDaniel Station, Middle Fork Buffalo, Milk Ranch, Mitchell, Montana, O'Neil's Mine, Whitman's gulch, Overland gulch, Parnell, Pipestone, Prickly Pear, Remley, Rocker Mine, Spokane, Springville, St Louis, Warm Springs, Whitehall, Wickes, and Woodville. In this county are the Boulder hot springs and Clancy warm springs, both popular resorts.

Lewis and Clarke county, occupying a central position, although comparatively small in extent, having only 2,900 square miles, was the second in population, its inhabitants numbering about 13,000, and its assessed valuation

ber 8th at Independence Creek, on the north bank of Deer Lodge River, sixty miles west of Helena, the

being in 1884 over $8,000,000. Its mines have already been spoken of. From 135 farms in Prickly Pear Valley was harvested, in 1878, 25,000 bushels of wheat, 40,000 bushels of oats, 15,000 bushels of barley, or an average of over 500 bushels of grain to every farm. Besides the grain crop, 7,000 tons of hay were harvested, over 300 tons of turnips and cabbages, 40,000 bushels of potatoes, and 15,000 bushels of pease. The county grazes 30,000 cattle and 25,000 sheep, the wool clip from 18,000 head being 83,000 pounds. The live-stock in 1884 was valued at $1,000,000.

Helena, the county seat, made a port of entry in 1867, and also the capital of Montana, was in all respects a progressive modern town. With a population of 7,000 in 1883, which had increased from 4,000 in 1879, its four national banks had on deposit $3,000,000, and sold a large amount of exchange annually, besides purchasing gold-dust and silver bullion to the amount of about $2,000,000. The first, or Montana National Bank, was instituted June 24, 1872. James King president, Charles E. Duer cashier, D. S. Wade, W. E. Gillette, William Chumasero, James Fergus, and George Steele directors. There was a board of trade organized in 1877, a U. S. assay office erected in 1875, and a fire department organized in 1869. The occasion of this early creation of a fire department was the occurrence of a fire in Feb. 1869, which destroyed $75,000 worth of property. Helena Fire Company No. 1 organized in April, and elected E. H. Wilson president, A. O'Connell vice-president, J. J. Lyon secretary, Lee Watson treasurer, R. S. Price foreman, Henry Klein 1st assistant, and W. F. Stein 2d assistant. *Helena Montana Post*, April 16, 1869. On the 28th of the same month, and before the department had provided itself with fire-extinguishing apparatus, another greater fire occurred, destroying over $500,000 worth of the business portion of the town. *Id.*, April 30, 1869. In Oct. 1871 a third conflagration destroyed $150,000 worth of property. *Helena Gazette*, Oct. 3, 1871. In Sept. 1872 another fire consumed $175,000 worth of property. In March 1873 a fifth fire was started, it was supposed by incendiaries, which destroyed a large and old mercantile house. *Helena Herald*, March 20, 1873. A sixth conflagration in Jan. 1874, also the work of an incendiary, consumed $850,000 worth of property. *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Jan. 17, 1874. In this fire was consumed the archives and library of the Historical Society of Montana, which had been instituted 8 years previous. An appeal was immediately made by the officers to the people to repair as far as possible the loss, which was done. *Helena Herald*, Dec. 30, 1875, and Jan. 27, 1876.

A historical society was founded in 1864. There were masonic orders and a temple whose corner-stone was laid in 1872, with appropriate ceremonies; odd fellows' societies, with a temple founded in July 1879, on the 60th anniversary of oddfellowship in America; and a library association founded in 1868, by subscriptions, the proceeds of lectures, and other means. The first officers were James King president, C. Hedges vice-president, J. L. Douglas recorder and secretary, Charles W. Fowler corresponding secretary, S. H. Bohen treasurer, J. W. Whitlatch, Wilbur F. Sanders, J. H. King, T. E. Tutt, and William Rumsey board of trustees. The contribution of books in the first few weeks of its existence was 744, besides a large number of manuscripts and unbound books. *Helena Montana Post*, Dec. 11 and 25, 1868. There was a hospital and asylum sustained by the catholic church, a society of the knights of Pythias, a Hebrew benevolent association, excellent graded public schools, a catholic academy for young ladies, opened in Sept. 1872, a classical school, a Rocky Mountain club; one catholic and five protestant churches, German turn-vereins, and musical societies, extensive water-works supplied by pure mountain springs, electric lights and fire-alarms; iron-foundries, wagon-factories, saw, grist, and planing mills, telephonic communication with mining camps 50 miles distant, two excellent daily newspapers, and a general style of comfortable and even elegant living vividly in contrast with the cabins of

place being named Gold Spike Station, in commemoration of the joining of the last rails by a spike of the

its founders twenty years ago. Near Helena are some celebrated hot springs, with ample accommodations for visitors. All the lines of travel centre at Helena. 300 buildings were erected in 1884, at a cost of over $1,000,000.

The first towns of Lewis and Clarke county were Belmont, Bird Tail, Cañon Creek, Carpenter Mine, Oro Fino gulch, Cartersville, Clark Station, Clarkston, Crown Butte, Dearborn, Eagle Rock, Fergus' Station, Flat Creek, Florence, Florence Springs, Fort Shaw, Georgetown, Gloster, Keller's Ranch, Kennedy's Station, Marysville, Millersville, Mount Pleasant, Mullan, Nelson gulch, Park City, Piegan, Peagan-Power, Rock Creek, Rocky Gap, Silver City, Shafer's Mill, Silver Creek, South Fork, Spring Creek, Square Butte, St Louis gulch, St Peter's Mission, Sun River, Three-Mile Creek, Trinity, Unionville, Virginia Creek, Voight's Mines, Dry gulch, Warner's Ranch, Whippoorwill, Willow Creek, and Wolf Creek.

Gallatin county, containing 10,000 square miles, was divided between the two valleys of the Gallatin and Yellowstone rivers, and the Belt and Snowy ranges of mountains. The three forks of the Missouri met within its boundaries, making a remarkable and beautiful combination of river and meadow scenery with bench-land and mountains. The basin formed by the Gallatin Valley, from the earliest settlement of eastern Montana, has been a favorite resort for home-seekers with agricultural tastes. From its lesser altitude it is more generally productive than the country to the west, and became more thickly settled, having a population of 3,500 at the census of 1880. It produced 1,000,000 bushels of grain in a season, with other vegetable products in proportion. Farm machinery of the best models was employed. Six flouring-mill converted wheat into flour. The first flour made for market in eastern Montana was in 1866, at the Gallatin Mills of Cover & McAdow of Bozeman. *Virginia and Helena Post*, Oct. 23, 1866. Like every part of Montana, it was also a good grazing country, and supported large herds upon its native grasses. In 1878 there were 45,000 cattle, 8,000 horses, and 10,000 sheep on the ranges. There were marketed 5,000 cattle, 100,000 pounds of butter and cheese, besides a large amount of wool. The taxable property of the county was valued at $1,386,340 in 1878. The stock alone of Gallatin county in 1882 was valued by the assessor at $1,225,800. In 1884, the assessed valuation of the county was $6,255,910.

Bozeman, the county seat, was founded in July 1864 by J. M. Bozeman, the pioneer of the Bozeman route to the North Platte. It had a fine situation at the foot of the Belt range on the west, and a population in 1884 of 2,500, whose substantial residences attested the prosperity of the inhabitants, and whose water-works were an evidence of their enterprise. Its public-school building was the finest in Montana, costing $18,000, and its churches, library association, court-house, masonic temple, hotels, and other public buildings were all witnesses of the progressive character of the people. The Gallatin Valley Female Seminary, under the charge of L. B. Crittenden of the presbyterian church, is deserving of mention. Previous to the opening of the Northern Pacific railroad a line of coaches connected it with the capital, and another line with the Utah Northern, via Virginia City. Its nearness to the national park, as well as many other points of scenic interest, renders Bozeman a well-known and popular resort of tourists. The weekly *Avant-Courier* was the early local journal. The noted Emigrant hot springs, yielding 10,000 barrels of hot water daily, are situated 4 miles from Findlay station. The Apollinaris springs are situated 10 miles from Riverside station, on the branch road to the national park. The other early settlements of Gallatin county were Allny's Ranch, Benson's Landing, Benson's Store, Big Timber, Bottler's Ranch, Bridger Creek, Catfish Hotel, Central Park, Cooke, Cowans, Daw's Store, Dornix, Eagle Nest, East Gallatin, Elliston, Elton, Emigrant, Emigrant gulch, Fort Ellis, Gallatin City, Gardiner, Hamilton, Havana, Hayden, Hillsdale, Keiser's Creek, Livingston, Madison, Mammoth Hot Springs,

chief Montana product. The event of the opening of the Northern Pacific was of greater interest than

Meadow Ranch, Melville, Middletown, Mission, Penwells, Reedpoint, Richland, Riverside, Salesville, Shields, Shields' River, Springdale, Spring Hill, Sweet Grass, Three Forks, Trout Rapids, Tucker's Post, White Beaver, White Beaver Creek, Willow Creek, Windville, and Yellowstone City.

Custer county occupied in 1884 an area of 25,500 square miles, divided by the Yellowstone River, which is navigable, and watered by numerous large and small tributaries. It formerly included the Crow reservation, a 5,000,000-acre tract, which was surrendered to the government in 1882, and thrown open to settlement in 1883. Several mountain ranges separated the principal valleys and gave diversity to the scenery. It was possessed of a superior soil, and the bench-lands furnish every variety of nutritious native grasses, including blue-grass, wild rye, and wild oats. The lower portion of the Yellowstone Valley was favored by a climate where corn, grapes, hops, melons, and fruits of various kinds flourish. Although later settled, it soon ranked as the second agricultural county of Montana. Its taxable property in 1878 was valued at $329,231, with a population of 2,510 in 1880. In 1884 its live-stock alone was assessed at $7,150,000. Miles City, the county seat, situated near the mouth of Tongue River, contained in 1880 a population of 2,500, and was a thriving town. In 1878 there were thirty-five arrivals of steamers with freight for the citizens and Fort Keogh, two miles distant. Public schools, two daily and weekly newspapers, a church, theatre, banks, and large business houses were a proof of its prosperity. The incipient towns of Custer county were Ada, Ainslie, Beeman, Beach, Big Horn, Birney, Brandenburg, Buell, Bull Creek, Canyon, Coal Bank, Coulson, Crow Agency, Custer, Cutler, Danton, Dickson, Etchetah, Etna, Fallon, Faurie Point, Foley, Forsyth, Fort C. F. Smith, Fort Custer, Fort Keogh, Fort Sarpy, Fort Tullock, Graycliffe, Guyville, Greycliffe, Hathaway, Horton, Huntley, Howard, Hyde, Iron Bluff, Kirbyville, Keith, Kendrick, Lignite, Little Missouri, Little Porcupine, Milton, Morgan, Myres, Nolton, Old Fort Alexander, Palisades, Peasefort, Pompey's Pillar, Porcupine, Powder River, Rimrock, Riverside, Rosebud, Rouse's Point, Sadie, Sand Creek, Sanders, Savage, Spring Creek, Stoneville, Straders, Sherman, Terry, Lilly, and Young's Point.

The Yellowstone Valley was late in being settled, on account of Indian hostilities. In 1873 Nelson Gage made himself a home below the Old Crow agency, and quite away from any settlements. He erected substantial buildings, surrounding them with palisades, having 2 underground forts flanking his dwelling, and connecting with it by tunnels. He was the pioneer farmer and stockman of the Yellowstone Valley, according to the *Bozeman Courier* and *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, Oct. 22, 1875. The Montana Pioneer Association was not formally organized until 1884, when only 300 pioneers were in attendance.

Yellowstone county, organized out of Gallatin and Custer in 1883, comprised a part if not all of the former Crow reservation. The county town, Billings, was founded in 1882, and had a rapid growth. It contained 400 buildings in 1883, among which were a brick church of good size, a bank building, several wholesale merchandise establishments, three hotels, a commodious school-house, the round-house and shops of the Northern Pacific railroad, at the terminus of the Yellowstone division, and three newspapers, one a daily. This phenomenal growth, seldom seen except in mining towns, might have quickly disappeared were it not that the country surrounding Billings was of the greatest fertility, with an irrigating ditch nearly forty miles in length, which supplied water to 100,000 acres in the Clarke fork bottoms; besides which the mining districts of Clarke fork, Barker, and Maginnes were tributary. Coal mines also existed in the immediate neighborhood of Billings, distant thirty miles. The whole country within a radius of 100 miles was tributary to this little metropolis. It was one of the two principal shipping points for cattle sold to eastern dealers. In the autumn of 1882, 16,000 head

simply a commercial one, because it carried out the

were loaded on cars to be taken to Chicago, in 1883, 20,000, and in 1884 nearly 35,000. There was abundant water-power in the Yellowstone to supply unlimited manufactories. A wool market was early established, and in May 1883 a shipment was made of 60,000 pounds of silver bullion from the Barker district. The early towns and settlements of Yellowstone county were few, owing to its occupation by the Crows. They were Carlton, Huntley, Junction, Merrill, Park City, Rapids, and Stillwater.

Meagher county extended from the Missouri River on the west to the Musselshell River on the east, and was sandwiched between Gallatin and Choteau counties. It contained 20,000 square miles, embracing mountain ranges clothed in forest, and veined with mineral deposits, high grazing lands, and low agricultural lands. The valleys of the Judith, Musselshell, Smith, and Missouri rivers aggregated 2,000 square miles. The population of the county in 1880 was 2,743. In 1884 its live-stock was valued at $7,000,000; $750,000 being in horses. The mines of Meagher county by 1886 produced over $10,000,000 in gold from the gulches, while the deposits of silver, lead, copper, gold, and coal waited longer the open-sesame of capital. Mineral springs of great medicinal virtues were found in this county, the chief of which was the white sulphur group on the north fork of Smith River.

The county seat was removed from Diamond City to White Sulphur Springs, a noted health resort, in 1879, by a general election. Neither were towns of any size. A newspaper, the *Montana Husbandman*, was published at Diamond. In 1882 Townsend was laid out near the Missouri River crossing of the Northern Pacific railroad, and is the nearest station to White Sulphur Springs. In 1883 it had a population of 350, and being the centre of a large and productive farming and mining region, its prosperity was assured. The other early settlements of Meagher county were Andersonville, Arrow Creek, Bercail, Big Elk, Brassey, Brewer's Springs, Camp Baker, Camp Lewis, Canton, Canyon Ferry, Cavetown, Centreville, Chestnut, Clendenning, Cooper gulch, Dennison, El Dorado, El Dorado Bar, Flatwillon, Fort Logan, French Bar, Gardenland, Garrison, Graperange, Hellgate, Hoover, Hopely Hole, Hughesville, Judith Junction, Langford City, Linn's Cave, McKewen's Bar, Magnolia, Magpie, Maiden, Martinsdale, Merino, Neihart, Nelsonville, New York, Oka, Olden, Old Trading Post, Onondaga, Oregon, Otter, Overland, Parker, Philbrook, Rader's Ranch, Readsfort, Saw-mill, Stanford, Thompson gulch, Townsend, Trout Creek, Ubet, Unity, Utica, Whites, Wolfdene, and Yago gulch.

Dawson county, owing to Indian wars and other causes, remained unorganized down to a late period, and although having an area of 32,000 square miles, and good stock ranges, contained in 1880 only about 200 inhabitants. It occupied the northwestern portion of Montana, and was divided by the Missouri River, and crossed by the Yellowstone, Musselshell, and Milk rivers. Its assessable property in 1884 was about $2,500,000. Glendive, the principal town, was founded in 1881, and named by Lewis Merrill after Glendive creek, which received its name from Sir George Gore, who wintered in Montana in 1856. It was the first point where the Northern Pacific railroad touched the Yellowstone, and the terminus of the Missouri division. It occupied a sloping plain facing the river on the south bank, and was sheltered from the winds by an abrupt range of clay buttes, resembling those of the Bad Lands, 300 feet in height, and half a mile distant. The soil about Glendive, the altitude of which is 2,070 feet above sea-level, was a rich sandy loam, and produced plentifully of grains and vegetables. The railroad company made extensive and substantial improvements, and the town soon had 1,500 inhabitants, a bank, schools, churches, hotels, and a weekly newspaper. The settlements early made in Dawson county were Allard, Cantonment, Fort Galpin, Fort Kipp, Fort Peck, Gray's Wood-yard, Hodges, Iron Bluff, McClellan, Milton, Newlon, Old Fort Charles, Old Fort Union, Stockade, Trading Post, and Wolf Point.

original Jeffersonian idea of a highway to the mouth

Taking 1883 as a point in time when the railroad era was fairly begun in Montana, twenty years after the discovery of Alder gulch, we have the country producing, aside from its minerals, 745,500 bushels of wheat, 1,614,000 bushels of oats, besides large crops of barley, potatoes, and garden vegetables; and owning 74,560 horses, 5,254 mules, 21,000 milch cows, 378,813 stock cattle, 524,440 sheep from which 2,637,000 pounds of wool were shipped. Of these, 50,000 cattle and 10,000 sheep were sent to market. The value of the stock on the ranges was $16,867,972. The sales aggregated between two and two and a half million dollars, besides those consumed at home. The value of the stock raised brought the income of Montana from livestock alone up to $3,000,000. *Montana Husbandman; Portland West Shore,* March 1884. The increase from this kind of property being rapid, the total value in the autumn of 1885 is put down at $30,000,000. With her bread and meat raised entirely within her own borders, with the question of cheap and quick transportation settled, and with millions coming in for beef, mutton, wool, butter, lead, silver, and gold, nothing was lacking but an honest and careful administration of county and territorial affairs to place Montana in a position to be admitted to the union, and to take rank at once as a wealthy state. Although still too soon to look for manufactures of importance, there was every facility for their maintenance in the water, forests, salt, iron, copper, wool, lime, coal, marble, hides, and other materials. Helena turned out Concord coaches and excellent farm-wagons. The annual report of the auditor of Montana for 1880 gives 18 grist-mills, manufacturing 147,000 sacks, or 588,000 pounds, of flour; 57 saw-mills, cutting 20,952,000 feet of lumber; 3 foundries, making 284 tons of castings; 11 wagon-factories, manufacturing 23 carriages, 20 of which were made at Helena; 42 carpenters' shops, and 16 saddlers' shops; with an aggregate of all amounting to $45,500. Lime-works, tanneries, furniture-shops, dairies, etc., are not enumerated. Population, which was first of all needful, was quoted in 1880 at 39,157, but soon rapidly returning to the 60,000 of the flush mining times of 1865–6.

In 1886 the territorial auditor, J. P. Woolman, reported 4,115,457 acres of land under improvement in Montana, valued at $9,898,470; and 33,954 town lots improved, valued at $8,997,460; or $18,895,930 as the value of real estate, not including mining ground. In the thirteen counties there were 127,748 horses, valued at $4,333,595; 663,716 cattle, valued at $13,347,815; 968,298 sheep, valued at $1,952,728; 2,121 mules and asses, valued at $116,-145; and 18,837 hogs, valued at $75,713; or stock worth $19,825,999. The capital invested in manufactures was $296,700; in merchandise, $3,493,976. The value of personal property in the territory was $6,615,405.82. Altogether, the real and personal property of the territory, as assessed in 1886, was $55,-076,871.53, an increase since 1883 of $10,378,410.25. There were 16 flour-mills and 91 saw-mills in the territory; 158 blacksmith shops, 5 foundries, 21 silversmiths' shops, and 43 reduction furnaces. The flour manufactured was 141,500 sacks; the number of feet of lumber sawed was 94,777; castings made at the foundries, 2,605; value of saddlers' work in 27 shops, $221,000; the bullion produced in the furnaces was 21,481,615 pounds, valued at $18,-542,498.85. The coal produced in the territory from 16 mines was 1,563,350 bushels.

It will be noticed that the production of flour, lumber, and coal in 1886 was insignificant in proportion to other sources of wealth. Although lumber and coal production has increased, the same disproportion has continued to the present date, the railroads importing these commodities, and exporting such as are more abundantly produced in the territory. From the report of Gov. White made in 1889, and acknowledged to be imperfect, it appears that there were in 1888 4,882 farms in Montana, and that on 26,155 acres were raised 770,200 bushels of wheat, or between 28 and 29 bushels to the acre. On 84,978 acres were raised 3,026,572 bushels of oats, or between

of the Columbia, and thence to China. No other

35 and 36 bushels to the acre. Over half the total amount of grain raised was produced in the two valleys of Bitterroot and Gallatin. This was not alone because of the greater fertility and better facilities for irrigation, but because those valleys lie contiguous to mining centres which furnish markets for farm productions.

Owing to heavy losses in cattle and other stock sustained in the severe winter, of 1887, the increase, except in sheep, has been slight, the showing in 1888 being 142,040 horses, an increase of only 14,256 in two years; while in cattle there was still a loss of 175,249; but in sheep there had been a gain of 185,473. The wool clip of 1888 reached ten million pounds, and sold for about $1,600,000. The same year Montana exported and consumed beef, mutton, live-stock, hides, pelts, lumber, coal, and farm products of the value of $30,000,000. Add to this $40,487,000 in gold, silver, lead, and copper produced in 1888, and we have over $70,000,000, which, divided per capita among her population of 140,000, would give every inhabitant the sum of $500, which is a higher standard of wealth than that attained by the majority of commonwealths.

This abundance does not come, as we have seen, from the agricultural resources of the state, which are still undeveloped, but from its mines. The principal mineral lodes as at present developed are in Silver Bow, Deer Lodge, Lewis and Clarke, Beaver Head, and Madison counties, although minerals exist in almost every part except the most eastern. There are in operation in 1889, 10 gold-mills, 18 silver-mills, 7 lead-smelters, 8 copper-smelters, and 25 concentrators, the combined capacity of which is 5,000 tons per diem, and as soon as the Anaconda new smelter is completed, 7,000 tons. The number of men directly employed in mining is estimated at 10,000, and number of persons indirectly supported by mining and its cognate industries, 75,000. The dividends paid by mining companies in 1889 amounted to $4,000,000.

The production of lumber from 98 millsfor 1888 was 67,474,575 feet, and for 1889, 150,000,000 feet, all of which was consumed in the territory, a proof of rapid building and other improvements. The value of this product at $15 per thousand was $22,500,000. The area of timbered lands in Montana is variously estimated at from 34,000 to 40,000 square miles. The increasing use of wire fencing, of coal and coke instead of charcoal in smelting-furnaces, and of coal by the railroads, will enable the state to preserve its timber supply for a much longer period than it otherwise would. The forests, however, have suffered heavy losses by fires during the dry summer weather, when Indians, hunters, tourists, teamsters, and prospectors, by carelessness in leaving camp-fires, cause the destruction of more timber than would supply the whole population for a generation.

Wages in Montana were high, even at this period, bricklayers receiving from $5 to $6 per day; stone-masons, $5; plasterers, $6; carpenters, $3.50 to $5; miners, $3.50; and tradesmen generally from $3.50 to $5. Teamsters were paid $75 by the month; male cooks, from $50 to $100 per month, and all domestic service proportionately high; prescription clerks, $100 per month; dry-goods clerks, $65 to $125; bank clerks, $100 to $125; stenographers and type-writers, $100; male school-teachers and principals, $75 to $150; female teachers, $50 to $75; printers, 45c and 50c per M; bookkeepers, $75 to $150.

'The laws of Montana,' says Gov. White, 'are especially in the interests of wage-workers. They give them preference, and make their wages a lien for all sums earned sixty days prior to any assignments to the extent of $200.' The same preference is given to claims for wages against the estate of deceased persons, coming first after funeral expenses, expenses of administration, and legal allowance to the widow and minor children; also in case of execution, attachments, and writs of a similar nature issued against persons or corporations. The constitution adopted in 1889 also has an article in the interest of labor, as follows: 'The legislative assembly may provide for

route or road was ever the theme of so much argument, eloquence, and poetry.[2]

The advent in the territory of the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific gave a wonderful impetus to every branch of industry, and encouraged the construction of other lines. In 1889 there are three transcontinental railroads within its boundaries, each doing a profitable business. Numerous short branches or feeders have been extended to mining centres or agricultural valleys, and several local roads are rapidly being constructed by home companies.[3] The third of

a bureau of agriculture, labor, and industry, to be located at the capital, under the control of a commissioner appointed by the governor, subject to the approval of the senate....It shall be unlawful for the warden or other officer of any state penitentiary or reformatory institution in the state of Montana, or for any state officer, to let by contract to any person or persons or corporation the labor of any convict within said institutions.'

[2] The general government has done very little for Montana in the matter of roads and routes. In 1864 congress made a small appropriation, and sent an expedition from Sioux City by the way of the Niobrara and the Black Hills to Montana, under the charge of Capt. Sawyer, who that year escorted a considerable train of immigrants to the gold mines. He came into the old immigrant road near Red Buttes, and left it near the head of Big Horn river, trevelling to Virginia City by the route afterwards known as the Bozeman road, which the Indians finally caused to be closed. The money appropriated for improving the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers in more recent years has been almost wholly expended beyond the confines of Montana. Some money was used in improving the lower Yellowstone, and also Dauphin's and Drowned Man's rapids of the Missouri, 200 or 300 miles below Fort Benton. A small amount was expended in 1882 by Capt. Edward Maguire, U. S. Engineers, above the Falls of Missouri, but to little effect, owing to meagreness of the appropriation. The Missouri Navigation Company, formed in 1879 with the design of navigating the river above the Falls, never carried out its plans, although a steamboat was placed upon that portion of the river in 1883. The Benton Transportation Company's line plies on the Upper Missouri between Bismarck, Dakota, and Fort Benton, and for many years has been the only form of steam transit in the Upper Missouri country. It has a remarkable record, never having had a passenger lost or maimed on its boats. In 1887, up to the middle of August, 38 up trips had been made, and 16,750,000 pounds of freight carried, valued at $1,500,000. The down freight of 800,000 pounds was valued at $800,000. Number of passengers carried, 700. The same company does business between Bismarck and Sioux City. The Yellowstone is sometimes navigated as far west as Billings, but navigation is impracticable upon it except during the months of June and July. Competition with the N. P. R. R., which runs for several hundred miles along the river, would be unprofitable, and no boats are built exclusively for this river. The tonnage of the Missouri river in 1888 amounted to 4,000 tons, 1,000 of which was in exports of wool, hides, and furs.

[3] The home companies which completed their roads before 1889 were the Montana Central and Montana Union. The Montana Central company was organized by C. A. Broadwater, backed financially by the St Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba company. The Montana Union is a later enterprise. The former connects with the St P. M. & M. Co.'s road at Great Falls, and

those was the St Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba railroad, running from St Paul, Minnesota, to Great Falls, Montana, with the intention of extending its line to the lower or northern end of Puget Sound. So true is it railroads create the business they thrive upon that each of all those in Montana were earning good receipts. The imports into Montana by the Northern Pacific in 1888 were 132,696 tons; the exports, 100,181 tons. The business of the Union Pacific was 55,833 tons imports, and 47,990 tons exports, the local business of handling ores, coal, lumber, and merchandise not being included in the tonnage, but which far exceeds the through freight in amount. The value of the exports from Montana in 1888 were reported by the governor, "at a very conservative estimate," as being $45,750,000. These consisted of gold, silver, copper, lead, beef-cattle, horses, sheep, wool, hides, pelts, etc.

One of the latest developed resources of Montana is coal, which until the advent of railroads could not be profitably mined. It is now known that along the eastern bases of the Rocky Mountains coal of excellent quality exists in practically inexhaustible quantity. The mines on Rocky Fork, in Park county, in 1888 produced 500 tons per day; those of Sand Coulée, in Cascade county, 500 tons; and those of Timberline, in Park county, 200 tons daily. Choteau, Beaver Head, and Gallatin counties are also rich in

runs to Helena and Butte, with a branch from Silver City to Marysville, in Lewis and Clarke county. The Montana Union runs from Garrison, on the N. P. R. R., to Butte, with a branch from Silver Bow to Anaconda. The roads under construction in 1888 were the Niehart branch of the Montana Central, 50 miles; the Northern Pacific and Montana, from Gallatin to Butte, 70 miles; Elkhorn branch of N. P. R. R., 20 miles; from Missoula to Idaho, N. P. R. R., 110 miles; Sappington to Red Bluff, 20 miles; Harrison to Poney, 10 miles; Helena to Granite Quarry, 2 miles; total, 283.5 miles. The roads surveyed, but not commenced, were the Manitoba Extension from Great Falls to Missoula, 125 miles; Oregon Railway and Navigation Co., from Idaho boundary to Missoula, 115 miles; N. P. R. R. branches, from Billings to Fort Benton, 200 miles; branch to Castle Mountain, 65 miles; Big Horn and Southern, 115 miles; Billings and Clarke's Fork, 60 miles; Garrison to Missoula, 80 miles; Missoula to Idaho boundary, 110 miles; total, 870 miles.

coal. The output during the year ending June 30, 1889, was 118,000 tons, and this amount was expected to be doubled in 1890.

The most serious drawback to the general prosperity of the last decade was the great loss of cattle in the extraordinarily severe winter of 1886–7. The previous season had been one of unusual drought, in which large areas of forest were burned over, destroying timber to a large amount, and adding by heat and smoke to the discomfort of men and animals. This was followed by terrible winter storms, high winds, deep snows, and extreme cold, prevailing for a period long enough to destroy cattle valued at several million dollars. The loss resulted, as such losses usually do, in better provision for the support and safety of herds during these occasional inclement seasons. The increase of stock on the ranges since 1886–7 has not yet brought the number up to the previous amount, judging from the assessor's returns, although it is probable that with so many railroads carrying stock out of the territory fewer remain upon the ranges than heretofore.

Mining continues to be the leading industry of the Montana people. Notwithstanding the low price of silver, copper, and lead, an ever-increasing amount of capital has sought investment in mines, giving them a remarkable development from 1886 to 1889. In 1883 a table prepared from official returns gave the amount of gold and silver produced in the United States at more than two billions of dollars. It placed California first, with an accredited product of over one billion. Montana came third in the list, with a trifle more than $468,000,000, as a total of the production of its mines for twenty years, an average of $23,400,000 annually. The output of 1887 was about $30,000,000, and that of 1888–9, $41,000,000, which makes Montana the leading mining state of the union. The single camp or mining town of Butte, in Silver Bow county, where are located silver and cop-

per mines, and which produced $1,000,000 in 1880, increased its product to $23,000,000 in 1888. Owing to a fall in the price of copper, the output of this district in 1889 will not be valued at over $18,000,000, but the mines seem inexhaustible.

Butte, which fifteen years ago was a small placer-mining village on a mountain-side, is to-day the leading town of Montana in population, having 30,000 inhabitants, and is the first mining camp in the world, with handsome business houses and elegant residences. To the workmen in its mines and smelters is paid $500,000 per month in wages, its more than a hundred smoke-stacks, ever pouring, sending out day and night great volumes of dense smoke which testify to the ceaseless industry of the place.

The Anaconda, which was at first worked for silver, is now the most celebrated copper mine on the American continent, and with the other mines in this district, and one or two others, furnishes one third of the dividends paid on mining property in ten states and territories having dividend-paying mines.[4] The Anaconda was visited by a fire, which broke out November 23, 1889, in the adjacent St Lawrence mine, and was communicated by a cross-cut to the Anaconda on the 500-foot level, cutting off from escape a body of miners on the 800-foot level, who perished miserably, as did four others who attempted their rescue. The mines were closed to extinguish the fire, but in January 1890 they were still burning. The destruction of the timbers in the several levels will occasion serious caving-in of the walls, and a very large loss to the owners. The city of Butte sustained a loss of $350,000 by fire in September 1889, adding another to the curiously coincident conflagrations of this year in the northwest.[5]

[4] The total amount of dividends paid in 1887 by the ten mining states and territories was $5,111,894, of which Montana furnished one fourth. *Report of Helena Board of Trade*, 1887, p. 14.

[5] Among the prominent citizens of Butte is Dr E. D. Leavitt, a native of New Hampshire. He is a graduate of the Wesleyan University of Middletown,

Phillipsburg, in Deer Lodge county, is another great mining camp. The Hope silver mine is the oldest in Montana, having been opened in 1866, and

Conn., and Harvard Medical College. After passing three years in Colorado, beginning with the Pike's Peak excitement of 1859, in 1862 he removed to Montana, where he has ever since resided, being now a permanent resident of Butte, and giving his sole attention to his large and increasing practice. In 1876 he was nominated by the republicans as delegate to congress. In 1888 he was elected president of the Medical association of Montana. During 1888 and 1889 he has been and is at present health-officer of Butte. By Gov. Leslie he was lately appointed one of the board of territorial medical examiners. Few men in southern Montana are more widely respected either professionally or for their unselfish devotion to the interests of their adopted state.

John L. Murphy was born in Platte co., Mo., in 1842, and educated in a private school. At the age of 17 years he went to Denver, where he was clerk in a store for a year and a half, after which he went into business for himself. He took a situation subsequently as an agent of Holladay's express, but finally purchased teams, and began freighting across the plains to Colo. In 1864 he came to Virginia City, Montana, with a train loaded with goods, removing in 1865 to Helena, and being also largely interested in transportation throughout the territory. He is principal of a mercantile firm doing business in Helena, Deer Lodge, and Fort Benton.

A. G. Clarke, born at Terre Haute, Ind., in 1822, remained in that state until 19 years of age, when he went to St Joseph, Mo., to engage in mercantile pursuits. In 1864 he came to Virginia City, Mont., bringing a stock of hardware, and opening a store at that place. In 1865 he removed to Helena and established a hardware business under the firm name of Clarke & Conrad, which in 1866 became Clarke, Conrad, & Miller, but after a time Clarke, Conrad, & Curtin. Mr Clarke is also interested in an extensive dry goods business, and in stock-raising.

J. S. Hammond was born in Abington, Mass., in 1844, and immigrated to Cal. with his father's family in 1862, where he engaged in teaching in San Joaquin co. He subsequently attended the state normal school, graduating from that institution in 1868, soon after which he was appointed principal of the Stockton high school, which position he held for 4 years, when he resigned to take a course of medical lectures, having been reading medicine during his years of teaching. He graduated from Cooper medical institute of San Francisco in 1873, since which date he has practised his profession. In 1885 he settled permanently in Butte.

George W. Irwin was born in Chicago, Ill., in 1844. He was the son of a railroad contractor, and lived in many places east and west. In 1858 he went to Kansas, and in 1863 came to Virginia City, Montana. Three years later he removed to Deer Lodge, where he was appointed U. S. collector of internal revenue. In 1876 he was appointed clerk of the U. S. district court, which office he filled until 1881 in Deer Lodge, but the office being removed to Butte, he removed with it. In 1882 he was elected sheriff of Silver Bow co. for one term. In 1889 he was appointed U. S. marshal for Montana by President Harrison. He was a member of the vigilance committee of 1863, and has had mining interests in the territory from about that period, being thoroughly devoted to the welfare of his adopted state.

Charles S. Warren was born in La Salle co., Ill., Nov. 20, 1847. He was a son of S. B. Warren, born in Cold Spring, Putnam co., N. Y., in 1813, whose English grandfather settled there in 1744. C. S. Warren received a common school education, and when 15 years of age went to Colorado, but returned to Illinois the same year and entered the union army, serving the 132d and 147th Ill. vol. infantry, being discharged as first sergeant of co. C

successfully worked, the ore being of the free-milling kind, the greater operations of getting silver out of base and refractory ores having to wait for the ad-

of the latter regiment at Savannah, Ga, Jan. 20, 1866. In April following he started for Montana, arriving in August at Virginia City by bull-train. Going to Helena, Deer Lodge, and French Gulch, in Silver Bow co., he mined for 5 years. He served as deputy sheriff and sheriff for 6 years in Deer Lodge co. In 1872 he married Miss Mittie Avery, of Silver Bow, and on the expiration of his term of office removed to Butte, where he has his permanent residence, and is engaged in various enterprises. He was the first police magistrate of Butte, clerk of the district court for 5 years, and deputy internal revenue collector under T. P. Fuller. In 1877, when a volunteer company was organized at Butte to defend the settlements from the Nez Percés under Chief Joseph, he was made 1st lieut of the company under Capt. W. A. Clark. He was one of the founders of the *Inter-Mountain* newspaper, in which he still retains an interest, and owns in the Amy, Silversmith, and Poorman mines. In 1886 he was elected department commander of the Grand Army of the Republic in Montana. He ran for mayor of Butte on the republican ticket, which was defeated; and one month later was elected a member of the state constitutional convention. He is also the Montana member of the national republican committee.

C. F. Lloyd was born at Guttenberg, Sweden, in July 1851, and came with his parents to the United States when a year old, being brought up in Wisconsin and Iowa. In 1869 he was appointed a cadet at West Point, graduating from there in 1873. He was assigned to duty in the west, being stationed at various posts until 1883, when he resigned to accept the position of manager of the Northwestern Forwarding Co. in Butte. He is the owner also of a rancho 2 miles from Butte, which he regards as his home.

James W. Forbis was born in Platt co., Mo., in 1859, and came to Montana with his father in 1864, who was the pioneer agriculturist of the territory, settling on a farm 4 miles from Helena in 1865 where James was brought up, receiving his education in the public schools of Helena. In 1881 he removed to Butte and commenced the study of the law in the office of Judge Knowles, one of the ablest members of the Montana bar. He was admitted to practice in 1884, and has devoted himself to his profession ever since. He served a term as member of the city council, and in 1885 was nominated by the democratic party for city attorney, but the ticket was defeated.

Hon. Lee Mantle was born at Birmingham, Eng., Dec. 13, 1854, soon after the death of his father. His mother became a convert to the mormon faith, and came with her children to Salt Lake City, where, discovering that she had been grossly deceived by the mormon missionaries, she renounced their religion. Her condition was an unhappy one, and her children were forced to labor for their support as soon as old enough to perform any kind of service. Lee worked on farms for his board at first, and then for small wages, never being sent to school a day in his life, all his book-knowledge being acquired by night study at home. In 1872 he went to Idaho, and drove a team for B. F. White, afterwards governor of Montana. Returning to Utah, he was given a position as line-repairer for the Western Union telegraph co., while in this situation learning to be an operator, and being given charge of the office at Corinne. In 1877 he came to Butte, and acted as agent for Wells, Fargo, & Co. until 1880, when he established an insurance and real estate business. He is interested in various mining companies, and was one of the founders and the manager of the *Inter-Mountain*, the most prominent republican newspaper in Montana. He was a member of the first city council elected in Butte, and in 1880 was elected to the territorial legislature, and reëlected in 1884, being chosen speaker of the house by the unanimous vote of the republican members, who were in a majority.

vent of railroads. The original Hope mill of ten stamps is still pounding out the precious metal, and paying regular dividends in the midst of its overshadowing rivals. The corporation owning it is the St Louis and Montana company, the stock in which is held principally in St Louis. The most important group of mines, although not the oldest, is the Granite Mountain group, discovered in 1872, but not profitably developed until about 1884. The principal mine is the Granite Mountain, now producing more silver than any in the world. It is stocked for $10,000,000, and also owned in St Louis. Although so recently developed, it had paid in dividends to its stockholders, in November 1889, $7,600,000, or ten dollars per share on 400,000 shares of a par value of $25.[6]

Next in importance to this group of mines is the West Granite group, opened in 1886, and owned by a Montana company, of which J. K. Pardee was in 1887 general manager.[7] Money for the first development of the mine was raised by the sale of 30,000 shares at a dollar a share. A number of other companies, St Louis and Philadelphia corporations, own mines in this district.[8] The town of Phillipsburg was named for Phillip Deidesheimer, famous for his connection with mining on the Comstock. The camp has about 300 population.

Other towns in this county depending upon mining are in the full tide of prosperity in 1889. Anaconda,[9]

[6] Much credit is due to Charles Clark, former superintendent of the Hope mine, and now one of the principal owners of Granite Mountain, for persistence in developing this mine. He was succeeded in the management by Frank L. Perkins, and more recently by John W. Plummer.

[7] The officers were A. M. Holter, prest, Thomas Cruse, vice-prest, C. K. Wells, sec., J. K. Pardee, general manager. Trustees, S. T. Hauser, Samuel Word, H. M. Parchen, T. J. Lowrey, Thomas Cruse, J. K. Pardee, A. M. Holter, A. A. McDonald, and Ed. I. Zimmerman. The property is capitalized at $10,000,000.

[8] The Granite Belle is a St Louis corporation. The Speckled Trout group dates back to 1874, and was opened by the Northwest Mining company, a Philadelphia concern, in which Charlemagne Tower and Gen. A. B. Nettleton were largely interested. The Speckled Trout mine was not worked for some time, and is now under lease to the Algonquin company, managed by J. K. Pardee.

[9] W. L. Hoge was born in Illinois in 1846, and removed with his father

Deer Lodge, and Drummond may be mentioned. Deer Lodge is less important as a mining town at present than as the seat of the United States penitentiary, the only federal building, except the assay-office, in Montana. It is, however, in the midst of mining districts, and derives support from them.[10] A private institution of learning called the Montana college[11] is located at Deer Lodge. The population is about 1,000.

The Helena mining district is the third in importance in Montana, containing several dividend-paying mines, of which the Drum Lummond is the most prominent, and dividing $100,000[12] quarterly among its share-holders. The Drum Lummond is a gold mine, and is situated at Marysville, twenty miles in a northwest direction from Helena. The Helena and Northern railroad, a remarkable piece of engineering,

to Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1857. He was educated in the schools of that city and on graduating entered a bank to learn the business. In 1875 he went to Salt Lake City, where he was teller in a bank until 1882, when he organized the banking-house of Hoge, Brownlee, & Co., of Butte. The following year he removed to Anaconda and organized the banking-house of Hoge, Daly, & Co., which was changed to the 1st National bank in 1889. He was the first mayor of Anaconda.

[10] E. L. Bonner, a native of N. Y., and educated there, was born in 1834, and in 1857 came to the Pacific coast, settling in Oregon. In 1866 he brought a stock of goods to Missoula, Montana, since which time he has been in business in this territory. In 1872 he established the mercantile house of E. L. Bonner & Co. in Deer Lodge, and in 1874 the Bonner Mercantile Company of Butte. His home, however, is at Deer Lodge, where he gives personal attention to his business.

[11] D. J. McMillan was born in Tennessee in 1846, removing with his father to Carlinville, Ill., in 1854, where he was educated. In 1862 he entered the union army, and served three years, after which he was engaged in teaching in Ill. until 1873, when he went to Utah and organized and conducted a number of mission schools for a period of 10 years. In 1883 he was elected the first president of Montana College, in which office he remains. In 1889 he took part in politics on the republican side, during the movement for statehood. As a speaker he is logical, forcible, and witty.

[12] For the month of September 1889, this mine, with a 50-stamp mill, crushed 3,238 tons, yielding $64,500; a 10-stamp mill crushed 537 tons, yielding $26,800; a 60-stamp-mill crushed 2,800 tons, yielding $20,000—total, $111,300. The working expenses were $53,000. At this rate the dividends should be about doubled. I might mention here the names of dividend-paying mines as quoted in 1887, at which period $8,134,902 had been paid since 1880. They were the Alice, $750,000; Amy and Silversmith, $331,851; Boston and Montana, $520,000; Elkhorn, $180,000; Empire, $33,000; Granite Mountain, $2,600,000; Helena M. & R., $192,310; Hecla Consolidated, $1,062,500; Hope, $158,241; Lexington, $565,000; Montana Limited, $1,254,000; Moulton, $350,000; Original, $120,000; Parrot, $18,000.

connects it with the capital. This road for ten miles scales the sides of a steep mountain, and is built almost a third of the distance on trestles. The Drum Lummond has but recently been sufficiently developed to display its qualities as the first gold producer of the world, but has greatly increased the expectations of this district. A movement is on foot to organize a company to purchase the old Whitlatch-Union property at Unionville, near Helena, and resume operations. It is believed this mine would still produce gold in paying quantities.

The city of Helena, which is now inferior in population to Butte, is still the chief commercial city, with 15,000 inhabitants, and the improvements for 1888 cost $3,055,000. It has a number of handsome public buildings. The Lewis and Clarke county court-house cost $200,000, and contains the legislative halls of the territory. The high-school, graded, and ward schools are constructed of brick, and supplied with every modern convenience. The city has a good water supply, a well-organized fire department, gas, electric lights, and well-equipped street railways. Its railroad facilities are excellent. It has five banks of deposit, whose capital stock, surplus, and undivided profits amount to $8,322,699, more than can be found in any city of equal size in the world. The name of Queen City is not an inappropriate one.[13]

[13] Among the notable citizens of Helena I mention the following:

Isaac D. McCutcheon, born in N. Y. in 1840, removed to Mich. with his parents in 1846, and was there educated. He began teaching school at the age of 18 years, and continued to teach for 5 years, after which he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1868. He practised his profession in Charlotte, Mich., until 1882, when he was appointed secretary of Montana. He resigned in 1883 to return to the practice of the law.

F. S. Witherbee, born in Flint, Mich., in 1860, removed to Louisville, Ky, in 1873. He was educated for a physician, graduating in Philadelphia in 1883, but not liking his profession, he became a publisher in Washington, D. C. He sold out his business in 1888, and came to Helena, where he engaged in real estate, organizing the Witherbee and Hunter Real Estate, Loan, and Investment Co., Limited.

O. R. Allen, born in the state of N. Y., in 1852, received a collegiate education, and in 1876 went to Colorado, where he remained until 1883, when he came to Montana and engaged in mining. In 1886 he acquired the Jay Gould mine, and organized a stock company to develop the property. The mine has produced over $1,000,000, and is still producing richly.

Great Falls, in the new county of Cascade, established in 1887, is rapidly growing in reputation. It

F. P. Sterling was born in Elkhorn, Wis., in 1843, and was educated in his native town. In 1861 he entered the union army, serving through the war, after which he removed to Iowa, and engaged in school-teaching until 1874, when he came to Montana. In 1876 he was appointed register of the U. S. land-office at Helena, serving until 1883. The following year he was elected judge of the probate court, and served two years, since which time he has practised law in Helena.

T. H. Kleinschmidt was born in Prussia in 1837, and came to the U. S. with his parents in 1841. He was raised and educated at St Louis, Mo. In 1862 he went to Colorado, where he followed merchandising for two years, removing to Montana in 1864. He was one of the organizers of the 1st National bank of Helena in 1866, and has been active in its management ever since. He was twice elected mayor of the city.

Samuel Word, born in Ky in 1837, was educated in his native state, and removed to Missouri in 1857, where he read law and was admitted to the bar. He practised his profession there until 1863, when he came to Montana, settling in Virginia City, where he remained until 1880. He then moved to Butte, and in 1885 to Helena. He has been a member of the legislature and speaker of the house, and is permanently located at the capital.

Charles W. Cannon, born in Cleveland, O., in 1835, removed with his parents to Dubuque, Ia, in 1837, where he was raised and educated. He came to Montana in 1864, and for a short time was engaged in trade at Virginia City. He removed to Helena in 1865, where he again engaged in merchandising until 1880, after which he has been employed in the care of his real estate, city and country, and his mining interests.

Ashburn K. Barbour was born in Falmouth, Ky, in 1856, and educated there, studying law, and being admitted to the bar. In 1878 he removed to Kansas City, Mo., where he remained until 1882, when he came to Helena, and has practised his profession here.

J. J. Leiser, born in Penn. in 1845, was educated there, and studied medicine in Phila. After practising in several towns, he took a post-graduate course at his alma mater, and in 1878 came to Helena, where he has steadily followed his profession. He takes an interest in noting the climatic influences on different diseases in his adopted state, on which he has written his observations.

H. M. Parchen was born in Prussia in 1839. At ten years of age he immigrated with his parents to the U. S., being located in western N. Y. At the age of 14 years he left home to enter a merchant's employ, and continued from that time to learn business. In 1862 he went to Colorado, and in 1864 came to Montana. After one year in Virginia City he settled permanently in Helena as a druggist. He has served several terms in the legislature, and is a public-spirited citizen.

Col James Sullivan, born in Ireland in 1842, migrated with his parents to America in 1849, settling in Boston, where he was educated. When a young man he learned the barber's trade, and followed it in Boston and New York for many years. In 1878, on account of losses by speculation, he determined to remove to Montana. He purchased a barber's business in Helena, and prospered in it. In 1885 he was elected mayor, and in 1887 was appointed territorial auditor. He has served on the staff of three different governors, and is a prominent citizen of Helena.

Richard Lockey was born in England in 1845, and came to the U. S. in 1846, his parents settling in Dubuque, Iowa, where he was educated. In 1862 he entered the union army, serving three years. In 1866 he came to Helena, and engaged in merchandising until 1881, when he gave his attention to real estate.

David A. Cory was born in Canada in 1842, removing to the state of Ill.

is situated upon a sloping site at the junction of Missouri and Sun rivers, commanding a view of four moun-

with his parents in 1855. For more than 20 years he was a commercial traveller, and in 1886 came to Montana, becoming a member of the mercantile firm of Bach, Cory, & Co. of Helena, devoting himself to its business.

A. J. Seligman, junior member of the above firm, was born in New York City, and educated to be a civil engineer, graduating from two of the most prominent schools in Europe. He came to Montana in 1881, making Helena his home; has served in the legislature, and is devoted to the interests of the mountain state.

Dr C. K. Cole was born in Ill. in 1852, educated in his native state, and graduated in medicine in 1878. He first practised in Jacksonville, Ill., but removed in 1879 to Helena, Mont. He was twice a member of the city council, and in 1888 was elected a member of the territorial council, of which he was president.

John H. Ming was born in Va in 1831, migrated to Mo. in 1840 with his parents, and in 1849, at the age of 18 years, came to Cal., working in the mines and teaming for 3 years, when he returned home. In 1859 he went to Colorado, engaging in merchandising at Denver, until 1863, when he removed to Virginia City, Mont., remaining there 5 years. In 1868 he made his home in Helena, where he did much to promote the growth of the city. His death occurred in 1887; the above facts being furnished by his widow, Katherine L. Ming.

E. W. Bach was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1852. He came to Montana in 1878, being engaged in various enterprises until 1883, when he commenced a wholesale grocery trade in Helena, as senior member of the firm of Bach, Cory, & Co., which does a business of over $1,000,000 a year. He is also interested in the Helena Street Railroad Company, and the St Paul and Helena Land and Improvement Co.

E. W. Knight was born in Indiana in 1838, but removed with his father's family to Ky when a child, was educated there, and studied and practised law. In 1873 he came to Montana, locating at Helena. He was one of the original stockholders of the 1st National bank of Helena, in which he was book-keeper from 1873 to 1876, when he was elected cashier. He was the second mayor of Helena.

A. M. Holter, born in Norway in 1831, learned the carpenter's trade, and immigrated to the U. S. in 1854, locating in Iowa. He was among the first to go to the Colorado mines, from whence, in 1864, he came to Montana, mining and running a saw-mill near Virginia City for two years. In 1866 he removed to Helena, and engaged in hardware business. He is one of the directors of the 1st National bank, along with S. T. Hauser, A. M. Holter, Granville Stuart, E. W. Knight, T. H. Kleinschmidt, John C. Curtin, R. S. Hamilton, C. P. Higgins, A. J. Davis, Henry M. Parchen, and T. C. Power. Hauser is president, Davis vice-president, Knight cashier, Kleinschmidt assistant cashier, and George H. Hill second assistant. Paid-up capital, $500,000; surplus and profits, $500,000.

John Kinna, born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1837, came to the U. S. with his parents in 1842, and resided in Orange co., N. Y. At the age of 18 years he went to Lincoln, Neb., where he learned the tinner's trade. In 1864 he came to Montana, remaining for one year at Virginia City, when he removed to Helena and engaged in hardware business. He was the first mayor of this city, where he constantly resided until his death, in 1887, and was treasurer of Lewis and Clarke co.; these facts being furnished by his son, C. J. Kinna.

William M. Thornton, born in Eutaw, Ala., in 1853, came to San Francisco with his parents at the age of one year, where he was educated. In 1869 he engaged in business in Unionville, Nev., where he remained until 1874, removing to Virginia City, in that state, to take the

tain ranges. Here are the great cataracts of the Missouri, having a total fall of 512 feet. The first, or Black Eagle fall, has a sheer descent of 28½ feet, and an available fall of 54 feet, which will be utilized the present year (1889). The Rainbow fall has a perpendicular descent of 49 feet; Colter's fall, 14 feet; Horse-shoe fall, 20 feet; and the Great fall, 100 feet, with rapids between—the whole constituting a water power unequalled. Coal, iron, and limestone abound within a few miles of the new town of Great Falls. The advantages of the place have been recognized, and a million-dollar smelter has been erected, with a capacity for reduction of 250 tons of ore daily; although the works are only one fourth their proposed size, as it is intended to make this the largest smelter for the reduction of silver-lead ores in the world. The population of Great Falls is 2,500, and its improvements, exclusive of the Manitoba and Montana Central railroad properties, are valued at $2,500,000. There is a branch railroad line to the Sand Couleé coal mines, where 350 persons are employed, and will be extended to the silver, copper, and Galena mines in the Belt range. A stone and iron wagon bridge 1,000 feet long spans the Missouri at Great Falls. The town is a shipping-point for stock and wool. About 29,000 sheep, 10,000 cattle, and 1,000,000 pounds of wool were shipped from there in 1888. It has been incorporated as a city, has water-works in progress, has a large saw and planing mill, the largest flour-mill in Montana, two agricultural-implement

position of secretary of the Virginia City and Truckee Railroad Co. In 1885 he removed to Anaconda, where he became cashier of the 1st National bank. In Aug. 1889 he was nominated state senator from Deer Lodge co., and elected.

C. A. Broadwater, born in Mo. in 1840, had limited means of education, and when 17 years of age began clerking for a commission firm in St Louis. In 1859 he went to Colo, and in 1864 came to Montana, where for 4 years he was wagon-master of the R. Freighting Co. In 1868 he purchased an interest in the business, and was actively engaged in it until 1879, when he sold out. He then secured the post-tradership at Fort Maginnis, which he retained until 1885, when he located in Helena and organized the Montana National bank, of which he is president.

houses, three churches, and a $20,000 school building. Such is the vigor of Montana's population.[14]

[14] A little personal and territorial history will not be out of place here. About 1881, Paris Gibson, a pioneer of Minneapolis, and who understood the part the water-power of the Mississippi river at the falls of St Anthony had played in the building up of that city, first conceived the idea of founding a city at the Great Falls of the Missouri. His knowledge of this water-power and the surrounding country was chiefly obtained from J. K. Caster of Belt, and late in the above-mentioned year, in company with J. A. Whitmore and H. P. Rolfe, with James Burns as driver for the party, he set out from Benton to personally inspect the described locality. There were no roads, the party experienced difficulty in finding the several falls in order to compare their power, but decided the Great Falls impracticable, and a snow-storm coming on, they returned to Ft Benton. In the spring of 1882, Gibson made several visits to the falls, and in August, with Gov. Edgerton, Charles Gibson, and H. P. Rolfe, selected the present site, and made a preliminary survey of the town preparatory to placing scrip thereon. Soon after, Gibson formed a partnership with James J. Hill, the railway magnate. During the winter, additional land was filed on, and when all was secure, in 1883 a final survey of the town was made, Paris Gibson and Jerry Collins, with Rolfe, marking out the position of the principal business street, which was called Central Avenue, and was made 90 feet wide, all the other streets and avenues being 80 feet in width. In the autumn of 1883, John Woods erected the first log-house, on Tenth Ave. South. In the following April, Rolfe built the first frame-house, and George E. Huey the second, after which the town company's secretary, H. O. Chowen, commenced erecting an office, and Walker & Carter a restaurant, partly of boards, and partly of canvas. Liberal advertising was restored to. In the mean time the coal mines at Sand Couleé were being opened, and quite a village was growing up there. In the mean time, also, James J. Hill was maturing his plans for bringing the Manitoba railroad to Great Falls by 1888, 700 miles across the great Indian reservation north of the Missouri. During the summer, Col Dodge of Helena visited the Falls and quietly selected the route of the Montana Central. The firm of Murphy, Maclay, & Co. opened a store at Great Falls, with W. P. Wren in charge. This was followed by Beachley Bros & Hickory's store. E. B. Largent had a store on the opposite side of the river, and William Wamer opened a restaurant which served for the hotel of Great Falls for some time. In 1885 Will Hanks, who had been publishing the *Rising Sun* at Sun River, moved his plant to the new town, and on the 14th of May began the issuance of the *Weekly Tribune*. A school district was organized this year, a schoolhouse built, and Gibson, Rolfe, and Lee were the first trustees of the district, Rev. J. M. Largent being teacher. A saw-mill was erected by McClay & Myers, and they, with Holter & Co., furnished lumber for the improvements of the town. Its growth was slow until, in the winter of 1885–6, word came that engineers were surveying a railroad line through Prickly Pear cañon, revealing the purpose of the Montana Central company. From this time the growth was more rapid and assured. In 1866 the town had 600 inhabitants. By great exertion, the Manitoba railroad was completed to Great Falls in October 1887, when a great celebration testified the satisfaction of the people. In November the road to Helena was opened. Truly the ways of the 19th century town-builders resemble not the ways of their ancestors of even one century ago. Some opposition was offered in the legislature to the organization of the county of Cascade, but the measure was carried through in 1887, and the county officials were sworn in on the 21st of Dec. The first board of commissioners consisted of Charles Wegner, J. A. Harris, and E. R. Clingon; sheriff, C. P. Downing; county treasurer, A. E. Dickerman; probate judge, H. P. Rolfe; clerk and recorder, J. W. Matkin; assessor, R. T. Gorham; attorney, George W. Taylor; supt of schools, Miss Bessie Ford.

Benton has 1,000 inhabitants, and is a well-built, thriving town. A substantial iron bridge 875 feet

The events of 1888 were the completion of the wagon-road and railroad bridges, the establishment of great reduction works, the holding of two terms of court, which cleared the moral atmosphere to a considerable extent, the building of a jail and two churches, the completion of the Sand Couleé railroad, the creation of a board of trade, and the erection of a large number of business buildings, the public-school edifice, and two hotels, one of which is among the best in Montana. Another newspaper, the *Leader*, was established June 16, 1888. In October the city was incorporated, and Paris Gibson chosen mayor. A hundred years from now, when Great Falls is a great city, these details of its origin will not be without interest or value, but quite the reverse.

Paris Gibson came to Montana in 1879 to engage in sheep-raising, and his consequent observations of the country led to his fortunate investment in land at the falls of the Missouri. I have no data concerning his previous life.

Hon. H. P. Rolfe was born in Vt in 1849, and educated there, choosing law for a profession. He came to Montana in 1876, and was for two years supt of public schools in Helena. During 1879 he was managing editor of the Butte *Miner*. He next removed to Fort Benton, where he practised law, but in 1884 located permanently in Great Falls. He was elected probate judge in 1886, serving one term, but prefers to keep out of politics.

George W. Taylor was born on a farm near Lexington, Ky, in 1853, raised and educated in his native state, where he also taught school for several years. He came to Montana in 1883 and studied law with Hon. J. K. Toole, being admitted to the bar in 1884. Immediately he located at Great Falls, the first lawyer there. He was appointed county attorney on the organization of Cascade co., and in 1888 elected to the same position. He was a candidate for reëlection on the state ticket of 1889.

E. G. Maclay was born in Penn. in 1844, and removed with his parents to St Louis when a child. He came to Montana in 1863, and for twenty years was engaged in freighting, after which he entered mercantile life. He was the first merchant in Great Falls.

Ira Myers, born in Ohio in 1839, went to Colo in 1859, and came to Montana in 1863. Mining and cattle-raising was his business until 1884, when he erected a saw-mill at Great Falls, and has been in lumber business ever since. He was one of the organizers of the Electric Light Co. of Great Falls, of which he is president, and is one of the principal owners in the water-works.

H. W. Child was born in 1855 in San Francisco, and educated there, being a clerk in the stationery-house of H. S. Crocker & Co. from 1870 to 1875. He came to Montana in 1876, engaging in various enterprises until 1882, when he became general manager of the Gloster and Gregory mines. In 1887 he removed to Great Falls as manager of the Montana Smelting Co.

H. O. Chowen was born in Minneapolis, Minn., in 1859, and educated there. He came to Great Falls in 1884, in the employ of Paris Gibson. In 1885 he organized the Cataract Mill Co., to which he gives his special attention, but is largely interested in city real estate.

J. H. Fairchild, born in Maine in 1856, removed to Minneapolis at the age of 9 years, and was there educated. He studied medicine and graduated from the Pennsylvania Medical College in 1880, and was surgeon of the Phila hospital for two years. He then practised a year in Minn., after which he came to Great Falls, where he now practises his profession. He was elected mayor in the spring of 1889.

A. G. Ladd was born in Maine in 1851, and educated in his native state. He studied medicine at the Maine Medical College, Portland, graduating in 1878. He came to Montana and purchased a cattle rancho in what is now Cascade co. in 1883, living on his land and practising his profession. When Great Falls was organized he removed to the town, but retains his land and stock.

long spans the Missouri at this place, at a cost of $65,000. The town has electric-light and water-works systems, a fire department, board of trade, a public-school building costing $33,000, a court-house costing $60,000, two fine hotels, one costing $50,000, and a First National bank building costing $20,000, besides private banks, handsome mercantile houses, several churches, a hospital, and other evidences of the intelligence and prosperity of its citizens. Benton is in the wool-growing district of Montana, and the town is supplied with wool compressors and warehouses for the convenience of shippers. But although the counties of Cascade and Choteau have been regarded as grazing districts, good crops of cereals are raised upon the bench-lands, as well as in the rich soil of the valleys bordering upon streams, and the quality of the upland grain is superior, while thirty bushels to the acre is garnered from land that has not been irrigated. It is but recently that the value of these northern plateaux for farming purposes has impressed itself upon the consciousness of a people chiefly interested in mining and grazing—in gold and grasses—to which should now be added grain. The opening of the great reservation extending from the Missouri river to the boundary of British Columbia has added 18,000,000 acres of government land which is open to settlement, embracing the Milk river valley, traversed by the St Paul and Manitoba railroad. With all these fertile acres, and a transcontinental railway, northern Montana has a grand future, by no means very distant, in which Benton will have its share.[15]

Will Hanks was born in Ohio in 1860. He came to the Sun river country in 1883, and established the first newspaper between Fort Benton and Helena, the *Rising Sun*. In 1885 he removed to Great Falls, establishing the *Weekly Tribune*, but sold it in 1887, and went into real estate business. When, in the spring of 1889, the Cascade bank was organized, he was elected its vice-president, which position he now holds. He is also chairman of the board of county commissioners, to which he was elected in 1888.

[15] Prominent among the citizens of Benton and Montana is John M. Boardman, a native of Ill., where he was born on Dec. 2, 1855. He received a commercial training in the great wholesale house of Marshall, Field, & Co., of Chicago, where he held a responsible position for several years. In 1879 he

The northeastern and eastern portion of Montana remains a great stock range, of which Miles City, in Custer county, is a shipping centre, and the third town in population in the state. A board of stock commissioners, with a member in each county, looks after the administration of the written and unwritten laws concerning the sole industry which rivals mining in Montana,[16] and to which a very large amount of its

removed to Montana, where he engaged in the cattle business in the vicinity of Fort Benton. In 1885 he merged his stock in the Milner Live-stock Co., whose herds are among the largest in the state. As vice-president and manager of this company he has contributed largely to its prosperity, and aided perhaps more than any single individual in building the cattle interests of northern Montana. As an instance of his popularity, it may be mentioned that he was elected in 1889 to the first state legislature of Montana, and was also the first republican elected in Choteau county to any legislative office.

C. E. Conrad was born in Virginia City in 1850, and there was raised and educated. At the age of 18 years he came to Montana, arriving at Fort Benton June 30, 1868. He began life here as a clerk in the employ of J. G. Baker & Co., of which he is now a member. In 1882, when the First National bank of Fort Benton was organized, of which W. G. Conrad is prest, he was chosen vice-prest, which office he still holds. He is also largely interested in cattle and sheep, owning an interest in the Benton and St Louis Cattle Co. He was a member of the state constitutional convention of 1889.

Joseph A. Baker is a son of the J. G. Baker above referred to, who was born in New Haven, Conn., in 1819. He was a pioneer in the west, having been a post-trader in Iowa, Kansas, and Montana. He came to Fort Benton in 1866, and established the business which still bears his name. In 1880 the father retired to a home in St Louis. Joseph A. was born in Westport, Mo., in 1850, but came when a lad to Fort Benton, where he assisted his father in his business until 1878, when he engaged in the cattle business for himself, continuing actively in it until 1886, when he was elected cashier of the First National bank of Fort Benton, in which office he remains. He was elected state senator from Choteau co. to the first state senate of Montana.

John W. Power was born near Dubuque, Ia, in 1844, and remained on his father's farm until 20 years of age, when he went to Fort Randall, Da, where his brother, T. C. Power, was a post-trader, remaining in his employ until 1867, at which time both came to Fort Benton, and went into business together under the firm name of T. C. Power & Bro., which firm is still in existence. T. C. Power resides in Helena, but John W. is permanently located at Benton, where he has large interests.

Jere. Sullivan was born in 1843, in Ireland, 30 miles from Cork. In 1850 his parents immigrated to Canada, where he was educated. At the age of 18 years he came to the U. S., residing for a time at various points until 1865, when he came to Montana, arriving at Fort Benton in July of that year. He followed mining until 1874, when he located at Fort Shaw, on Sun river, where he opened a hotel, remaining there until 1879, when he removed to Benton, where he again kept a hotel. He was elected mayor of Benton in 1886 and 1887, and was chairman of the republican county committee in 1888 and 1889. He is owner of large interests in Fort Benton.

[16] Prominent in that district, which was formerly in Choteau co., but in that portion which is now Fergus co., at Fort Maginnis, on the east flank of the Judith mountains, is Granville Stuart, president of the board of stock commissioners. Stuart has been frequently mentioned in the early part

money capital is due.[17] It is contended by these capitalists that the government is unnecessarily jealous of their aggressiveness, for the territory occupied by them is too broken for agriculture. Opinions change with circumstances, and expediency will determine the limit of indulgence which the future shall discover.

I have here gathered together some evidences of the material prosperity of Montana. It was once wittily said that mining-towns consisted of ophir-holes, gopher-holes, and loafer-holes. All that has been changed as far as Montana is concerned, if we except the ophir-holes, which are as much as ever sought after. Merchants are no longer compelled to store their goods in caves in the earth to protect them from fire or plunder; the rude first dwellings have been replaced by elegant, or at the least tasteful and comfortable, homes; the fashions of good society prevail in place of unseemly revelry; education and religion are fostered,[18] as in the older commonwealths.

of this history. It was through a letter from Mr Stuart to a brother in Colo describing the placer mines in the Rocky mountains that the sudden immigration from Colo to Montana took place in 1862. He was for many years a member of the Montana legislature, and school trustee since 1864. He was one of the first to prove that this was a superior cattle-raising region, and is himself identified with the cattle interests of the state. Mr Stuart was born in Va in 1834, and educated in Iowa. In the spring of 1852 he went to Cal., where he mined until 1857, when he, returning east, was, through circumstances already mentioned, detained in Montana, and becoming interested in the affairs of a new territory, made it his home.

[17] Joseph Scott, of Miles City, is a representative cattle-raiser of his district. He was born in Tyrone co., in the north of Ireland, in 1844, and educated there and in Phila, U. S. In 1867 he went to Idaho, mining at War Eagle mountain for 2 years. In 1869 he went to Utah, purchased some cattle and drove them to White Pine, Nev., where he remained until 1871, after which for 2 years he travelled about through Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah prospecting, and finally locating in Idaho in the track of the Indian war of 1878, by which he lost a good deal of property in stock. He then went to Elko co., Nev., and tried cattle-raising, but found the ranges overstocked. In 1880 he came to Custer co., Mont., where he follows stock-raising, still retaining an interest in Idaho and Nevada.

[18] In 1863–4, Smith and Price, two presbyterian ministers, and the first protestant preachers to settle in Montana, held services for a time in Virginia City, but it was not until 1872 that a presbyterian church was organized in that place, although other protestant churches had been, namely, the methodist church south, and an episcopal and catholic society. The last-named was under the charge of Father Giorda, the methodist church under that of A. M. Hough, and the episcopal church was cared for by H. H. Prout.

Education, being a matter of public polity, and not of private conscience, received more attention from the beginning, schools being formed under a school law in 1866. In 1867 there were two public-school teachers in Madison county, and three in Edgerton (Lewis and Clarke) county. The amount raised for their support and for school-houses was $7,709. The number of persons between four and twenty-one years of age in Montana was 1,920, of whom 222 attended school.[19] Since that period the standard of education has advanced within the last ten or twelve years, until it is upon the same plane with the school systems of the older states. Children are admitted from four to twenty-one years of age; and fourteen years' tuition is required to be graduated from the high school, where one exists. Teachers' institutes are required by law, to aid in promoting the best methods of instruction.

The school lands not being salable until the territory became a state, the people were compelled to

Daniel S. Tuttle, of Otsego, N. Y., was the first missionary bishop of the episcopal church in Montana, appointed in 1866 to superintend Utah, Idaho, and Montana. He was a scholarly man, young and energetic, and labored efficiently in his field. At first a union church edifice was occupied by the protestant societies alternately, but it was ultimately sold for secular purposes. The methodists erected a church in Virginia City in the autumn of 1867, the corner-stone of which was laid on the 12th of September. As in most new countries, they organized in advance of other denominations, but in Montana they were divided by politics long after the cause which separated them was a lost cause. Helena was, on account of its importance, the next field sought, the catholics being first on the ground, and completing the first building for purely religious services in Montana. Two young women, Sallie Raymond and Margaret Irvine, solicited contributions for the first church-bell in Helena, in the spring of 1867. Although religious exercises were held in the various towns and settlements, it required a few years for society to become sufficiently homogeneous to unite upon religious principles and decide to erect temples for their favorite practices. Accordingly most of the churches have been built since 1872. The methodist church at Missoula was dedicated that year. The presbyterians did not begin seriously to organize until that year, when societies were formed at Deer Lodge, Helena, Gallatin City, Bozeman, and Virginia City, by Sheldon Jackson, J. R. Russell, and W. S. Frackelton. The presbyterian edifice at Deer Lodge was opened for services February 21, 1875, Russell being first pastor of the society. The catholics erected a new church at Helena in 1876. The protestant episcopal society of St Peter of Helena opened their church in October 1879, M. N. Gilbert pastor.

[19] The first public school of Helena was opened Dec. 3, 1867, and taught by William I. Marshal and Mrs R. M. Farley. *Rept of Superintendent of Schools*, in *Virginia Post*, Dec. 14, 1867.

support the schools by taxation. The amounts raised in the several counties varied from $9,207, in Yellowstone county, to $33,766.91, in Choteau county, and aggregated, in 1884, $231,229.42, making an average of $17,786 of school money furnished for every county. The school fund collected in 1888 averaged twenty dollars annually for each child in Montana, of which amount $317,442.37 was from county tax. There were 316 school-houses, valued at $646,679; and the number of children of school age was 27,600; while the teachers were 442. Several of the counties having the largest school funds elected women for superintendents.[20]

Of the literature of Montana there is little to be said. Newspapers abound, there being, before 1885, one in every county except Jefferson, which was supplied from Helena. The leading journals were of unusual merit and interest, for interior newspapers.[21]

[20] Teachers are the least publicly honored of all the public's servants. Superintendents have all been experienced teachers. Therefore, let me record here, for the honor of some of Montana's most deserving, the names of her county superintendents of 1884: Beaverhead, John Gannon; Choteau, Miss M. E. Johnston; Custer, A. C. Logan; Dawson, J. H. Ray; Deer Lodge, T. W. Catlin; Gallatin, Adda M. Hamilton; Jefferson, E. I. Fletcher; Lewis and Clarke, Helen P. Clarke; Meagher, Alice M. Darcy; Madison, J. C. Mahony; Missoula, J. A. T. Ryman; Silver Bow, T. J. Booher; Yellowstone, B. F. Shuart. *Sixth Annual Rept of Supt of Public Instruction*, by Cornelius Hedges, who has filled the office of territorial superintendent for many years, alternating with C. Wright and W. Egbert Smith.

[21] I have noted the establishment from time to time of political and news journals, with the date of their origin and politics. The following were being published in 1884: Lewis and Clarke county, at Helena, *Herald*, d. and w., rep., 1866; *Independent*, d. and w., dem., 1871; *Montana Argus*, w., German, 1883; *Stock and Mining Journal*, m., 1884; *Christian Advocate*, m., 1882; *Montana Baptist*, q., 1884; *Montanian*, d., local, 1884; at Sun River, *The Sun*, w., ind., 1884. Silver Bow county, at Butte, *Miner*, d. and semi-w., dem., 1879; *Inter-Mountain*, d. and semi-w., rep., 1881. Yellowstone county, at Billings, *Post*, w., rep., 1882; *Herald*, w., dem., 1882; *Rustler*, d., local, 1884. Gallatin county, at Bozeman, *Avant-Courier*, w., ind., 1871; *Chronicle*, w., dem., 1883; at Livingston, *Enterprise*, w., ind. dem., 1883. Custer county, at Miles City, *Yellowstone Journal*, d. and w., rep., 1879; *Stock-grower's Journal*, 1884. Dawson county, at Glendive, *Times*, w., local, 1881; *Independent*, w., local, 1884. Missoula county, at Missoula, *Missoulian*, w., ind., 1873; *Times*, w., rep., 1883. Madison county, at Virginia City, *Madisonian*, w., dem., 1873; *Montana Churchman*, m., 1883. Deer Lodge county, at Deer Lodge, *New Northwest*, w., ind. rep., 1869. Beaverhead county, at Dillon, *Tribune*, w., local, 1881. Choteau county, at Fort Benton, *River Press*, d. and w., rep., 1880; *Record*, w., dem., 1881. Meagher county, at Maiden, *Mineral Argus*, w., 1883; at Townsend, *Tranchant*, w., local, 1883; at White

The dramatic taste of the people was not early developed by the theatre. There has been too much real life among them to leave a craving for mimic life. The towns, also, were too small to support good companies. In 1866 Virginia City had a theatre, which was well patronized by its crowds of flush miners now passed away. Helena had then occasional seasons of the opera and drama. It has now a handsome opera-house. Miles City early supported a theatre, and all the principal towns had halls which served for musical and dramatic entertainments. When it is remembered that twenty-six years ago the first step was taken toward subduing the wilderness to the uses of civilized men, who could withhold the judgment, well done, hardy and energetic sons of America!

Sulphur Springs, *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, w., 1875. Then there were the *Pick and Plow*, Bozeman, 1871; *Times*, Bozeman; *Frontier Index*, Butte City; *Atlantis*, Glendale; *Bad Lands Cowboy*, Medora; *Frontier Index*, Thompson Falls.

As one of those who have done much to foster the educational interests of Montana should be mentioned Cornelius Hedges, a resident of Helena, who in 1872 was appointed superintendent of public instruction, and after serving for five years was reappointed in 1883, in which year he was also elected secretary of the Territorial Historical Society. A native of Westfield, Mass, and educated first at the Westfield Academy, then at Yale, and finally at the Harvard law school, he began the practice of his profession at Independence, Ia, where in 1864 he published the *Independent Civilian*. During that year he came to Montana, and in 1865 to Helena, where he again practised law, and was appointed U. S. attorney and probate judge. To him is due the credit of first suggesting that the National Park be set aside for its present purposes, and in 1870 he was one of a party of ten by whom its site was explored and surveyed. He is also secretary of the Pioneer Association, and has long been connected with the *Helena Herald*, on whose staff he is recognized as a most able journalist, and as a ripe and accomplished scholar.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRESS AND STATEHOOD.

1884–1889.

CONVENTION OF 1884—ELECTION OF DELEGATE AND LEGISLATURE—REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS—TERRITORIAL OFFICERS—GOV. LESLIE APPOINTED—LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS AND ENACTMENTS—MEMORIALS CONCERNING MINERAL LANDS—THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD—LAWS TO GUARD ELECTIONS—THOMAS H. CARTER, DELEGATE—B. F. WHITE, GOVERNOR—ENABLING ACT PASSED BY CONGRESS—CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—FEATURES OF THE CONSTITUTION—POLITICAL TROUBLES.

As this chapter is to deal with the formation of the state government of Montana, let us go back to 1884, in January of which year a constitutional convention was held at Helena, an act having been passed by the thirteenth session of the Montana legislature authorizing an election for delegates to be held in November 1883. The election took place,[1] and the convention met, forming a constitution subject to acceptance or rejection by the qualified electors at the biennial election of 1884. The voting on adoption was light, the total vote being 7,197 less than the total for delegate to congress, which was 26,969. Of

[1] The delegates were Robert Smith and Joseph A. Brown, Beaverhead co.; T. E. Collins and W. H. Hunt, Choteau; C. W. Savage, Wm Van Gasken, and S. R. Douglass, Custer; J. F. Malony, Dawson; J. C. Robinson, E. B. Waterbury, and Joaquin Abascal, Deer Lodge; S. W. Langhorne, R. P. Vivion, G. O. Eaton, F. D. Pease, and E. F. Ferris, Gallatin; E. McSorley and N. Merriman, Jefferson; Matt Carroll, J. K. Toole, C. Hedges, and George Steele, Lewis and Clarke; H. S. Howell and J. E. Callaway, Madison; W. J. McCormick, W. J. Stephens, R. B. Catlin, and R. A. Eddy, Missoula; J. F. McClintock, James Fergus, and W. F. Haas, Meagher; Thomas L. Napton, W. Y. Pemberton, W. A. Clark, Marcus Daly, J. C. Thornton, and Francis Medhurst, Silver Bow; F. M. Proctor and F. M. Greene, Yellowstone; Walter Cooper and A. F. Burleigh, 1st judicial dist; W. W. Dixon and James H. Mills, 2d judicial dist; W. B. Hundley and T. C. Power, 3d judicial dist. W. A. Clark was elected president.

those who gave expression to their wishes, 15,506 were for and 4,266 against the constitution, the majority being significantly large in favor of statehood, if we may judge by positive and not by negative evidence. However, nothing further came of the movement at that time, although it was not abandoned. E. K. Toole, democrat, was elected delegate to congress, and the fourteenth legislature, which has already been named, enacted laws highly creditable to the members and useful to the territory.

In May 1884, the republicans of Montana held a territorial convention to elect delegates to the national republican convention, their choice falling upon Wilbur F. Sanders of Helena, and Lee Mantle of Butte, with M. J. Leaming of Choteau, and Hiram Knowles of Silver Bow, as alternates.[2] The preference of Delegate Mantle, as expressed in territorial convention, was for George F. Edmunds for president, and that of Delegate Sanders was for James G. Blaine.

The democrats elected Samuel T. Hauser of Helena and Samuel Ward of Butte delegates to the democratic national convention. W. J. McCormick, one of the alternates, was made a member of the national committee, and S. T. Hauser a member of the notification committee, this being the first occasion on which Montana was represented in a national convention, and the first time also that territorial delegates were placed upon committees by one of them.

Hauser, who was appointed governor in July 1885,[3] resigned late in 1886, and H. P. Leslie of

[2] The other candidates nominated in convention were, M. A. Meyendorff of Helena, Hiram Knowles of Butte, Caldwell Edwards of Gallatin, George O. Eaton of Gallatin, and M. J. Leaming of Fort Benton. The names of other republicans mentioned in connection with this convention were, George Irvin of Silver Bow, Henry N. Blake of Madison, J. V. Bogert of Gallatin, Charles H. Gould of Custer, I. Rotwitt of Meagher, I. D. McCutcheon of Lewis and Clarke, Orville B. O'Bannon, T. H. Carter, and Alex. C. Botkin.

[3] The territorial secretaries from the organization down to 1888 were. Henry P. Torsey, commissioned June 22, 1864; John Coburn, March 3, 1865; Thomas F. Meagher, Aug. 4, 1865; James Tufts, March 28, 1867; Wiley S. Scribner, April 20, 1869; A. H. Sanders, July 19, 1870; James E. Callaway,

Kentucky received the appointment. Governor Leslie found the territory prosperous and peaceful, giving him little anxiety on any account. He seemed by his reports to be impressed by its probable future greatness, and to feel a pride in its advancement. More he could not do than to remind the general government how little it had done towards the encouragement of this aspiring commonwealth, and this he did not fail in doing.

The legislature of 1887 neglected to make an appropriation for printing its journals, and therefore no notice can be taken of its proceedings.[4] Partisan feel-

Jan. 27, 1871; James H. Mills, May 10, 1877; Isaac D. McCutcheon, 1881; John S. Tooker, April 21, 1884; William B. Webb, 1886–8, and Louis A. Walker, 1889.

Territorial treasurers, John J. Hull, 1864–6; John S. Rockfellow, 1866–7; William G. Barkley, 1867–71; Richard O. Hickman, 1871–5; Daniel H. Weston, 1875–87; W. G. Prewitt, 1887–9.

Territorial auditors, John S. Lott, 1864–6; John H. Wing, 1866–7; William N. Rodgers, 1867; George Callaway, 1874, resigned; Solomon Starr, 1874–6; David H. Cuthbert, 1876–87; James Sullivan, 1887–9.

Superintendents of public instruction, Thomas J. Dimsdale, 1864–6; Peter Ronan, resigned, 1866; Alexander H. Barrett, resigned, 1866; A. M. S. Carpenter, 1866–7; Thomas F. Campbell, 1867–9; James H. Mills, resigned, 1869; S. G. Lathrop, 1869–72; Cornelius Hedges, 1872–8; R. H. Howie, 1878–83; Cornelius Hedges, 1883–5; W. W. Wylie, 1885–7; N. C. Logan, 1887–9.

Receivers of United States land-office, George McLean, 1867–70; Richard F. May, 1870–2; Solomon Starr, 1872–5; H. M. Keyser, 1875–7; J. V. Bogert, 1877–9; Frank P. Sterling, 1877–9; E. Ballou, C. H. Gould, Z. F. Burton, John T. Carlin, H. S. Howell, John T. Carlin, Abram Hall, dates of commissions not known.

Registers of United States land-office, Orville B. O'Bannon, 1867–9; Lorenzo B. Lyman, 1869; Addison H. Sanders, 1870–2; William C. Child, 1872–5; James H. Moe, 1875–9; David Wilson, 1879; E. A. Kreidler, Francis Adkinson, O. P. Chisholm, Washington Berry, S. W. Langhorne, Eddy F. Ferris, A. Grover, dates of commissions not known.

Collectors of internal revenue, Nathaniel P. Langford, 1864; Andrew J. Simmons, 1868; W. B. Judd, acting collector, 1869; Samuel L. Watson, 1869; Thomas P. Fuller, 1873–83; James Shields.

Assessors of internal revenue, Truman C. Evarts, 1864; Lucius B. Church, 1870–3.

Collectors of customs for district Montana and Idaho, John X. Beidler, 1867; Walter W. Johnson, 1869; Thomas A. Cummings, 1873; William A. Hunt, 1881; Thomas A. Cummings, James H. Mills.

Surveyors-general United States land, Solomon Meredith, 1867; Henry D. Washburn, 1869; John E. Blaine, 1871–3; Andrew J. Smith, 1874; Roswell H. Mason, 1877–9; John S. Harris, 1881; B. H. Greene. *Id.* 259–60.

[4] The councilmen elected in November 1886 were, G. L. Batchelder, Beaverhead co.; E. Cardwell, Jefferson; T. E. Collins, Choteau; R. O. Hickman, Madison; S. L. Holliday, Gallatin; W. B. Hundley, Lewis and Clarke; Will Kennedy, Missoula; J. K. Pardee, Deer Lodge; J. E. Rickards, Silver Bow; W. H. Sutherlin, Fergus and Meagher; J. J. Thompson, Custer; E. C.

ing, although gaining force and momentum as the prospect of statehood assumed greater certainty, had not been permitted to mar the tranquillity of communities. For twenty-four years every legislature had been democratic, but in 1888 there was a sufficient number of republicans elected to give that party a working majority in both branches of the legislature.

The principal measures of general interest acted upon at the sixteenth session of the Montana assembly, which met January 17, 1889, were, the passage of a memorial relating to a bill introduced in congress by delegate Toole to grant to the territory the abandoned Fort Ellis reservation for educational purposes;[5] the appointment of a commission to codify the laws

Waters, Dawson and Yellowstone. The representatives elected were, W. W. Alderson, F. K. Armstrong, C. W. Hoffman, Gallatin; H. N. Blake, Madison; L. A. Brown, Beaverhead; J. W. Buskett, Jefferson and Lewis and Clarke; T. L. Gorham, William Muth, Lewis and Clarke; C. W. Hanscomb, Silver Bow; E. N. Harwood, Yellowstone; J. M. Holt, E. H. Johnson, Custer; J. E. Kanouse, Fergus and Meagher; Lee Mantle, William Thompson, Silver Bow; T. C. Marshall, Harrison Spaulding, Missoula; J. M. Page, Beaverhead and Madison; C. R. A. Scobey, Dawson; J. F. Taylor, Choteau; Jacob Titman, Fergus and Meagher; J. R. Toole, M. W. White, Deer Lodge; Enoch Wilson, Jefferson. *Auditor's Rept*, 1886, 41.

[5] Montana had not, like Washington and Idaho, provided for a territorial university. Two reasons seem to have operated to account for this neglect by a people so enterprising: one, the heavy indebtedness of the counties, which, in 1888, amounted to $1,500,000; and the other, that a large amount of money was annually expended upon the educational system of the territory, which provided excellent public schools. It was thought that the government buildings at Fort Ellis might serve for the foundation of a university. The members of the county teachers' institute, which was held at Missoula in 1889, pledged themselves to use their best endeavors to secure its location at that place, giving as their reasons that the climate was unexcelled in the state, and that the university lands were located in that county, with other considerations, such as the fact that Missoula was entitled to one of the state institutions.

The founder of Missoula was C. P. Higgins, who was born in Ireland in March 1830, and received a business education in the United States. He enlisted in the U. S. army at the age of 18 years, serving 5 years in the dragoons. He was a member of the Gov. Stevens expedition in 1853, assisted in the first survey of the N. P. R. R., and was with Stevens when he made his treaties with the Blackfoot, Flathead, Cœur d' Alêne, and Spokane tribes. In 1860, he settled in Hellgate valley, near the present site of Missoula, and engaged in trade. In 1865, he located the town, and removed to it, in company with Worden, they erecting lumber and flouring mills. In 1870 they opened a bank, of which Capt. Higgins is president. He is also interested in horse-raising, and owns several valuable farms and mining properties. He married, in 1862, Miss Julia P. Grant, and has 9 children.

The first convention of the Montana state teachers' association was held at Dillon, in Beaverhead co., Dec. 26–28, 1889, Mrs. H. S. Simmons, of Helena, president.

of Montana;[6] the enactment of a law regulating the practice of medicine and surgery; acts establishing some county boundaries; an act to provide for the organization, regulation, and discipline of the national guard of Montana; the refusal by the legislature to appropriate money to send an exhibit of Montana productions to the Paris exposition;[7] the creation of the office of mine inspector, which was to secure greater safety in mining; the consideration of numerous petitions requesting the legislature to memorialize congress to take such action as would preserve the mineral lands of Montana free from title, or claim of title, in any railroad company, and continue it open for exploration and location;[8] also the enactment of a registration law which should secure the purity of elections.

These latter two measures were of the greatest importance. Should railroad companies claim the mineral lands to be found within the limits of their grants, many mining claims already opened would be forfeited, or if not forfeited, their development must be delayed until congress or the courts had determined their proprietary rights. The question was brought to the attention of the people by the action of the Northern Pacific railroad company advertising certain appli-

[6] The commissioners appointed were, Newton W. McConnell and B. Platt Carpenter, of Lewis and Clarke co., and F. W. Cole, of Silver Bow co. *Mont. Jour. Council*, 1889, 307.

[7] The proposition came from the governor in his message to the legislature. The reply of the committee to whom this part of the message was referred was, first, that there was not time to make a creditable collection, the mines being covered with snow at that season. But the chief argument was that while Montana had been proven to be the greatest producer of the precious metals of any of the states or territories; and while every honest laborer and capitalist would be welcomed to the territory, the United States prohibited any alien from investing in mining properties during territorial dependency. What, then, would be the use of going to the expense of making an exhibit at Paris, when foreign capitalists knew they were debarred from investment? This appears a very petty spleen, especially as state government was anticipated, when alien mine-purchasers would be desired, and might be procured by an expenditure of $20,000.

[8] Six petitions were sent from Jefferson co., aggregating 366 names, — two from Madison, with 65 names attached; four from Deer Lodge, containing 238 names; and five from Silver Bow, with 130 names—all desiring a law of congress settling the doubt as to the title to mineral lands in the odd sections within railroad limits. *Mont. Jour. House*, 1889, 197. Butte co. also sent two petitions of 65 names.

cations for patent on mineral lands, and by rulings of the land department which appeared to be adverse to the mineral claimants, together with the probability that patents might be issued to the railroad company regardless of the rights of mine-owners. These apprehensions led to the holding of a mineral-land convention at Helena on the 29th of November, 1889, of which Lee Mantle was president, in order to devise new ways of meeting a serious crisis in the affairs of Montana, 2,000,000 acres of the richest mineral land, including the famous Oro Fino district, being involved in the threatened coup of the railroad company.[9]

A registration law was passed, which it was believed would secure purity of the ballot, the form of ticket adopted being, except some modifications, that used in what is known as the Australian system. It secures secrecy[10] by placing upon the same ticket the names of opposing candidates, the voter marking off those he does not approve. Under this system ballot-box stuffing is prevented; and except extraordinary intimidation were used, would always give correct re-

[9] The claim of the N. P. R. R. was, that if a mine should be discovered on its land, the burden of the proof that the land was more valuable for its minerals than for anything else should rest upon the claimant, and not upon the railroad. If the road, it says, is to be compelled to surrender its title to any land because some one calls it mineral land, the titles to a vast amount of property between Duluth and the Pacific coast would be imperilled. The company claims that if a man wishes to locate a mine on any part of its granted lands he must furnish absolute proof that it is more valuable as mineral than as agricultural land. *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 4, 1889. It is easy to see how Montana, in which the N. P. R. R. owns 19,000,000 acres of land, much of which is undoubtedly mineral, will, without the intervention of congress, become involved in endless litigation.

[10] The oath taken by the Montana legislature, and designed to prevent corruption in that body, was as follows: 'I do solemnly swear that I will support, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States, and the organic act of the territory of Montana, and that I will discharge the duties of my office with fidelity; that I have not paid or contributed, or promised to pay or contribute, either directly or indirectly, any money or other valuable thing, to procure my nomination or election, except for necessary and proper expenses, expressly authorized by law; that I have not knowingly violated any election law of this territory, or procured it to be done by others in my behalf; that I will not knowingly receive, directly or indirectly, any money or other valuable thing, for the performance or non-performance, of any act or duty pertaining to my office, other than the compensation allowed by law. *Montana Jour. House*, 1889, 2.

curns. A law reapportioning the legislative assembly of Montana was also enacted at this session, which expired March 14th, having passed in both houses a memorial to congress relating to admission into the union. A few days later, congress passed the enabling act authorizing a constitutional convention.

By the election of November 1888, Thomas H. Carter, republican, was chosen delegate to congress.[11] Subsequent to the adjournment of the legislature Benjamin F. White of Dillon was appointed governor[12] by President Harrison. The passage of an enabling act by a republican congress also gave to Montana politics a new, and, by many, an undesired turn. However, the people were nearly unanimous in favor of state government, and proceeded with great good humor to the election of their constitution-makers. The convention assembled July 4th at Helena, electing William A. Clark president,[13] and

[11] W. A. Clark, democrat, was opposed to Carter. The vote was 22,468 for Carter, and 17,360 for Clark.

[12] B. F. White was born in Mass. in 1838. When 20 years of age he shipped as a seaman before the mast for a voyage to San Francisco, and liking California, remained there, finding employment on a fruit-farm in Napa co. until 1866, when he went to Idaho, where he was appointed clerk of the U. S. district court, which position he filled until 1878, when he removed to Montana, settling at Dillon, in Beaverhead co. He was elected to the territorial legislature in 1882, serving one term. On the organization of the First National bank of Dillon he was elected cashier. He was appointed governor in March 1889. He is described in the *Northwest Magazine* of May 1889 as being 'a man of distinguished appearance. His thin face, gray hair, moustache, and imperial give him the look of a French general.'

[13] Clark was also president of the constitutional convention of 1884. He was born near Connellsville, Fayette co., Pa, and educated in the public schools and Laurel Hill academy. He removed with his father to Iowa in 1856, where he engaged in farming and school-teaching during one year, after which he attended an academy one term, followed by a term at the university at Mt Pleasant, where he began the study of law, which he prosecuted for two years, after which he again resorted to teaching. In 1862 he drove a team across the plains to the South Park, Colorado, and worked in the quartz mines at Central City until 1863, when he came to Montana, arriving at Bannack July 7th, sixty-five days from Central City, with an ox-team. His career in Montana has been one of remarkable activity and success. Mining, freighting, merchandising, mail-contracting, cattle-trading, gold-dust buying and selling, and all the various avocations of a new country were in turn made to yield their profits, and sometimes also their losses. In 1868 he formed a partnership with R. W. Donnell of New York, and opened a wholesale mercantile house at Helena, which was removed in 1870 to Deer Lodge, and consolidated with a large house owned by Donnell, when S. E. Larabie

William H. Todd chief clerk. Its material was of the best of both political parties, who worked together harmoniously, and "grateful to almighty God for the blessings of liberty," ordained and established in due time the constitution of the state of Montana.[14]

was admitted to the firm, and a banking-house established by them, to which, finding it necessary to give their whole attention, they sold out the merchandise, and in 1872 organized a national bank, of which Clark was elected president. In 1878 they surrendered this charter, and continued the business under the former name and style, with a branch at Butte, where they erected an elegant bank building. In 1884 Clark and Larabie purchased Donnell's interest in all their Montana business.

Mr Clark had in the mean time become interested in the quartz mines of Butte, owning in the Original, Colusa, Mountain Chief, and Gambetta mines, and had spent a year in the school of mines of Columbia College, New York, where he acquired a knowledge that was of the greatest service to him in his subsequent extensive experience in mining. In 1879 he organized the Colorado and Montana Smelting company. He later became part owner in about fifty mines of copper, silver, and gold, and of very valuable concentrating, calcining, and smelting works, and also owner of a one-third interest in the Shoshone Falls property in Idaho; besides having large interests in water and electric-light companies and real estate. The offices held by him at various times were that of state orator to represent Montana at the centennial exhibition in Phila; of grand master of masons; of major of the Butte battalion of volunteers in the Nez Percé war of 1877; president of the state convention of 1884; commissioner to the world's industrial and cotton exposition at New Orleans in 1885; and lastly, president of the state constitutional convention of 1889. He is very wealthy, and having been the maker of his own fortune by legitimate means, is justly regarded as a shining example of a 'great westerner.'

[14] The following persons were members of the constitutional convention: William A. Clark, Walter M. Bickford, J. F. Brazelton, Peter Breen, E. D. Aiken, Simon R. Buford, William Mason Bullard, Walter A. Burleigh, Alex. F. Burns, Andrew J. Burns, Edward Burns, James Edward Cardwell, B. Platt Carpenter, Milton Canby, William A. Chessman, Timothy E. Collins, Charles E. Conrad, Walter Cooper, Thomas F. Courtney, Arthur J. Craven, W. W. Dixon, D. M. Durfee, William Dyer, William T. Field, George O. Eaton, J. E. Gaylord, Paris Gibson, Warren C. Gillette, O. F. Goddard, Fielding L. Graves, R. E. Hammond, Charles S. Hartman, Henri J. Haskell, Luke D. Hatch, Lewis H. Hirshfield, Richard O. Hickman, S. S. Hobson, Joseph Hogan, Thomas Joyes, Allen R. Joy, J. E. Kanouse, A. R. Joy, W. J. Kennedy, H. Knippenberg, Hiram Knowls, Conrad Kohrs, C. H. Loud, Llewellyn A. Luce, Martin Maginnis, J. E. Marion, Charles S. Marshall, William Mayger, P. W. McAdow, C. R. Middleton, Samuel Mitchell, William Muth, Alfred Myers, William Parberry, W. R. Ramsdell, G. J. Reek, John C. Robinson, L. Rotwitt, J. C. Rickards, Francis E. Sargeant, Leopold F. Schmidt, George W. Stapleton, Joseph K. Toole, J. R. Toole, Charles S. Warren, William H. Watson, H. R. Whitehill, Charles M. Webster, George B. Winston, Aaron C. Whittier, David G. Brown. *Helena Independent*, Aug. 27, 1889.

J. K. Toole was born in Savannah, Mo., in 1851. He received his education in the schools of St Joseph and the western military academy at Newcastle, Ky, after which he studied law in that state, and came to Montana in 1869, where he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice

This instrument possesses, in the main, the same features which distinguish the constitutions of all the

of his profession. In 1872 he was elected district attorney, which office he held for several terms. He was elected to serve at the twelfth session of the territorial legislature, and chosen president of the council. He was elected a member of the constitutional convention of 1884, and in the autumn of that year was chosen delegate to congress to succeed Martin Maginnis, and re-elected in 1886.

J. E. Rickards was born in Delaware in 1848. In 1873 he went to Colo, where he resided until 1879, when he removed to San Francisco, remaining there until 1882, when he came to Montana, making his home at Butte. He was chosen a member of the Butte City council in 1885, and elected member of territorial senate in 1887. He was, after the adoption of the constitution, a candidate for the place of lieutenant-governor, which he obtained.

W. W. Dixon was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1838, and migrated with his parents to Ill. in 1842. He received his education at Quincy, Ill., and Keokuk, Ia. In 1862 he went to Nev., where he remained until 1866, when he came to Montana, and entered upon the practice of the law. He was a member of the legislature in 1871, and of the state convention of 1884. Although interested in mining, later he continued to practise his profession, avoiding office.

John R. Toole, born in Maine in 1849, removed with his parents to Madison, Wis., in 1855, where he was educated. In 1873 he went to Utah, where he worked in the mines for five years, going to Idaho in 1878, where he again mined until 1884, when he came to Montana, settling at Anaconda, Deer Lodge co., his present home. In 1886 he was elected to the territorial legislature, reëlected in 1888, and was nominated for the state legislature in 1889.

H. Knippenberg, born in Germany in 1843, immigrated with his parents to the U. S. in 1848. He was a manufacturer in Indianapolis, when, in 1881, he accepted the position of superintendent of the Hecla mines, in Beaverhead co. When he came to Montana the Hecla Company was $77,000 in debt. Under his management the company built $300,000 worth of improvements, and paid dividends of over $1,500,000 in cash. He made his residence at Glendale, Beaverhead co.

Edward Cardwell, born in Wellington co., Canada; in 1841 went to Michigan, and in 1878 to Utah, whence he soon came to Montana. He first mined at Virginia City for six years, after which he settled on a rancho on the Yellowstone, near Stillwater.

Hiram Knowles, born in Hampden, Penobscot co., Me, in 1834, removed with his parents to that part of Hancock co., Ill., which is now Warren co., but afterwards to Iowa, from which state, in 1850, he went with his father to Cal., returning the following year to Keokuk, Ia. In 1854 he entered Denmark academy, and subsequently Antioch college, after which he studied law with Judge Miller of Keokuk, and was admitted to the bar in 1859. He attended lectures at Cambridge law school, graduating in 1860, when he began practice. In 1862 he went to Dayton, Mo., and was appointed district attorney for Humboldt co., and elected probate judge. In 1865 he removed to Idaho City, but the following year came to Montana and engaged in mining for a few months, when he returned to Keokuk to practise law. In 1868 he was appointed one of the supreme judges of Montana, which position he filled with distinction until 1879. In 1881 he formed a law partnership with John F. Forbis of Butte, and took up his residence there.

L. H. Hershfield, born in Oneida co., N. Y., in 1836, went to St Louis in 1854, and in 1859 to Leavenworth, Kan., whence he migrated with the gold-seekers to Colo, going into merchandising at Central City. In 1864 he came to Montana with a train of 26 wagons, which he sold out on arriving at Vir-

younger states, which are even more jealous of their liberties than their elders. While restricting legisla-

ginia City, to engage in buying gold-dust. In 1865 he established his present banking business in Helena, being also at the head of the firm of L. H. Hershfield & Co., of Virginia City. In 1882, with his brother, he organized the Merchants' National bank, with a capital stock of $150,000. He also, in 1880, established a bank at Benton, and in 1883 another at White Sulphur Springs, in which property he is largely interested. He became one of the chief capitalists of Montana.

Martin Maginnis, a native of Wayne co., N. Y., was born in 1840, but removed to Minnesota when young, where he was educated by an academic and university course. He left college to take charge of a democratic journal, but when the rebellion broke out, left his desk to join the union army, enlisting as a private in the 1st Minn. vol. inf. in 1861. After the battle of Bull Run he was commissioned 2d lieut; promoted to 1st lieut in 1862, and to captain in 1863. In 1864 he was commissioned major of the 11th Minn. vol. inf., and transferred to the army of the Cumberland, serving under Gen. Thomas until mustered out in 1865. The following year he came to Montana and edited and published the *Helena Gazette*, a political paper, through which means he was elected to the 43d congress in 1872, remaining in this office until 1885, when he was succeeded by J. K. Toole, another democrat.

Conrad Korhs, born in Holstein, Germany, in 1835, shipped as a sailor in 1852, reaching New York and locating in Davenport, Ia, in the following year. In 1857 he removed to Cal., and in 1862 to Montana, where he engaged in buying, selling, and butchering cattle for market. That he was successful in acquiring a fortune was apparent by the following general inventory of his property in Montana: 840 acres of land adjoining Deer Lodge, 2,500 acres of stock range, 1,000 acres, 4 miles above Deer Lodge, of rich bottom land, 300 shorthorn cattle, 5,000 to 10,000 common stock worth $28 to $30 per head, imported bulls worth $2,500, a herd of several thousand sheep, and a band of fine horses. Besides, he owns shares in the largest ditch ever constructed in the country for mining purposes, and in the mines operated by it. Mr Korhs was elected county commissioner in 1869, and helped to bring the county out of debt by able management.

Perry W. McAdow, born in 1838, in Mason co., Ky, of Scotch ancestry, in 1839 removed with his parents to the Platt Purchase, Mo., and in 1850 to California, but his father dying, Perry returned to Mo. and entered the Masonic college. In 1857 he went to Fort Bridger, joining Gen. Johnston's expedition to Utah in 1838, where he entered the service of Gilbert & Gervish as salesman until 1860, when he again returned to Mo. In the spring of 1861 he took passage on a Missouri river steamer for Fort Benton, which caught fire and exploded at the mouth of Poplar river, 350 miles below that place. By this disaster he lost all he possessed, and was compelled to walk to Fort Benton, whence he went to Fort Owens to winter. The following spring he discovered Pioneer gulch, taking out $1,000. From here he went to Bannack, and was one of the party which discovered Alder gulch, where he erected a saw-mill, which he sold in 1864, and with the proceeds located himself in the Gallatin valley, and erected the first grist-mill in the territory, selling flour for $25 per 100 pounds. He is still a miller and farmer, as well as a stock-raiser, and dealer in real estate in Billings and Bozeman.

B. Platt Carpenter, ex-governor of Montana, was born at Stanford, Dutchess co., N. Y., in 1837. He graduated from Union college in 1857, and in 1858 was admitted to the bar. In the same year he was elected district attorney of Dutchess co., and in 1864 was appointed internal revenue assessor for the 12th (now 16th) congressional district, holding the office until 1869. He was elected a member of the N. Y. state constitutional convention, and in 1872 of the republican state convention at Utica, where his talents attracted the attention of the party, which published his speech as a cam-

tion and extravagant appropriation of public moneys, the interests of labor were carefully protected. It declared that the legislature might provide for a bureau of agriculture, labor, and industry to be located at the capital, and under the control of commissioners appointed by the governor, subject to the approval of the senate. It was made unlawful for the warden of the penitentiary, or any officer of any reformatory institution in the state, or for any state officer, to let prison labor by contract.

With regard to revenue and taxation, the revenue necessary for the support of the state was to be provided by a uniform rate of assessment upon a just valuation of all property, except in cases provided; and a license-tax upon persons and corporations might be imposed by the legislature for state purposes. The property of the United States, the state of Montana, of counties, cities, towns, school districts, municipal corporations, and public libraries should be exempt; and such property as should be used by agricultural and horticultural societies, or for educational purposes, places of religious worship, hospitals, places of sepulchre, and charitable institutions of a public nature, were also exempted.

All mines and mining claims, both placer and rock in place, containing gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, or other valuable minerals, after purchase from the Uni-

paign document of that year. In 1875 he was elected state senator, and in 1877, declining reëlection, was chosen county judge. He was commissioned governor of Montana in 1884, succeeding Gov. Crosby, and preceding Gov. Hauser.

James E. Callaway was born in Ky in 1835. His progenitors were all southerners, and his grandfather one of the Boone colony which settled in Ky, while his father was a minister of fine culture. James had a collegiate education, and studied law with Gov. Yates of Ill., being admitted to the bar in 1857. He became also a member of the bar of the U. S. supreme court. During the civil war he served from April 1861 to the close, entering the service as captain of company D, 21st regt Ill. vols—Gen. Grant's old regiment—rising to the rank of colonel, and part of the time commanding a brigade. He came to Montana in 1871, and served several years a territorial secretary. In 1884 he was elected a member of the house of representatives from Madison co., of which he was elected speaker, enjoying the distinction of being the first republican who ever presided over a legislative body in Montana.

ted States should be taxed at the price paid the United States, unless the surface-ground had a separate value for other than mining purposes, when it should be taxed according to its independent value; all machinery used in mining, and all property and surface improvements having a value separate from mines or mining claims, were subject to tax as provided by law, as was also the annual net proceeds of all mines and mining claims. Municipal corporations only could levy taxes for municipal purposes; and taxes for city, town, and school purposes might be levied upon all subjects and objects of taxation, but the valuation of such property should not exceed the valuation of the same property for state and county purposes; and no county, city, or town should be released from its proportionate share of state taxes.

The power to tax corporations or corporate property should never be relinquished or suspended, and all corporations in the state, or doing business therein, should be subject to taxes for state, county, school, municipal, and other purposes, on real or personal property owned by them, and not exempted by the constitution. Private property should not be sold for corporate debts, but the legislature should provide by law for the funding of such indebtedness, and the payment thereof, by taxation of all private property not exempt within the limits of the territory, over which such corporations had authority.

The rate of taxation in any one year should not exceed three mills on each dollar of valuation; and whenever the taxable property in the state shall amount to $100,000,000 the rate should not exceed two and one half mills on each dollar, and whenever it should amount to $300,000,000 the rate should not exceed one and one half mills to the dollar, without a proposition to increase the rate being submitted to a vote of the people.

No appropriations should be made or authorized by the legislature, whereby the expenditures of the state

should exceed the total tax provided by law, and applicable to such expenditure, unless the legislature making the appropriation should provide for levying a sufficient tax, not exceeding the constitutional rate; but this provision should not apply to appropriations made to suppress insurrection, defend the state, or assist in defending the United States, and no appropriation should be made for a longer period than two years.

Particular attention was bestowed upon the article on corporations, with a view to prevent the evils arising out of the assumption of power through which many commonwealths have suffered, and to make chartered companies amenable to law.[15]

[15] All charters or grants of exclusive privileges under which corporations had not organized or commenced business before the adoption of the constitution were annulled. No charter of incorporation should be granted, extended, or amended by special law, except those under the control of the state; but the legislature should provide by general law for the organization of corporations to be thereafter created, which law should be subject to repeal or alteration by the same body, which should also have power to alter, revoke, or annul any existing charter whenever, in its opinion, such corporation was injurious to the citizens of the state. In elections for directors or trustees of incorporated companies, every stockholder shall have the right to vote in person or by proxy the number of shares owned by him in such manner as he should see fit.

All railroad, transportation, and express companies were declared common carriers, subject to legislative control; were compelled to connect with railroads of other states at the state boundary, to permit intersecting roads to cross their lines, and were forbidden to consolidate with any parallel line, or unite its business or earnings; nor should any officer of one transportation company act as an officer of any other such company having a parallel or competing line. Discrimination was forbidden; but special rates might be given to excursionists, provided they were the same to all persons. No transportation company should be allowed, under penalties to be prescribed by the legislature, to charge or receive any greater toll for carrying passengers or freight a short distance than for a longer one; nor should any preference be given to any individual, association, or corporation in furnishing cars or motive power, or for the transportation of money or other express matter.

No railroad, express, or other transportation company in existence at the time of the adoption of the constitution should have the benefit of any future legislation, without first filing in the office of the secretary of state an acceptance of the provisions of the constitution in binding form. The right of eminent domain should never be abridged, nor so construed as to prevent the legislative assembly from taking the property and franchises of incorporated companies, and subjecting them to the public use in the same manner as the property of individuals; nor the police powers of the state be abridged or so construed as to permit any corporations to conduct their business in such a manner as to infringe the equal rights of individuals, or the general well-being of the state.

No corporation should issue stocks or bonds, except for a real consideration in labor, property, or money, and fictitious issues of stock should be void.

The article on elections declared that an elector must be a male person of legal age, a citizen of the United States, have resided in this state one year, and in the county, town, or precinct such time as the law prescribed, not a felon; but no person having the right to vote at the time of the adoption of the constitution should be deprived of the right to vote on the adoption. And it was provided that after the expiration of five years no person except citizens of the United States should have the right to vote. No person should be elected or appointed to any office in the state who was not a citizen of the United States, and who had not resided one year in Montana. The legislature should have the power to pass registration and other laws necessary to secure the purity of elections. Women should be eligible to hold the office of county superintendent, or any school district office, and have the right to vote at any school district election. And upon all questions submitted to the tax-payers of the state, or any political division thereof, women who were tax-payers, and possessed of the qualifications for the right of suffrage required of men by the constitution, should, equally with men, have the right to vote. In all elections by the people, the person receiving the highest number of votes should be declared elected.

The question of the permanent location of the capi-

The stock of corporations should not be increased except in pursuance of a general law, nor without the consent of a majority of the stockholders. Foreign corporations must have one or more known places of business, and an authorized agent or agents upon whom process might be served, and should not be allowed to exercise or enjoy greater rights or privileges than those enjoyed by other corporations created under the laws of the state. It was made unlawful for any corporation to require of its employés, as a condition of their employment, or otherwise, any contract or agreement releasing the company from liability or responsibility on account of personal injuries received by them while in their service by reason of the negligence of the company or its agents, and such contracts were declared void. No incorporated or stock company, person, or association of persons, in the state of Montana, should combine or form what is known as a trust, or make contracts with persons or corporations for the purpose of fixing the price or regulating the production of any article of commerce, or of the product of the soil, for consumption by the people. The legislature should cause adequate penalties to be enforced to the extent, if necessary, of the forfeiture of their property and franchises, and in the case of foreign corporations, prohibiting them from carrying on business in the state.

tal should be submitted to the qualified electors in the year 1892, after which it would require a two-thirds vote of the electors to change it, and the legislature should make no appropriations for capitol buildings until the seat of government should be permanently located. Ample provision was made for a school fund. The legislative and executive departments of the government had their powers carefully defined and guarded. The session of the state legislative assembly should meet at noon on the first Monday of January, 1890, and each alternate year thereafter, except the first, which should be determined by the proclamation of the governor after the admission of the state into the union, but not more than fifteen nor less than ten days thereafter.

The executive department should consist of a governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, attorney-general, state treasurer, state auditor, and superintendent of public instruction, each of whom should hold office four years, or until his successor was elected, beginning on the first Monday of January next succeeding his election, except that the terms of office of those chosen at the first election should begin when the state was admitted, and end on the first Monday of January 1893.

The judicial power of the state was vested in the senate sitting as a court of impeachment, in a supreme court, district court, justices of the peace, and such inferior courts as the legislature might establish in cities or towns. The supreme court should have appellate jurisdiction only, and hold three terms yearly. The supreme court should consist of three justices, a majority of whom should be necessary to pronounce a decision. Their terms of office should be six years, except the first chief justice, who should hold until the general election in 1892, and one of the associate justices, who should hold until the general election of 1894, the other holding until 1896, and each until his successor was elected and qualified. The terms, and

who should be chief justice, should be designated by ballot at the first and all subsequent elections, one justice being elected every two years. No person should be eligible to the office of supreme judge who had not been admitted to practise law in the supreme court of the territory or state of Montana, who was not thirty years of age, not a citizen of the United States, or who had not resided in the territory or state for the two years next preceding his election. Much the same restrictions were imposed upon the choice of district judges. Taken as a whole, the constitution framed at Helena between July 4 and August 26, 1889, is perhaps the most complete and well-considered instrument of the kind ever perfected by a new state,[16] although in the address to the people of Montana, in which it is submitted for their ratification or rejection, it was said: "We do not claim that it is a perfect instrument. No constitution ever reflected the concensus of public opinion upon all questions. All constitutions are the result of compromises."

The day set for a general election of state officers, and the adoption or rejection of the constitution, was the 1st of October. The election took place under the election laws passed by the sixteenth legislature requiring registration and proofs of citizenship. T. H. Carter, the recently elected delegate to congress, was the republican nominee for congressman. T. C. Power[17] was candidate for governor on the same

[16] It is impossible in the limits to which I am confined to give a more extended review of the Montana constitution, only some of its chief features being selected as instances of the sagacity of its authors, which is everywhere apparent.

[17] T. C. Power was born at Dubuque, Ia, in 1839, and received his preparatory education in that state, which was completed at Sinsiniwa Mound college, in Wisconsin, where he studied engineering and took a scientific course. From 1858 to 1862 he was engaged in teaching, putting in his summer vacation by surveying in Iowa and Dakota. He followed surveying for several years, trading meanwhile in land-warrants until 1866, when he began sending merchandise to Montana, locating himself permanently at Fort Benton in 1867, where he was in merchandising, forwarding, and freighting business until 1874, when he built the steamer *Benton* in company with I. G. Baker and others, which they loaded in 1875 at Pittsburg for her long voyage. In 1876 they built the *Helena*, and in 1878 the *Butte*, burned in 1883. In 1879 they purchased the steamer *Black Hills*. Mr Power introduced the first

ticket, and J. E. Rickards for lieutenant-governor; for secretary of state, L. Rotwitt; for treasurer, R. C. Hickman; for auditor, E. H. Kinney; for attorney-general, Henry J. Haskell; for superintendent of public instruction, J. Gannon; for chief justice, H. N. Blake; for associate justice for the long term, W. H. De Witt; for associate justice for the short term, E. N. Harwood; for clerk of the supreme court, W. J. Kennedy,—completed the republican ticket.

The democratic candidate for congressman was Martin Maginnis; for governor, J. K. Toole; for lieutenant-governor, C. E. Conrad; secretary of state, J. A. Browne; state treasurer, T. E. Collins; state auditor, Fitzgerald; attorney-general, W. Y. Pemberton; superintendent of public instruction, P. Russell; chief justice, Stephen De Wolfe; associate justice for the long term, Waller M. Bickford; for the short term, F. K. Armstrong; clerk of the court, Cope.

The election gave a very large majority for the constitution; gave Montana a republican congressman,[18] and a democratic governor; a republican lieutenant-governor, and all the other state officers republican. That, however, was not so much a matter of concern to the political parties as the complexion of the legislature, which was to elect two senators to the congress of the United States. The democratic party, which for twenty-five years controlled Montana, whose leaders were among the wealthiest and most enterprising citizens, naturally were averse to see the sceptre passing from their grasp,[19] while the republicans, having

reapers and mowers in Montana. He had a business house in Bozeman, and in 1878 established a stage line from Helena to Benton, and has been a successful stock-raiser. He was a member of the first constitutional convention of 1884. He removed to Helena in 1876.

[18] Carter's majority was 1,648; Toole's, 754; Rickard's, 1,386; Rotwitt's, 1,584; Haskell's, 604; Hickman's, 1,293; Kinney's, 1,015; Gannon's, 189; Blake's, 1,455; De Witt's, 473; Harwood's, 871; Kennedy's, 1,573. It should be remarked that these are approximate figures, the election being contested; but near enough to show that the state went republican.

[19] The names of Marcus Daly, S. T. Hauser, W. A. Clark, and C. A. Broadwater, were frequently associated as managers of the democratic party in Montana, and during this election their owners became known as the 'big four.' The Butte *Inter-Mountain* says of them: 'These four men

wrung victory from their powerful hold[20] by the hardest, were equally determined not to lose the ground heretofore gained, but to add to it the choice of United States senators. The election of representatives was, therefore, the field on which the hardest battle was to be fought.

The most serious charge brought against the republicans previous to election was, that the sixteenth legislature, which was republican, had passed a registration law, which they denominated "an infamous thing," although at the time it was passed both democrats and republicans had voted for it. Now it was called an act to disfranchise the farmers, miners, and stockmen of Montana, who were, nevertheless, counselled to register, and thus rebuke the party which enacted the law.

On the other hand, the republicans claimed to be in possession of information that in one county a large number of miners who had been brought in from abroad had been furnished with declarations of intention to become citizens, which would entitle them to vote, and were instructed to vote for certain candidates.

are the democratic party in Montana. They have kept it in their power when they wanted to, and when they fell out, the party went to the dogs to the music of 5,126 republican majority. They are very wealthy men. There is nothing that can be said against them personally Every one of them came up from the ranks by superior merit and hard licks. Each has had the control of large enterprises and of considerable bodies of men. Accustomed all their successful business lives to handle men, to expect obedience, to enforce discipline, these four men have carried into the politics of Montana the ideas which have been ingrained by their business experience. There is the evil. Messrs. Daly, Hauser, Clark, and Broadwater are not leaders in their party. They are autocrats—bosses of the strongest type. It is only natural that they should be so, but that does not make the situation any the less unfortunate. The theory of the millionaire employer that he can command the suffrages as well as the services of the employed is bad; and attempts to carry out such a theory are to be condemned, whether they occur in Pennsylvania or Montana.'

[20] Marcus Daly, perhaps the largest capitalist in Montana, and manager of the Anaconda mine and smelter, was born in Ireland in 1842. He came to Montana in 1876, and was appointed general manager of the Alice silver mine at Butte, after which Haggin and Tevis made him manager of the Anaconda mine. He is a practical miner and assayer, and an unerring judge of mines and mineral lands. He was elected a member of the constitutional convention of 1884. Even the republican papers admitted Daly's greatness of character as well as of fortune, and were loth to connect him with the alleged frauds in his district. *Anaconda Review*, Sept. 12, 1889.

These persons, holding questionable certificates, could, under the registration law, be challenged, and if challenged, the law required the voter to produce his qualification. Several hundred challenges were filed on the ground of the issuance of illegal certificates.

This was the position of affairs when the election took place, which resulted, if the returns as first announced were correct, in a democratic majority in the legislature of from three to five. But now the republicans refused to accept the count in Silver Bow county, alleging that in one precinct, which returned 174 votes, 171 were democratic, and that these 171 were instructed by their employer to vote that ticket or be discharged; also that the count in this precinct was illegal, being done by the board of judges of election in secret, and certified to by the county clerk, who had no authority in the matter. The canvassing board threw out the vote of this precinct, which action gave the republicans a small majority in the legislature.[21] But it was not only the democrats who were accused of taking dishonorable means to insure a majority. They also complained that in one county, at least, the republicans had counted votes which should have been thrown out.

The action of the county canvassing board in throwing out the precinct accused of fraud caused the democrats of Silver Bow county to procure the issuance of a writ of mandamus by Associate Justice De Wolfe of that district, who was himself a candidate for the chief-justiceship on the democratic state ticket, which was served upon the board immediately after their rejection of the returns, requiring them to be counted. This command being disobeyed, there began one of the most stubborn political contests ever witnessed in a northern state, in which the canvassing board of Silver Bow county finally obeyed a peremptory mandate of the court, but not until after the

[21] The state board consisted of Governor White, Chief Justice Blake, and Secretary Walker.

state canvassing board had completed its labors with the disputed precinct left out. The result of this "muddle," as the press very properly named it, was that there were two sets of representatives from Silver Bow, one with state-board certificates, and the other with certificates from the clerk of Silver Bow county; one making the house democratic, the other making it republican.

Judge De Wolfe was said by one party to have dragged his judicial ermine in the mire, and the republican newspapers held up to public view the iniquity of a combination between the Northern Pacific railroad and the "big four" of Montana, by which the Montana capitalists expected to get into the United States senate, and the railroad expected to secure the mineral lands in its grant through their influence; while the democratic papers denounced the outrage perpetrated upon the party by the attempt of the republicans to "steal the state of Montana."

Some fear was entertained that the contest over the election would delay statehood, but as there was no doubt of the acceptance of the constitution, President Harrison, on the 8th of November, issued his proclamation admitting Montana into the union. The news was received at 10:40, A. M., by telegraph from Secretary Blaine. There was no public demonstration of joy, and no parade accompanying the inauguration of Governor Toole. Judge Sanders, police magistrate of Helena, administered the oath of office to Chief Justice Blake, in the police court-room, in presence of few witnesses, at 12:30 o'clock of the 8th. A despatch had been sent to Governor White at Dillon, who could not, however, arrive to turn over the office to his successor before the 9th; but Toole was inaugurated at two o'clock in the governor's office, in the presence of a number of citizens, the oath being administered by Chief Justice Blake.[22] After half an

[22] After Decius C. Wade, the chief justices of Montana, who had associated with him during his last term J. H. McLeary, W. G. Galbraith, and

hour of receiving congratulations, Governor Toole telegraphed Secretary Blaine of the oath-taking, and

T. C. Bach, the next chief justice was N. W. McConnell 1887, with the same associates. In 1888 Stephen De Wolfe, Moses J. Liddell, and T. C. Bach were associates. In 1889 Henry N. Blake was chief justice, with Bach, De Wolfe, and Liddell associates.

W. J. Galbraith was born in Freeport, Pa, in 1837, and educated at Dartmouth College, N. H., graduating in 1857. He studied law at Pittsburg, Pa, and was admitted to the bar in 1861, but enlisted in the union army as a private in the 12th regt Pa vols. In Sept. he was commissioned 1st lieut of company G, 78th Pa vols, and transferred in Nov. to the U. S. signal corps, in which he served until Nov. 1864. He was captured at Chattanooga, and held prisoner in Macon, Madison, Libby, Richmond, and other prisons until exchanged. In 1865 he opened a law-office in Oil City, Pa, where he practised until 1872, when he removed to Nebraska, and practised there 2 years, and was in Cherokee co., Ia, when appointed to the judgeship in the 2d judicial district of Montana in 1879. He was reappointed in 1883.

Stephen De Wolfe was born in Hawkins co., Tenn., in 1833, and educated at the Pennsylvania university at Gettysburg, and Jefferson college, Cannonsburg. He studied law at Lexington, Mo., and Lebanon law school, graduating in 1857, and commencing practice at Lexington, Mo. In 1859 he went to Salt Lake City as agent for Russell, Majors, and Waddell, army coutractors, and subsequently took the editorial management of the *Valley Tan*. His office was destroyed by a mob for publishing an account of the Mountain Meadows massacre, the first one given to the world. He then engaged in live-stock business in Cal., but returned to Salt Lake City as U. S. attorney for Utah. In 1879 he settled in Butte, Mont., was elected representative in 1881, and ran for councilman in 1883, but was defeated. He was appointed to the supreme bench in 1888.

William H. De Witt was born in New York in 1855, educated at Hamilton college, graduating in 1875, after which he took a regular course at the Columbia law school of New York, received his degree, and was admitted to practice by the supreme court of that city. He practised his profession in New York until 1879, when he came to Helena. In 1881 he removed to Butte. He was appointed U. S. district attorney in 1883, and was justly classed among the leading attorneys of the territory.

W. Y. Pemberton, democratic candidate for attorney-general, was born in Nashville, Tenn., in 1842, was educated at the Masonic college, Mo., read law at the Lebanon law school of Cumberland university, graduated in 1861, and was admitted to practice the same year. In 1863 he came to Montana, forming a law partnership with E. W. Toole at Virginia City, where he remained 2 years, when the firm removed to Helena, where he was appointed by Gov. Edgerton first district attorney of Helena district. In 1868 he went to Texas, where he remained until 1880, when he returned to Helena, and removed hence to Butte 2 years later, where he was elected district attorney. In 1883 he was elected a member of the constitutional convention of 1884.

The office of attorney-general was created by an act of the extra session of the legislature of 1887, and it was provided that the governor should appoint this officer by and with the consent of the council. The governor made a nomination, but the legislature adjourned without having ratified it. The first term of the supreme court after the adjournment of the extra session was Jan. 1888, and the county attorneys being exempted by the new law from appearing as counsel for the territory in the supreme court, the governor commissioned William E. Cullen of Helena to act as attorney-general until the close of the next regular session of the legislature, in 1889. *Gov. Mess.* 1889, 20–21.

entered upon his duties as executive of the state of Montana, his first official act being to issue a proclamation convening the legislature on the 23d of the month.

Montana never having had a capitol building, there had been certain halls and rooms in Helena's superb court-house fitted up for legislative uses by the territorial secretary in territorial times. But when republican State Secretary Rotwitt applied to the county commissioners for possession of the rooms, he was refused, and the rooms were let to democratic Governor Toole. Further, the chairman of the board of county commissioners pocketed the keys and placed a guard in the halls, while Governor Toole issued a proclamation on the 22d declaring that only members of the legislature with county certificates would be admitted to the hall, to which he, by his agents, held the key. Then State Auditor Kinney, whose duty it was to call the house to order, having been refused the keys by the commissioners, issued a notice to the members of the house of representatives calling upon them to meet in the Iron block, on Main street, at noon on the 23d, which was Saturday.

At the appointed hour the republicans met in the place indicated by the auditor, and the democrats repaired to the court-house. The republicans had thirty-two members, two more than a quorum, and were called to order by the auditor, sworn in by Chief Justice Blake, and their organization perfected, A. C. Witter of Beaverhead county being elected speaker. The democrats also organized, and elected C. P. Blakely of Gallatin speaker, the members being sworn in by a notary public, the doors being guarded to admit no one not holding a certificate of election from county clerks, although, according to the constitution adopted by the people, the state board only had authority to issue certificates of this election, the validity of the action turning upon the opinion of the courts, not yet obtained, as to the moment when

the provisions of the constitution went into operation, whether on the day of adoption, or the day of admission into the union.

The senate met at the court-house, except the democrats, who absented themselves, and as the senate consisted of eight republicans and eight democrats, there was no quorum. Lieutenant-governor Rickards called the senate to order, and the eight members present were sworn in by District Judge W. H. Hunt,[23] after which they adjourned to the 25th. In a caucus that evening, the republicans, on their part, determined to stand on the proposition that only such as were found to be members by the state canvassing board were entitled to seats in the legislature, and that all power to determine further rights resided wholly in the two branches, and not in the governor. On the 25th, both lower houses sent committees to the governor with information of their organization, but the republicans were told that since he had designated in a proclamation the place of meeting, and they were not there, he could have nothing to say to them. The rival body was recognized, and adjourned for the day.

No change in the position of legislative affairs occurred for some time. The republican senators con-

[23] In district No. 1, Lewis and Clarke, W. H. Hunt, R., was elected over George F. Sheldon, D., by a majority of 263.

In district No. 3, Deer Lodge, Theodore Brantley, R., was elected over David M. Durfee, D., by a majority of 270.

In district No. 4, Missoula, C. S. Marshall, R., was elected over W. J. Stephens, D., by a majority of 96.

In district No. 5, Beaverhead, Jefferson, and Madison, Thomas J. Galbraith, R., was elected over Thomas Joyes, D., by a majority of 158.

In district No. 6, Gallatin, Meagher, and Park, Frank Henry, R., was elected over Moses J. Liddell, by a majority of 223.

In district No. 7, Yellowstone, Custer, and Dawson, Walter A. Burleigh, R., was elected over George R. Milburn, D., by a majority of 73.

In district No. 8, Cascade, Choteau, and Fergus, C. H. Benton, R., was elected over Jere Leslie, D., by a majority of 191.

In district No. 2, Silver Bow, the election being contested, and Judge De Wolfe having commanded the disputed precinct counted in, John J. McHatton, democrat, was sworn in as well as the republican candidate, and two courts were set in motion. Subsequently, to end the contest, the governor appointed McHatton. The constitution abolished probate courts, which was felt by some counties as a serious check upon their business.

tinued to meet without a quorum, the democrats refraining from taking the oath of office in order to avoid being compelled by the sergeant-at-arms to come in. The two separate lower houses met at their respective halls, unable to do more than make a pretense of business, while the wheels of government were firmly blocked, and the state remained unrepresented in the national senate. Thus matters stood for two or three weeks, when legal process was resorted to as a means of convening the senate, and a joint conference was obtained on the 12th of December, when it was agreed that on the 16th the democrats would come in and take their seats. Accordingly, on that day these senators appeared, and were sworn in by the chief justice. Immediately after the adjournment of the senate, the same day the sergeant-at-arms of the democratic lower house delivered written invitations—warrants they were called—to all the members of the republican house, save the five from Silver Bow county, to meet with them at the court-house, and organize into a legal house of representatives. These invitations were not accepted.

On the 17th Governor Toole sent his biennial message to the legislature, as constituted with a senate not yet permanently organized, and no certain quorum in the lower house. It was read and laid on the table in the senate, and by the democratic house referred to committees, as usual. It contained, besides the information and recommendations usual in a message, regrets at the existing complication, but advice to his party to stand by their colors, it being better the deadlock should continue than that any principle of free government should be imperilled, or any right of American electors sacrificed.[24]

For three days the republican senators endeavored to agree with the democrats upon a set of rules and permanent organization, but without success. On the 19th, a resolution was offered that a plurality vote

[24] Special telegram to the *Portland Oregonian*, Dec. 18, 1889.

should be sufficient to elect, which, after a warm debate, was carried, and officers elected by a strict party vote, the democrats refusing to take part in the election, and finally leaving the hall. As the senate was now organized, and as the republicans under their organization had a quorum, that party considered the deadlock broken, and the governor was informed that they were ready to transact business.

But now again the question of rights was taken into court, a member of the republican house from Silver Bow presenting his bill for mileage to the state auditor, which was refused settlement. Legal advice was taken, and a writ of mandamus was issued by District Judge Hunt to compel the auditor to audit the bill, or appear in court and show cause why he did not do so. A decision in this case would necessarily involve a decision upon the legality of the Silver Bow election. All the quibbles of the law were resorted to on both sides, the auditor finally taking refuge apparently behind the statement that he could not pay bills for which no money had been appropriated. The decision of Judge Hunt, which was rendered January 2, 1890, while it carefully avoided the question of the authority of the state canvassing board, declared that upon the proposition in dispute as to whether the auditor might issue a certificate to a state officer where there was a legal claim, but no appropriation to pay such officer, the law was clear that he might. And the court found that the relator's petition upon every point but the one by the court decided was admitted, and sufficiently proved by papers apparently regular to be true for the purpose of securing such certificate as prayed for, and that the writ of mandate must be peremptory. This decision was a victory for the republicans, but it brought about no change in the legislative situation.

The chief care now was to elect two senators. Before the assembling of the legislature, the men

popularly mentioned who might appear as senatorial candidates were William E. Cullen, Samuel T. Hauser, C. A. Broadwater of Helena, Paris Gibson of Great Falls, W. W. Dixon and G. W. Stapleton of Butte, and Marcus Daly of Anaconda, democrats; and W. F. Sanders, Lester S. Wilson, T. C. Power, C. S. Warren, Judge Burleigh, I. D. McCutcheon, and Lee Mantle, republicans. From this abundance of good material it should have been easy to choose men with whom the people would be satisfied. But the party, and not the state, were being considered, and the election of senators which should be the choice of a joint convention was hopeless. On the 1st of January the republican house and senate elected W. F. Sanders United States senator on the 1st ballot. On the following day, T. C. Power was chosen on the second ballot. The democrats chose Martin Maginnis and W. A. Clarke. Thus was presented the remarkable spectacle of a state government wilfully obstructed by its legislators elect, and sending a double representation to the highest branch of the national legislature. None could be admitted without an investigation.

An equally remarkable and more pleasing spectacle was that of a free people tranquilly regarding the struggle, satisfied that, however it terminated, a remedy would be found for the evils resulting, and even that their rights might be more securely guarded in the future for this outburst of rebelliousness.

Montana, like Washington, is richly endowed by the general government. Besides the 16th and 36th sections, devoted to common-school purposes, and not to be sold for less than ten dollars per acre, fifty sections of land were given for public buildings; five per cent of the sales of public lands for schools; seventy-two sections for university purposes, not to be sold for less than ten dollars per acre; 90,000 acres for the use and support of an agricultural college; for scientific schools, 100,000 acres; for normal schools,

100,000 acres; for public buildings at the capital, besides the fifty sections, 100,000 acres; and for state, charitable, educational, penal, and reformatory schools, 200,000 acres. With all this, her various resources, her people, and her mines, great is Montana.[25]

[25] There are few early books upon Montana, because in early times it was not much visited, except by miners, who thought little of anything but gathering up the season's spoils and hastening back to home and friends in the east, or who roamed away to newer gold-fields on every fresh excitement. The Montana newspapers contain an unusual amount of good material in descriptive and statistical matter furnished by their editors and correspondents. In 1867 G. C. Swallow, at the request of Governor Smith, made a report upon the resources of the country, which was mentioned in the *Virginia City Post*, Oct. 19, 1867. Meagher visited every part of Montana, and wrote his 'Rides through Montana' for *Harper's Monthly*, 1867. Potts wrote excellent messages on the condition of the country. Military men contributed not a little to eastern journals concerning the unexpected excellences of soil and climate in Montana, of whom Brisbin was one of the most interested. Mullan, from whom I have already quoted as an authority on Washington and Idaho, also mentions Montana briefly in *Miners' and Travellers' Guide*. J. Ross Browne, in his report on the *Mineral Resources*, gives a curtailed history of the discovery and working of the mines of Montana; Goddard, in his *Where to Emigrate*, 1869, gives reports upon the agricultural and mining resources of Montana; in *Hall's Great West*, 1864, 47–54, is a mention of Montana's resources; *Fry's Guide Across the Plains* contains no more; the *Montana Statistical Almanac and Year-book of Facts*, published by Bassett, Magee, and Company of Helena in 1869, was a valuable collection of early historical matter; *Fisher's Advertising Guide*, 1869, contained sketches of the principal towns in the country; *Camp's American Year-book*, some remarks on the mineral resources of the same, p. 500; *Richardson's Beyond the Mississippi*, some travellers' tales and observations; E. W. Carpenter, in the *Overland Monthly*, ii., 385, gives a fair account of Montana as it appeared to him at that period. I have already quoted E. B. Neally, who wrote an article for the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1866, describing a year's observations in the country at that early period, with much ability. In 1867 A. K. McClure of Pa visited Montana, and during that year corresponded with the *New York Tribune* and *Franklin Repository*, entering into the feelings and interests of the Montanians with warmth, and writing up their politics, society, and resources with much frankness. These letters were published in a volume of 450 pages, in 1869, under the title of *Three Thousand Miles through the Rocky Mountains*. Dunraven, in his *Great Divide*, published in 1876, containing an account of a summer spent about the head of the Yellowstone, describes the Yellowstone region and national park. At the 11th session of the Montana legislature an act was passed authorizing the publication and circulation of a pamphlet by Robert E. Strahorn, which gave the first connected, well arranged, and authentic account of the physical features and material resources of the country, from which I have quoted often, for want of a better. Subsequently, Strahorn added a historical prefatory chapter, and enlarged his book, *Montana and the National Park*, which was republished at Kansas City in 1881, with illustrations. In 1882 Robert P. Porter, special agent of the 10th census, published his observations on the industrial, social, commercial, and political development of the west, in a volume of over 600 pages, in which he devotes a brief chapter to Montana's altitudes, climate, and population. In 1883 E. J. Farmer published a volume of 200 pages upon the *Resources of the Rocky Mountains*, which naturally included Montana, devot-

ing a dozen pages to a general statement of the resources of that country. In 1883 Henry J. Winser published an illustrated *Guide to the Northern Pacific Railroad*. Remarks upon the climate of Montana, with descriptions of the military posts, may be found in *Hygiene of the United States Army*, published by the government in 1875; *Schott's Precipitation*, containing tables of the rain and snow fall for several years; and *Coffin's Seat of Empire*, 1887, published in 1866. Besides these fragmentary accounts, I have been greatly assisted by information derived from verbal and written recollections and statements here, as elsewhere, in all my historical writings.

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Young, Wm, killed by Inds, 93.

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